



THE GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK WORLD

Edited by RACHEL MAIRS

THE GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK WORLD



This volume provides a thorough conspectus of the field of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek studies, mixing theoretical and historical surveys with critical and thought-provoking case studies in archaeology, history, literature and art.

The chapters from this international group of experts showcase innovative methodologies, such as archaeological GIS, as well as providing accessible explanations of specialist techniques such as die studies of coins, and important theoretical perspectives, including postcolonial approaches to the Greeks in India. Chapters cover the region's archaeology, written and numismatic sources, and a history of scholarship on the subject, as well as culture, identity and interactions with neighbouring empires, including India and China.

The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek World is the go-to reference work on the field, and fulfils a serious need for an accessible, but also thorough and critically informed, volume on the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms. It provides an invaluable resource for anyone interested in the Hellenistic East.

Rachel Mairs is Professor of Classics and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Reading. She has previously held positions at New York University, the University of Oxford and Brown University. Her publications include *The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language and Identity in Greek Central Asia* (2014), *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters* (with Maya Muratov, 2015) and *From Khartoum to Jerusalem: The Dragoman Solomon Negima and his Clients* (2016). In 2016 she founded the Hellenistic Central Asia Research Network.

THE ROUTLEDGE WORLDS

THE SWAHILI WORLD

*Edited by Stephanie Wynne-Jones and
Adria La Violette*

THE MEDIEVAL WORLD, SECOND EDITION

*Edited by Peter Linehan, Janet L. Nelson,
and Marios Costambeys*

THE ELAMITE WORLD

*Edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon, Gian Pietro
Basello and Yasmina Wicks*

THE FIN-DE-SIÈCLE WORLD

Edited by Michael Saler

THE GNOSTIC WORLD

*Edited by Garry W. Trompf, Gunner B.
Mikkelsen and Jay Johnston*

THE ANDEAN WORLD

*Edited by Linda J. Seligmann and
Kathleen Fine-Dare*

THE SYRIAC WORLD

Edited by Daniel King

THE FAIRY TALE WORLD

Edited by Andrew Teverson

THE MELANESIAN WORLD

Edited by Eric Hirsch and Will Rollason

THE MING WORLD

Edited by Kenneth M. Swope

THE GOTHIC WORLD

*Edited by Glennis Byron and
Dale Townshend*

THE IBERIAN WORLD

*Edited by Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim,
and Antonio Feros*

THE MAYA WORLD

Edited by Scott Hutson and Traci Ardren

THE WORLD OF THE OXUS CIVILIZATION

*Edited by Bertille Lyonnet and
Nadezhda Dubova*

THE GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK WORLD

Edited by Rachel Mairs

THE UMAYYAD WORLD

Edited by Andrew Marsham

THE ISLAMIC WORLD

Edited by Andrew Rippin

THE WORLD OF THE AMERICAN WEST

Edited by Gordon Morris Bakken

THE VIKING WORLD

*Edited by Stefan Brink in collaboration
with Neil Price*

THE BYZANTINE WORLD

Edited by Paul Stephenson

THE OTTOMAN WORLD

Edited by Christine Woodhead

THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD

Edited by Susan Doran and Norman Jones

THE VICTORIAN WORLD

Edited by Marin Hewitt

THE ATLANTIC WORLD

*Edited by D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leon-
ard, and William O'Reilly*

THE BUDDHIST WORLD

Edited by John Powers

THE CRUSADER WORLD

Edited by Adrian Boas

THE POSTCOLONIAL WORLD

*Edited by Jyotsna G. Singh and
David D. Kim*

THE SUMERIAN WORLD

Edited by Harriet Crawford

THE OCCULT WORLD

Edited by Christopher Partridge

THE GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK WORLD



Edited by

Rachel Mairs

First published 2021
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2021 selection and editorial matter, Rachel Mairs; individual chapters,
the contributors

The right of Rachel Mairs to be identified as the author of the editorial material,
and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance
with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any
information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the
publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered
trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent
to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Mairs, Rachel, editor, author.

Title: The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek world / edited by Rachel Mairs.

Description: New York: Routledge, 2021. | Series: Routledge worlds |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020022295 (print) | LCCN 2020022296 (ebook) |

Subjects: LCSH: Bactria—Antiquities. | Asia, Central—Antiquities. |

India—Antiquities. | Greeks—Asia, Central—History. |

Indo-Greeks—History. | Coins, Greek—Asia, Central. | Coinage—Asia,
Central—History.

Classification: LCC DS328.G735 2021 (print) | LCC DS328 (ebook) |
DDC 939/.6—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020022295>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020022296>

ISBN: 978-1-138-09069-9 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-10851-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

CONTENTS



	<i>List of figures</i>	ix
	<i>List of tables</i>	xvii
	<i>List of contributors</i>	xvii
I	Introduction <i>Rachel Mairs</i>	I
 PART I: INTERACTIONS 9		
2	The Seleukid Empire <i>Rolf Strootman</i>	II
3	South Asia <i>Sushma Jansari</i>	38
4	Parthia <i>Jacopo Bruno</i>	56
5	Central Asia and the Steppe <i>Sören Stark</i>	78
6	China and Bactria during the reign of Emperor Wu in written tradition and in archaeology <i>Lukas Nickel</i>	106

PART II: HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP 125

- 7 The quest for Bactra: Scholarship on the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom from its origins to the end of colonialism 127
Omar Coloru
- 8 The original ‘failure’? A century of French archaeology in Afghan Bactria 142
Annick Fenet
- 9 Hellenism with or without Alexander the Great: Russian, Soviet and Central Asian approaches 171
Svetlana Gorshenina and Claude Rapin

PART III: REGIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY 215

- 10 Afghan Bactria 217
Laurianne Martinez-Sève
- 11 Southern Uzbekistan 249
Ladislav Stančo
- 12 Southern Tajikistan 286
Gunvor Lindström
- 13 Sogdiana 313
Bertille Lyonnet
- 14 Merv and Margiana 335
Gabriele Puschnigg
- 15 Arachosia, Drangiana and Areia 357
Warwick Ball
- 16 Gandhāra and North-Western India 386
Luca M. Olivieri

PART IV: WRITTEN SOURCES 417

- 17 Greek inscriptions and documentary texts and the Graeco-Roman historical tradition 419
Rachel Mairs
- 18 Reading the *Milindapañha*: Indian historical sources and the Greeks in Bactria 430
Olga Kubica

- 19 Chinese historical sources and the Greeks in the Western Regions 446
Juping Yang

PART V: NUMISMATIC SOURCES 465

- 20 History from coins: The role of numismatics in the study of the 467
Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek worlds
Simon Glenn
- 21 Two sides of the coin: From Sophytes to Skanda-Kārttikeya 487
Sushma Jansari
- 22 Dating Bactria's independence to 246/5 BC? 499
Jens Jakobsson
- 23 Monetary policies during the early Graeco-Bactrian kingdom 510
(250–190 BCE)
Olivier Bordeaux
- 24 The last phase of the Indo-Greeks: Methods, interpretations and new 520
insights in reconstructing the past
Shailendra Bhandare

PART VI: CULTURE AND IDENTITY 537

- 25 Ai Khanoum, between east and west: A composite architecture 539
Guy Lecuyot
- 26 Globalization and interpreting visual culture 553
Milinda Hoo
- 27 Representation of Greek gods/goddesses in Graeco-Bactrian 570
and Indo-Greek visual culture
Suchandra Ghosh
- 28 Roman objects in the Begram hoard and the memory of 580
Greek rule in Kushan Central Asia
Lauren Morris

**PART VII: BEYOND THE GRAECO-BACTRIAN
AND INDO-GREEK WORLDS 593**

- 29 Central Asia in the Achaemenid period 595
Xin Wu

— *Contents* —

30	Achaemenid north-west South Asia <i>Cameron A. Petrie</i>	619
31	Greekness after the end of the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms <i>Joe Cribb</i>	653
	<i>Index</i>	683

FIGURES



3.1	Remains of the wooden palisade excavated at Bulandi Bagh. Archaeological Survey of India 1926–1927	44
3.2	Four lion capital discovered in Sarnath. Bihar Museum	47
3.3	Didarganj chauri-bearer displayed at Bihar Museum, India	48
3.4	Ring stone carved with representations of female figures and floral motifs. Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Bequest of Samuel Eilenberg, 1998. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number 2000.284.10	49
3.5	Example of a silver punch-marked coin. Gift of Sri B. D. Dwivedi. Cleveland Museum of Art, Accession Number 1967.242	50
4.1	Turkmen-Khorasan mountain and piedmont areas	57
4.2	Cylindro-conical shapes. 1-2: Akhal (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 146 nos. 1, 5); 3-4: Etek (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 50 nos. 7, 9); 5-8: upper Atrek valley; 9-11: Esfarayen plain (after Vahdati 2015, fig. 11 nos. 1, 10, 13)	61
4.3	Conical cups with flanged rim. 1-2: Akhal (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 140 no. 11, fig. 148 no. 1); 3: Etek (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 51 no. 9); 4-5: upper Atrek valley; 6: Esfarayen plain (after Vahdati 2015, fig. 11 no. 8)	62
4.4	Hemispherical bowls. 1-2: Akhal (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 140 nos. 27, 28); 3-4: upper Atrek valley; 5-6: Esfarayen plain (after Vahdati 2015, fig. 9 nos. 6, 10)	62
4.5	Tripod bowls. 1: upper Atrek valley; 2-3: Esfarayen plain (after Vahdati 2015, fig. 9 nos. 21, 22)	63
4.6	Cultural horizon of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountain and piedmont areas during the Late Iron Age	65
4.7	Old Nisa (after Lippolis 2013, fig. 3)	68
4.8	Old Nisa, male head (Mithradates I) from the Round Hall, clay (© Centro Scavi Torino)	70
4.9	Old Nisa, male head from the Square Hall, clay (© Centro Scavi Torino)	70

4.10	Old Nisa, ivory rhyton from the Square House (© Centro Scavi Torino)	72
4.11	Old Nisa, ivory rhyton from the Square House (© Centro Scavi Torino)	72
6.1	Sculpture of an ox, length c. 2.60 m, granite, from tomb of Huo Qubing (died 117 BC), Maoling Museum, Shaanxi. Photo Lukas Nickel	115
6.2	Sculpture of a horse, height 62 cm, gilt bronze, from a side pit of the tomb of Emperor Wu (died 87 BC), Maoling Museum, Shaanxi	115
6.3	Incense burner with mountain-shaped lid, height 58 cm, bronze with gold and silver inlay, with an inscription dated to 137 BC, from a side pit of the tomb of Emperor Wu (died 87 BC), Maoling Museum, Shaanxi	116
6.4	Coin with Greek letters, diameter 5.5 cm, lead alloy, late 2nd century BC, from Kangjiagou, Lingtai, Gansu, Museum of Lingtai county	118
6.5	Hoard of coins with Greek letters, lead alloy, late 2nd century BC, from Kangjiagou, Lingtai, Gansu, Museum of Lingtai county	118
6.6	Bowl with lobed decoration, diameter 38 cm, silver, found in the tomb of Liu Fei (died 128 BC), Dayunshan, Jiangsu. Drawing adapted from Nanjing Bowuyuan 2013, fig. 72–5	121
8.1	Plan of Bactra published by Foucher (after Foucher 1942–47, I, 59)	149
8.2	The Fouchers' caravan at Kabul before their departure for Bactra, with Alfred seated in the centre and Ena on his left (after Fenet 2010, 332)	151
8.3	The stupa of Top-e Rustam during excavations. Note the mudbricks and the workers with the stretcher (<i>zambêl</i>) acting as wheelbarrow (after Foucher 1942–47, pl. XXa)	152
8.4	13 April 1924, the beginning of the survey of the mound of the Arg (after Foucher 1942–47, pl. VIIc)	157
8.5	The same, seen from above (after Foucher 1942–47, pl. VIIa)	157
8.6	Plan of Bactra with the 71 sondages operated by Schlumberger (plan of M. Le Berre, after Gardin 1957, fig. 1)	162
8.7	The hill of Surkh Kotal before excavation, facing East (after Schlumberger, Le Berre and Fussman 1983, fig. 3.4)	163
8.8	The same view, during excavation, with the upper terraces of the sanctuary (TS and TM) uncovered (after Schlumberger, Le Berre and Fussman 1983, fig. 5.11)	163
9.1	Map of the route of Alexander the Great in Central Asia	200
10.1	Map of Hellenistic Central Asia (Ancient cities are shown in italics, modern cities are shown in roman / L. Martinez-Sève)	218
10.2	Map of Western Bactria (Google map / L. Martinez-Sève)	219
10.3	Map of Eastern Bactria (Google map / L. Martinez-Sève)	219
10.4	Plan of Ai Khanoum (DAFA / J. C. Liger – G. Lecuyot)	223
10.5	Plan of Bactra (DAFA / M. Le Berre)	225
10.6	Ephesian column base from Bactra (© DAFA)	226

10.7	Territory of Ai Khanoum during the Hellenistic period, including the plain of Kwaja Ghar (L. Martinez-Sève, from Gardin 1998, 3.10 and 4.1)	228
10.8	Plain of Archi during the Hellenistic period (L. Martinez-Sève, from Gardin 1998, 6.15)	231
10.9	Fortress of Kafir Qala, Archi Plain (from Gardin 1998, 6.6)	232
10.10	Plain of Kunduz during the Hellenistic period (L. Martinez-Sève, from Gardin 1998, 10.21 and 10.22)	234
10.11	Plain of Taluqan during the Hellenistic period (L. Martinez-Sève, from Gardin 1998, 8.12 and 9.1)	235
10.12	Oasis of Bactra during the Hellenistic period (Google map / L. Martinez-Sève)	236
10.13	Plan of Dilberjin (I. Kruglikova)	237
10.14	Oasis of Khulm during the Hellenistic period (Google map / L. Martinez-Sève)	239
10.15	Fortress of Chim Kurgan, Archi Plain (from Gardin 1998, 6.3)	240
10.16	Bala Hissar of Ishqamesh (from Gardin 1998, 19.10)	242
11.1	Map of the Surkhan Darya Region with archaeological sites of the Hellenistic period. Map by the author, based partly on Havlík 2018	250
11.2	Kampyr Tepa, simplified ground plan of the fortress with areas, where the Hellenistic remains were studied highlighted, by author after Bolelov 2011, ris. 1	252
11.3	Hellenistic Termez – probable extent of the city with phrourion (citadel) in the east, by author based on Leriche 2010, fig. 10	253
11.4	Kyzyl Tepa, citadel, photo by author	256
11.5	Uzundara, simplified ground plan of the fortress, by author after Dvurechenskaya 2015, 39, ris. 2	263
11.6	Uzundara, view of the citadel from southwest. Photo by author	263
11.7	Darband Wall, view from the north. Photo by author	264
11.8	Kurganzol, simplified ground plan of the fort in its first construction phase, by author after Sverchkov 2008, 19, ris. 11	267
11.9	Graph comparing proportion of individual domestic animal species attested at Kyzyl Tepa, Kurganzol and Kampyr Tepa, by author after Benecke 2013; Wu et al. 2015; Dvurechenskaya, S. O. 2016	270
11.10	Graph presenting overview of the Hellenistic coins from archaeological contexts in Surkhan Darya with a) representation of individual sites b) attributions to the rulers, by author based partially on Rtveladze – Gorin 2015, 165–166 and Abdullaev 2006	273
11.11	Distribution map of the Antiochos I coins in Surkhan Darya, by author	274
11.12	Distribution map of the Diodotos I coins in Surkhan Darya, by author	275
11.13	Distribution map of the Euthydemos I coins in Surkhan Darya, by author	276

11.14	Distribution map of the Demetrios I coins in Surkhan Darya, by author	277
11.15	Hellenistic coins in Surkhan Darya Region, general distribution map, by author	278
12.1	Map of southern Tajikistan	289
12.2	Reconstruction of the Temple of the Oxus	292
12.3	Plan of the Temple of the Oxus	293
12.4	Dedication of Atrosokes to the Oxus	294
12.5	Plan of the Saksanokhur structure. Литвинский/Мухитдинов 1969	299
12.6	Corinthian capital from Saksanokhur	300
12.7	Plan of Torbulok	302
12.8	Altars from Torbulok	303
13.1	Map of Bactria and Sogdiana	314
14.1	Map showing the northern and central part of the Merv oasis. Data provided by the “Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta Project” (AMMD); map Roberto Arciero, Leiden University	337
14.2	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) photomosaic of the city of Gyaur Kala. (Photograph Gai Jorayev, Ancient Merv Project); the black dots mark excavations, where early Hellenistic levels were identified	339
14.3	Left side, view of the walls of Erk Kala from the south, the centre of Gyaur Kala; right side, view of the MGK6 the south face of the section of the Gyaur Kala fortifications showing the vaulted chambers and walkway of the first phase of the wall; photographs Gabriele Puschnigg	339
14.4	Selected diagnostic ceramic shapes from the first two phases of the Gyaur Kala fortifications (MGK6); nos. 1–2 shapes associated with the Yaz III tradition, no. 3 shape related to Achaemenid tradition; no. 4 goblet; nos. 5–8, 10 Hellenistic shapes; no. 9 local cooking ware; drawings nos. 2, 4–5 and 9 by Kate Morton; drawings nos. 1, 3, 6–8 and 10 by Faith Vardy, Ancient Merv Project	342
15.1	Map of the Kandahar region showing the main sites mentioned in the text. (Map drawn by Wendy Ball)	358
15.2	View of the site of Old Kandahar (photo: W. Ball)	360
15.3	Plan of the excavations at Kandahar (from Ball 1982)	361
15.4	The 1958 Greek and Aramaic inscription	364
15.5	The 1963 Greek Aśokan edicts	364
15.6	The ‘Aristonax’ inscription (after Helms 1997)	366
15.7	The ‘Sophytos’ inscription (Private collection, by kind permission of the owner)	366
15.8	The imported Greek sherds from Kandahar (after Whitehouse 1978)	368
15.9	Funerary urns from Kandahar (after Salnama 1924/5)	368
15.10	Funerary urns and ossuaries from near Kandahar (after Scerrato 1980)	369

15.11	Hellenistic pottery from Kandahar (after McNicoll & Ball 1996)	370
15.12	Hellenistic terracotta statuette from Kandahar (after McNicoll & Ball 1996)	371
15.13	Hellenistic plaque from Kandahar (after Helms 1997)	371
15.14	The site of Shahr-i Kuhna/Sikandarabad (photo: W. Ball)	372
15.15	A billboard in St Petersburg in 1998 (photo: W. Ball)	380
16.1	Geographical setting of Gandhāra and NW India	390
16.2	Aerial photograph of Sirkap (R.I.A.F.) showing the location of A. Ghosh trenches (after Ghosh 1947–1948: pl. I) (Courtesy DOAM)	391
16.3	Three Taxilas (after Ghosh 1947–1948: fig. 1) (Courtesy DOAM)	392
16.4	Trench B (after Ghosh 1947–1948: pl. IX) (Courtesy DOAM)	393
16.5	Charsadda, Bala Hisar (after Wheeler 1962: fig. 3) (Courtesy DOAM)	393
16.6	Charsadda, Bala Hisar, section of trench Ch. I (after Wheeler 1962: pl. II) (Courtesy DOAM)	394
16.7	Aerial photograph of Shaikhan-dheri (after Wheeler 1962: pl. XV) (Courtesy DOAM)	395
16.8	Barikot, general map (Courtesy ISMEO)	396
16.9	Barikot, trench BKG 11 seen from N (Courtesy ISMEO)	397
16.10	Barikot, Indo-Greek wall, SW corner (Drawings by F. Martore) (Courtesy ISMEO)	398
16.11	Historical maps of Gandhāra and NW India c. 150–130 BCE	398
16.12	Historical maps of Gandhāra and NW India c. 150–130 BCE	399
16.13	Historical maps of Gandhāra and NW India c. 150–130 BCE	399
16.14	Barikot: modelled radiocarbon sequence trench BKG 11 (Courtesy ISMEO/CIRCE)	402
16.15	Barikot: modelled radiocarbon sequence trench BKG 12 (Courtesy ISMEO/CIRCE)	403
16.16	Barikot, section of trench BKG 11, sector K (Courtesy ISMEO)	404
16.17	Barikot, Indo-Greek period, ‘Hellenistic Lady’ terracotta figurine (Courtesy ISMEO)	405
16.18	Barikot, Indo-Greek period, three sherds, three scripts (Courtesy ISMEO)	406
16.19	a – Mingora urban area: location of the major archaeological sites. The red box indicates the position of Fig. 19b (after Faccenna 1980–1981: pl. XXVII) (Courtesy ISMEO). b – Mingora urban area: ancient urban gridiron after an aerial photograph (after Faccenna 1980–1981: pl. XXVIII) (Courtesy ISMEO)	408
16.20	Butkara IV, the tripartite burial monument (Drawings by F. Martore) (Courtesy ISMEO)	409
18.1	Silver coin of Menander I from Puṣkalāvātī (Garstang Museum in Liverpool, no. 287). Denomination: drachm. Standard: Indian. Weight: 2.48g. Diameter: 18mm. Obverse: draped bust of Menander, facing right, wearing a crested helmet with diadem. Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ	435

18.2	Reverse: helmeted and draped Athena Alkidemos, advancing left, viewed from behind, holding a shield in her outstretched left arm, and hurling a thunderbolt with her right. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī script: MAHARAJASA TRATARASA MENAMDRASA	436
18.3	Silver coin of Menander I from Puṣkalāvātī (Garstang Museum in Liverpool, No. 289). Denomination: drachm. Standard: Indian. Weight: 2.49g. Diameter: 19mm. Obverse: diademed and cuirassed bust of Menander, facing left, viewed from behind, wielding spear with his upraised right hand. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ	436
18.4	Reverse: helmeted and draped Athena Alkidemos, standing right, holding the aegis in her outstretched left arm, and hurling thunderbolt with her right. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī script: MAHARAJASA TRATARASA MENAMDRASA	436
20.1	Silver punch-marked coin, Kosala (?), 4.89 g, 32 mm x 26 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975	468
20.2	Gold stater of Alexander III of Macedon, Babylon mint, 331 – c. 325 BCE, 8.54 g, 17.2 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, HCR23676	469
20.3	Silver tetradrachm in the name of Alexander III of Macedon, Babylon mint, c. 323 – c. 317 BCE, 17.03 g, 26.8 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, HCR23721	469
20.4	Gold stater in the name of Antiochos, 8.25 g, 18 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	470
20.5	Gold stater in the name of Diodotos, 8.39 g, 19 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	470
20.6	Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios I, 16.51 g, 34 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	472
20.7	Silver tetradrachm of Eukratides I, 16.67 g, 32 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oman 1947	472
20.8	Silver tetradrachm of Antimachos I, 16.32 g, 30 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975	473
20.9	Silver ‘drachm’ of Lysias, 2.45 g, 17 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975	473
20.10	Silver tetradrachm of Pantaleon, 15.80 g, 31 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	473
20.11	Bronze coin of Pantaleon, 10.93 g, 21 x 22 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oman 1947	474
20.12	Bronze coin of Agathokles, 5.33 g, 21 x 14 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975	474
20.13	Silver ‘tetradrachm’ of Antialkidas, 9.86 g, 25 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	475
20.14	Silver ‘tetradrachm’ of Menander I, 9.53 g, 26 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	475
20.15	Silver ‘drachm’ of Strato II (or Strato III?), 2.32 g, 18 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	476
20.16	Cupro-nickel coin of Euthydemus II, 7.52 g, 24 mm, Ashmolean	

	Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975	480
20.17	Cupro-nickel coin of Agathokles, 8.08 g, 24 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	480
20.18	Silver tetradrachm of Heliokles and Laodike, 16.72 g, 30 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection	484
21.1	Sophytes diobol: head of Athena (CNG 97 lot 442 - 2014)	489
21.2	Sophytes drachm: helmeted male (Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 82, lot 218)	489
21.3	Example of a Seleukos I 'head of hero' type tetradrachm minted at Susa c.301 BC (Freeman & Sear Manhattan Sale II, lot 68 (2011))	490
21.4	Coin of Carystus in Euboea c.323 BC, Robinson type 35 (Triton XII, lot 235 (2009))	491
21.5	Reverse of a Sophytes helmeted male type drachm (NAC 82, lot 218 (2015))	491
21.6	Letter 'M' seen below the bust of a Sophytes helmeted male type drachm (Triton XV, lot 1343 (2012))	493
21.7	Histogram showing the distribution by weight of the Sophytes drachms. The weights are along the horizontal axis, and the number of coins of each weight on the vertical axis	495
22.1	Staters of Antiochos Nikator (above) and Euthydemos I (below) showing close similarities between the portraits. The Euthydemos obverse die is notably more worn. Courtesy of Pankaj Tandon	501
22.2	Staters of Antiochos Nikator (above) and Euthydemos I (below) showing close similarities between the portraits. The Euthydemos obverse die is notably more worn. Courtesy of Pankaj Tandon	501
22.3	Antiochos I, stater, with deep-set eye. Ai Khanoum mint. Courtesy of Pankaj Tandon	503
23.1	Comparison between types engraved before/after the legend (BNF 1972.392; K 2801 (BNF 1972.392; K 2801)	513
23.2	Euthydemos I through his various portrayals (BNF 1974.393; 1966 Don Delepierre; 1966.163)	514
24.1	Copper coin of Zoilos II with 'trident battle-axe', Ashmolean Museum, HCR45625	529
24.2	Copper coin of Zoilos II with 'trident battle-axe', Classical Numismatic Group, eAuction 451, lot 218, 49-2019, www.cngcoins.com	530
24.3	Copper coin of Zoilos II with 'trident battle-axe', Stephen Album Rare Coins, Auction 18, Lot number 977, 16-1-2014, www.cngcoins.com	530
24.4	Silver drachm of Zoilos II, with 'trident battle-axe' on reverse in addition to Greek monogram and a Kharoṣṭhi letter, Ashmolean Museum, HCR45529	531
24.5	Silver drachm of Zoilos II, with 'trident battle-axe' on reverse in addition to Greek monogram and two Kharoṣṭhi letters, Ashmolean Museum, HCR45534	531
24.6	Copper coin struck in the name of 'Bhagavata Mahadeva', with	

	monogram on reverse, State Hermitage, St Petersburg, no. 471 (image courtesy Dr Vera Gurulyova, curator)	533
25.1	Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, Corinthian capital (photo DAFA)	541
25.2	Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, north view of the bath complex: cloakroom, ablution room and water supply room (photo DAFA)	543
25.3	Ai Khanoum. Plan of ‘Graeco-Bactrian residences’: 1 south-west house, 2 house outside the walls, 3–4 residences of the palace: 3 south group block, 4 west group block (drawing by G.L.)	544
25.4	Ai Khanoum. South-west house, south view of the porch with two columns in antis (photo DAFA)	545
25.5	Ai Khanoum. South-west house, south view of the porch with two columns in antis (photo DAFA)	546
25.6	Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, south view of the porch with two columns in antis (photo DAFA)	546
25.7	Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, north view with two rooms of the bath complex (ablution room and water supply room) in the foreground and the central reception room in the background (photo DAFA)	547
25.8	Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, bath complex (document DAFA)	548
27.1	Herakles on a coin of Euthydemus. Photo courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi	572
27.2	Athena on a coin of Menander I. Photo courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi	573
27.3	Cybele on a plaque from Ai Khanoum. Photo courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi	576
30.1	Map showing the location of the Peshawar Valley, the Bannu Basin and the Kacchi Plain	620
30.2	Map showing the location of the eastern Achaemenid satrapies (Petrie and Magee 2012)	623
30.3	Depictions of representatives of eastern provinces on the Darius statue (Petrie and Magee 2012)	626
30.4	Depictions of representatives of eastern provinces on the Apadana (Petrie and Magee 2012)	627
30.5	Depictions of representatives of eastern provinces as throne/ dais-bearers on the doorframes of the Tripylon and Hall of One Hundred Columns (Petrie and Magee 2012)	628
30.6	Route of Alexander’s march through to the east (Petrie and Magee 2007)	631
30.7	Tulip bowls and their relative stratigraphic placement at the Bala Hisar (Petrie et al. 2008)	637

TABLES



11.1	Overview of the coin finds from Surkhan Darya Region, by author based partially on Rtveladze – Gorin 2015, 165–166 and Abdullaev 2006	268
14.1	Table of sites relevant to the discussion in this chapter	350
16.1	Barikot: Archaeological Sequence	387
21.1	Upper and lower weights of the Sophytes Athena head tetradrachms and diobols, and male head tetradrachms, didrachms, drachms, hemidrachms and obols; and approximate weights of Seleukid coins minted in Bactra during the early third century BC	494
22.1	Rulers of Bactria. All dates BC	507
23.1	n/d index according to each coinage	517
31.1	Greek and mixed Greek/Indian inscriptions of late Indo-Scythian satraps	659
31.2	Greek names appearing in post-Indo-Greek inscriptions of Bactria and Gandhāra, based on Baums 2018. CKI references are to the <i>Catalogue of Gāndhārī Texts</i> by Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass, 2002 at https://gandhari.org/catalog (consulted 27 February 2019), * see also Baums 2019, p. 173, n. 11	664
31.3	Greek weight terms used in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on precious metal objects and in Kharoṣṭhī legal documents from Naiya and Loulan in Xinjiang Province. *dra is a tentative reading and probably a scribal error for <i>sa</i>	669
31.4	‘Greek’ gods represented on post-Greek coins	671

CONTRIBUTORS



Warwick Ball is an archaeologist and former acting director of the British Institute of Afghan Studies who participated in the British excavations at Kandahar and carried out field work elsewhere in Afghanistan. He is founder editor of *Afghanistan*, the journal of the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies, and author of many books and articles on the history and archaeology of the region, including the *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan* (1982, new edition 2019).

Shailendra Bhandare is Senior Assistant Keeper at the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. He specializes in the numismatics and monetary history of the Indian subcontinent and adjoining areas, and his research focuses on providing varied contexts for coin evidence. One of his recent contributions is titled “Numismatics of ‘the Other’: Investigating coinage and ‘Greekness’ at Taxila”, which was published in *Buddhism and Gandhara, an Archaeology of Museum Collections*.

Olivier Bordeaux is an associate member of the “Archéologie de l’Asie centrale” team, UMR 7041 ‘ArScAn’, CNRS. He studied archaeology and numismatics at the Paris-Sorbonne University under the supervision of Professor Osmund Bopearachchi. He defended his PhD in 2015 and published it in 2018. From 2017 to 2019, he was Deputy Director of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA). His current research interests focus on Hellenistic and Kushan coinages, as well as fieldwork in Central Asia related to the same periods.

Jacopo Bruno is an archaeologist and pottery expert at the Università degli Studi di Torino, Italy, focusing extensively on the pottery production of regions such as the Near East, north-eastern Iran, and Central Asia. His main fields of research are pottery production in pre-Islamic and Islamic Central Asia and cultural contacts in the border territories between modern Turkmenistan and Iran during the Achaemenid, Hellenistic and Parthian periods. He has been actively involved in archaeological activities conducted in Turkmenistan (Old Nisa, 2009–2015), Uzbekistan (Bukhara Oasis, 2017–2019), Iran (Seymareh Dam project, 2014) and Iraq (Tūlūl al-Baqarat, 2017–2019).

Omar Coloru is a researcher at the Dipartimento di italianistica, romanistica, antichistica, arti e spettacolo in the University of Genoa and member of the ArScAn-HAROC (History and Archaeology of the Cuneiform East) research team in Nanterre. His research activities focus on the relations between the Iranian and Greco-Roman worlds. He cooperates with the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, where he is studying the Indo-Greek site of Barikot. He is the author of the monograph *Da Alessandro a Menandro: Il regno greco di Battriana* (2009) devoted to the history of Hellenistic Bactria.

Joe Cribb is former Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. He is an expert on the monetary history of Asia, specialising in the history of coinage in pre-Islamic Central and South Asia. He recently published (with David Jongeward) *Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Coins – A Catalogue of coins from the American Numismatic Society* (2015) and is preparing a study of Kushan coinage based on the British Museum collection. He is an Honorary Research Associate at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and a Trustee of the Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge.

Annick Fenet is a research fellow at École Normale Supérieure. She holds a PhD from Paris-Nanterre University. Her thesis in Greek archaeology and history was published by the École française de Rome and received an award from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. A member of the research unit ‘Archéologie & Philologie d’Orient et Occident’ at the École Normale Supérieure (AOroC, CNRS & PSL), she works on history of archaeology and scientific orientalism (19th–20th centuries) and is in charge of international research programs on this subject.

Suchandra Ghosh is a Professor in the Department of History at the University of Hyderabad, India, and specializes in epigraphy and numismatics. She takes a broad interest in the political and cultural history of the north-western part of the sub-continent, regional history (south-eastern Bengal and Assam), and the Indian Ocean Buddhist and trade networks, especially the circulation of objects. She is a recipient of several fellowships in the UK, France and Thailand. She edited two volumes of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, and regularly contributes to refereed journals and edited volumes. She is the author of *Exploring Connectivity: South Eastern Bengal and Beyond* (2015) and *From the Oxus to the Indus* (2017).

Simon Glenn is a research fellow at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Educated at the University of Edinburgh and Wolfson College, Oxford, he is a research fellow in the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum, where he has worked on the coins of Alexander the Great, as well as Roman Imperial and provincial coins. His doctoral thesis on the coins of the early Graeco-Bactrian kingdom will be published shortly as *Money and Power in Hellenistic Bactria: Euthydemus I to Antimachus I*.

Svetlana Gorshenina is an associate lecturer at the Collège de France. She is a historian and art historian of Central Asia, mainly involved in the history of Turkestan from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century and the early years of Soviet rule in the region. She has curated several exhibitions of nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs and the history of Central Asian archaeology and co-founded the international Alert Heritage Observatory (which aims to preserve Central Asian

Heritage). She is the author of publications including *L'invention de l'Asie centrale: Histoire du concept de la Tartarie à l'Eurasie* (2014).

Milinda Hoo is an ancient historian and global historian, working as assistant professor at the Seminar für Alte Geschichte at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg in Germany. Her forthcoming book (in *Oriens et Occidens*, 2020) deals with approaching Hellenism across Eurasia translocally, focusing on Central Asia and West Asia. She earned her PhD from the Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, with the thesis 'Eurasian Localisms: Towards a translocal approach to Hellenism and inbetweenness in central Eurasia, c. 300 BCE–1 CE'.

Jens Jakobsson is an independent scholar researching eastern Hellenism, especially Indo-Greek numismatics, with publications in *Classical Quarterly*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, *Ancient History Bulletin* and the *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*.

Sushma Jansari is the Tabor Foundation Curator: South Asia at the British Museum. She researches ancient South Asia, while also examining how antiquity was received and (re) constructed in India and Europe over the last two centuries. Recently, she curated an exhibit on ancient and medieval South Asia in the Sir Joseph Hotung Gallery for China and South Asia (opened 2017) and is the curatorial liaison for the Manchester Museum South Asia Gallery in partnership with the British Museum (opening 2021).

Olga Kubica is a member of the Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences at the University of Wrocław. She completed her master's degree in classical philology at the University of Wrocław. In 2009, she completed a Sanskrit course at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. In 2015, she defended her doctoral dissertation entitled 'Greek literature and cultural life east of the Euphrates. The Greeks and Buddhism' at the University of Wrocław, which she wrote during her doctoral studies as part of the International PhD Project 'The Eastern Mediterranean from the 4th c. BC until late antiquity.'

Guy Lecuyot is an architect-archaeologist and associate researcher at the archaeology laboratory of the École normale supérieure (AOROC UMR 8546 CNRS-ENS, PSL university). His fieldwork has taken him to Egypt, the Middle East and Central Asia. In 2013, he published Volume IX of the Ai Khanoum excavations *L'habitat* in the *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan* (MDAFA). In 2014 he edited a booklet released to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the discovery of Ai Khanoum providing a up-to-date discussion of the site (*Il y a 50 ans ... la découverte d'Ai Khanoum*).

Gunvor Lindström is an archaeologist and researcher at the Eurasia Department of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin. In her early career she specialized on the material culture of Hellenistic Mesopotamia, an interest that led her to the Hellenistic Far East, first, to research the Oxus Temple (from 2003 on) and then to her own excavations at Torbulok, another Hellenistic sanctuary in today's Tajikistan (2013–2019). In 2009, she curated the exhibition 'Alexander the Great and the Opening of the World' which had a special focus on Hellenistic and Kushan Bactria and in 2017 she organized the 2nd meeting of the Hellenistic Central Asia Research

Network as the International Conference ‘Ritual Matters: Archaeology and Religion in Hellenistic Central Asia’ in Berlin.

Bertille Lyonnet is Emeritus Research Director at CNRS/Collège de France. She is a specialist in the pottery of Central Asia, including that of the Hellenistic period. She has worked at Ai Khanoum and Afrasiab (ancient Samarkand), and has published many articles and book chapters on that subject. She has refined the chronology at both sites and worked towards a better comprehension of the Greek presence in and Hellenistic influence over Central Asia.

Rachel Mairs is Professor of Classics and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Reading. She has previously held positions at New York University, the University of Oxford and Brown University. Her publications include *The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language and Identity in Greek Central Asia* (2014), *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters* (with Maya Muratov, 2015) and *From Khartoum to Jerusalem: The Dragoman Solomon Negima and his Clients* (2016). In 2016 she founded the Hellenistic Central Asia Research Network.

Laurianne Martinez-Sève is Professor of Greek History at the University of Lille. She is a specialist in the history of the Seleukid Kingdom and the Hellenistic East and works more specifically on Iran and Central Asia. Her research focuses on two of the main cities in the eastern part of the Seleukid Kingdom, Susa and Ai Khanoum. She published in 2002 a study of the Hellenistic terracotta figurines from Susa, and several of her publications deal with the history and material culture of this city. She is also involved in the publication program of the excavations carried out at Ai Khanoum by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan and has pursued extensive research on the history and manifestations of Greek domination in Bactria and Sogdiana.

Lauren Morris is a postdoctoral researcher at the ERC-funded BaSaR Project (‘Beyond the Silk Road’) at Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, where she investigates the economic history of Central Asia within the broader perspective of Afro-Eurasia between 300 BCE – 300 CE. She wrote her doctoral dissertation on the Begram hoard at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, which was defended in 2017. She is currently interested in the archaeology, history and numismatics of Central Asia’s Hellenistic and Kushan periods, cross-cultural interaction, the use of legacy archaeological data and the intellectual history of knowledge production about ancient Central Asia.

Lukas Nickel is Professor of Asian Art History at the University of Vienna, Austria. He studied Sinology, oriental archaeology and East Asian art history in Berlin, Halle and finally Heidelberg where he wrote his PhD on Han funerary archaeology. He has worked as curator of Chinese art at the Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne and as lecturer in Chinese art and archaeology at Zurich University. Beginning in 2002, Lukas Nickel organized a joint Swiss-Chinese excavation of a Buddhist temple site in Shandong province. In 2004 he received an appointment jointly by the Institute of Archaeology, UCL and SOAS, to teach on the arts and archaeology of early and medieval China and the Silk Road. He is currently professor in the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna.

Luca M. Olivieri is Associate Professor at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice and director of the ISMEO (Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan). His principal interests include excavation, survey and heritage management methodologies. In 2017 he was awarded with the Sitara-i-Imtiaz of Pakistan for his three decades of archaeological work in Swat. He has been director of the ACT-Field School Project in Swat from 2011 to 2016, which, amongst other important achievements in the field of training, archaeology and restoration, managed to rebuild the Swat Museum, as well as to restore the colossal Jahanabad Buddha, both damaged during the insurgency. He has worked in Swat since 1987, mainly focusing on the still on-going excavation project at the urban site of Bir-kot-ghwandai (Barikot), the ancient Bazira of Alexander the Great, on rock-art field-research, and on the Archaeological Map of the Swat Valley project.

Cameron A. Petrie is Reader in South Asian and Iranian Archaeology at the University of Cambridge and conducts research on the archaeology of India, Pakistan and Iran. He has been based in the Department of Archaeology in Cambridge since 2005, when he was appointed the Research Council's UK Fellow in South Asian and Iranian Archaeology and was appointed as a lecturer in 2010 and senior lecturer in 2014. Prior to that, he was appointed as the Katherine and Leonard Woolley Junior Research Fellow at Somerville College Oxford (2003–2006), after finishing his PhD at the University of Sydney (1998–2002).

Gabriele Puschnigg is based at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and completed her PhD on Sasanian pottery from Merv. She has been involved in Central Asian archaeology since 1995 on both the International Merv Project and the Ancient Merv Project. More recently she worked with a French-Uzbek team in the Bukhara Oasis. She is currently based at the Institute of Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences, and is engaged in a joint Austrian-Iranian project in the central Zagros Mountains, Iran.

Claude Rapin is an archaeologist, research director at the CNRS (UMR8546, ENS, Paris) and privat-docent for archaeology at the University of Lausanne. His field research focuses on Central Asia from the Iron Age to Late Antiquity. After having worked in various excavations in Switzerland, England (York) and Romania (Histria), he has concentrated his activities in Afghanistan (Ai Khanoum) and since 1989 in Uzbekistan as a member of the French-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in Sogdiana at the sites of Samarkand-Afrasiab, Koktepe, Iron Gates near Derbent, Kindikli-tepe, Yangi-rabat and Sangir-tepe.

Ladislav Stančo is Associate Professor at the Institute of Classical Archaeology, Charles University, Prague. He has worked on various excavations in Europe, Syria and Uzbekistan and travelled throughout Central Asia and Pakistan. Since 2002, he has led an international archaeological research team in southern Uzbekistan: the excavations of Jandavlattepa, Burgut Kurgan and Iskandar Tepa, as well as the extensive survey of the surrounding region. He lectures on Hellenistic art, archaeology of the Graeco-Roman Near East and Central Asia, which is also the focus of his research efforts. Stančo is author or co-author/editor of several books including *Greek Gods in the East: Hellenistic Iconographic Schemes in Central Asia*,

Afghanistan: Rescued treasures of Buddhism and Sherabad Oasis: Tracing Historical Landscape in Southern Uzbekistan.

Sören Stark is Associate Professor at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, USA. He received his PhD at the University Halle-Wittenberg and teaches Central Asian archaeology and art history at New York University's Institute for the Study of the Ancient World. He is currently co-directing an archaeological field project in Bukhara (Uzbekistan), investigating agro-pastoral groups in Western Sogdiana during the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic period.

Rolf Strootman is Associate Professor of History at the University of Utrecht. His research focuses on imperialism and cultural encounters in the Near East, Iran and Central Asia during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. His most recent publications include *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires* (2014), *Persianism in Antiquity* (2017) and *Maritime Empires in World History* (2019).

Xin Wu received her PhD in Ancient Near Eastern art and archaeology from the University of Pennsylvania. She has held fellowships at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World in New York University and the Albright Institute for Archaeological Research in Israel. She currently teaches and conducts research in the Department of History at Fudan University in Shanghai. Trained in Chinese archaeology, she has developed a broad interest in issues of cultural interaction across the extensive geographic area between China and the eastern Mediterranean world, especially the social and political relations between the Persians, Central Asians and the steppe nomads during the Achaemenid Persian period.

Juping Yang is Professor of Ancient History and Director of the Centre for Research of Ancient Civilizations on the Silk Road at Nankai University. He has held Visiting Fellowships at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington D.C. and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Berlin. He has published widely on both Chinese and Graeco-Roman sources on connections across ancient Eurasia.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION



Rachel Mairs

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

William Woodthorpe Tarn opened *The Greeks in Bactria and India* with the words: “I have dreamt of this book for forty years; it is fortunate for me that I had no opportunity of taking it up earlier” (Tarn 1951 [1938], xiii). I suspect, although I have not asked them all, that this sentiment – with the necessary chronological modifications – would strike a chord with most of the contributors to the present volume. The Hellenistic kingdoms of Central and South Asia have not lacked for interested commentators over the past three hundred years. What have been lacking are appropriate moments to attempt an overview of the topic.

When W. W. Tarn and A. K. Narain, the two most important mid-twentieth-century historians of Hellenistic Central Asia, wrote their works, in 1938 and 1957 respectively, hardly anything was known of the archaeological record of the region. Since that time, the pace of archaeological discovery has moved so quickly that it has been impossible for any single scholar to keep up with it. The late Paul Bernard, with his immense and erudite scholarly output, would probably have been the one best equipped to publish a comprehensive survey. Archaeologists have also had more important tasks than writing syntheses of the material. First, the task of excavation itself, which at major sites such as Ai Khanoum or Termez was arduous and time-consuming, and left little time for the excavators to publish the material they had found each season, never mind write anything lengthy for a wider academic audience. Second, of course, the political instability and war which have hampered archaeological work across the region, especially Afghanistan. Both established excavation projects and those which had yet to live up to their immense promise (such as Kandahar) were halted in the late 1970s. There has been an archaeological renaissance since the late 1990s, but we are still living with the legacy of frustrated projects, and the immense, irreparable damage done to cultural heritage and scholarly communities in Afghanistan. An encyclopaedic work on Hellenistic Central Asia in the 1960s–70s would have been immediately outdated; in the 1980s–90s, an elegy for an emerging discipline prematurely curtailed. At the present moment, there is an opportunity to attempt a synthesis which is both wide-ranging and hopeful for the future.

The purpose of this book is to present an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of all the available evidence on the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms, analysed

by experts working at the cutting edge of their respective fields. Although, like any book, it will date as new evidence comes to light and old evidence is subject to new interpretations, this is an appropriate moment to take stock of the past hundred years of archaeological research in Central Asia, and the many centuries of historical, philological and numismatic research which precede this. This book is designed to be used both as a starting point for students and colleagues coming new to the field of Central Asian antiquity, and as a work of reference for those already established in the field. One of the most serious challenges for those of us who teach the history and archaeology of Central Asia at university level has been the lack of an accessible but scholarly introductory work for students, which assumes no prior training in disciplines such as Classical philology, archaeology or numismatics.

This book furthermore brings together scholars who typically publish in a range of languages. For someone undertaking advanced research in the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms, and the archaeology of Central Asia more widely, French and Russian remain the essential scholarly languages. A general work in English has, however, long been a desideratum in the field, particularly given the increasing number of universities worldwide which teach in English. In the future, it is to be hoped that there will be more translations of archaeological and historical works between languages of Europe and those of Central and South Asia.

Collaboration has been central to this book's genesis and production. Archaeology, in particular, is by its very nature a collaborative enterprise. Behind every site report by a small group of authors lies the physical and intellectual labour of a large, multinational team, including not just academics with PhDs and university posts, but workers who bring their own expertise and knowledge of both the archaeological record and local building materials and modes of subsistence. Philology and numismatics, too, are more collaborative than some may imagine. Reading the legends on a bilingual coin of an Indo-Greek king requires training in multiple philological traditions. Most of the contributors to the present volume have presented at an ongoing series of international conferences in the United Kingdom, Germany and the Czech Republic under the aegis of the Hellenistic Central Asia Research Network (www.bactria.org). As this book was put together, contributors, especially within the individual thematic sections, were encouraged to share their chapters in progress with one another.

I have deliberately exercised a light editorial hand in matters of disagreement among authors. There are few certainties in Central Asian studies, and one of the great pleasures of working in the field is its atmosphere of robust international debate. Several of the contributors to this volume, for example, have conflicting views on the ancient name of Ai Khanoum and the date of its foundation. The same sources (for example, the *Shiji*) are discussed by several contributors, from different perspectives. The question of the ancient border between Bactria and Sogdiana remains highly contentious, and it is only appropriate that this volume reflects the full range of views. Readers may follow up the references and make up their own minds. Nor have I enforced any particular theoretical agenda. As Section 2, in particular, will make clear, Central Asia lies at the heart of complementary and competing scholarly modes of analysis - Marxism, post-processualism, postcolonialism, globalisation theory - as well as at the heart of Eurasia. Section 6 may serve as a good example of the diversity of theoretical and methodological perspectives which may be brought to bear on material from Hellenistic Central Asia.

HELLENISTIC CENTRAL ASIA: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

This volume is not designed to be read from start to finish. Some readers may wish to start in strictly chronological order, with the Achaemenid material in Section 7. Although chapters cross-reference one another, none assume any knowledge of material in other contributions. One thing this book does not contain is a narrative account of the political history of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms. This is because such a history is impossible in anything other than the very broadest lines, and it would be irresponsible to give the impression that one could write it. Although he casts a long shadow over this book, Alexander the Great is also not treated at length, and deliberately so.

A very basic historical orientation may serve to set the scene for the chapters that follow. In the 330s and 320s BC, Alexander the Great and his army conquered the Achaemenid Persian Empire, including its Central Asian provinces. Areas across modern-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan came under the nominal control of Alexander and his Graeco-Macedonian army. What this meant in practice was often that the same local officials who had administered Central Asia for the Persians continued to do so for the Greek and Macedonians, at least in the short term. With Alexander's conquest came settlement by soldiers from his army and other immigrants from the Mediterranean world. It is impossible to quantify the number of immigrants. Greek and Roman historians writing much later give unreliable figures for the numbers of soldiers left in garrisons to secure the conquered territory. As several of the contributions to this volume discuss, it is possible to see the impact of the Graeco-Macedonian conquest and settlement in constructions at major archaeological sites, and in changing patterns and intensity of the exploitation of the land and its products.

Once Alexander had left Central Asia for India and Mesopotamia, his hold over it weakened: opposition came both from the people of Central Asia itself, and his own troops who had been left to garrison the region. Over the following decades, Alexander's successors, the Seleukid dynasty, attempted periodically to re-establish firmer control over Central Asia, but their priorities were elsewhere. By the mid-third century BC, a state centred on Bactria was effectively independent, under a father and son, both named Diodotos. The 'Graeco-Bactrian' kingdom which survived in the region until the mid-second century BC is not actually named as such in any ancient source: the term is a modern one. Around the turn of the third-second centuries BC, a new Graeco-Bactrian dynasty began a series of successful conquests in what is now southern Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India. The dynasties which ruled over fragmented territories in this region are referred to conventionally in modern scholarship as 'Indo-Greek', and lasted until around the turn of the common era.

Within this basic historical framework, there is much that is controversial: the date of Bactrian independence, the order and relationships of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, and the processes by which their rule came to an end. These questions and more will be explored by the contributors to this book. The most controversial question of all in Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek studies has long been that of the cultural and ethnic affinities of these kingdoms and their inhabitants. This is a theme that will run through much of the present volume.

OUTLINE

Section 1 sets the Greek kingdoms of Central Asia within their wider geopolitical context. This book seeks to move away from the longstanding scholarly cliché by which the states of Central Asia are characterised solely by their ‘in-betweenness’ – culturally, politically, geographically. It is crucial, however, to situate them not just with regard to the neighbouring polities with which they interacted – and from which they in some cases derived their own sense of their political and cultural identity – but also in relation to the considerable bodies of scholarship generated on these regions.

To the west, Central Asia bordered upon and was sometimes part of the Hellenistic world, an expanse of empires in south-eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa founded in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great in the late fourth century BC. Rolf Strootman explores the crucial role played by Central Asia and Central Asians in the formative years of the Seleukid Empire – in Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau – and the role in turn played by the Seleukid Empire in the formative years of the independent Hellenistic kingdoms of Central Asia.

To the south-east, Central Asia also bordered upon and was sometimes part of major empires, notably the Maurya Empire under Chandragupta and his successors. Sushma Jansari argues that “it is not possible to understand Central Asia (broadly conceived) without some reference to Mauryan India”. Her chapter demonstrates the wealth of South Asian textual and archaeological sources not usually taken account of by historians of the Greek and Roman world.

In the north, Sören Stark looks at the interactions of Bactria and Sogdiana with the nomadic world of the steppe and the complex elite networks which existed across large parts of Central Eurasia. Moving to the north-west, Jacopo Bruno’s chapter on Parthia shows how archaeological research on southern Turkmenistan and north-eastern Iran reveals intensive, long-lasting connections with Central Asia and the Iranian plateau. The independent Parthian kingdom, from the mid-third century, had close political connections with both the Seleukid Empire and Bactria.

Lukas Nickel’s chapter on Bactrian relations with China places Central Asia at the centre of a still more expansive Eurasian world system. While evidence from Central Asia itself for connections with China is scarce, Chinese written and archaeological evidence points to intensive interaction, and the political, economic and cultural relevance of Central Asian affairs to China.

Section 2 surveys the intellectual history of studies of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms. This intellectual history is also a political history. Omar Coloru shows how the first Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins became known in Europe, against a backdrop of Western European and Russian colonialism in Central and South Asia. Drawing extensively on unpublished archival documents, Annick Fenet explores the political and intellectual history of the *Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* (DAFA) and its work at Bactra during the twentieth century. Svetlana Gorshenina and Claude Rapin enlarge upon the Russian context, showing how intellectual trends, in particular Marxist theory, shaped approaches in Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. Both chapters show how this colonial historiographical legacy determined twentieth-century approaches, including both the historical works

of Tarn and Narain, and the archaeological work of the DAFA at sites including Ai Khanoum.

The third section provides an in-depth regional overview of the Hellenistic-period archaeology of Central Asia. The authors draw on material from their own recent field projects, as well as decades of preceding research, to offer the most up-to-date and comprehensive available survey of the archaeological evidence from and on the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek states.

Laurianne Martinez-Sève's survey of the material from Afghan Bactria includes the most famous site in the region, Ai Khanoum, but also places it in its regional context, with other important urban and oasis sites. Ladislav Stančo presents the material from the Surkhan-darya region of southern Uzbekistan, archaeologically the most thoroughly known in the region, and from which identification of new Hellenistic sites continues. Gunvor Lindström provides a ground-breaking survey of a much-neglected area in the archaeology of Central Asia, southern Tajikistan, integrating neglected Soviet-era discoveries with analysis of more recently excavated sites. Moving to the north, Bertille Lyonnet discusses how Sogdiana – often considered alongside Bactria – followed a separate political history for much of the Hellenistic period and concludes that “though the overall political domination of the Greeks was of short duration in Sogdiana, the impact of Hellenism in material culture was strong and long-lasting”. Gabriele Puschnigg aims to restore Margiana from its “fringe position in the Hellenistic narrative” and examines the extent to which political change in the Hellenistic period did and did not bring corresponding changes in material culture and lifeways.

Warwick Ball examines the Hellenistic connections of Arachosia, Drangiana and Areia – regions that at this period were “more Indian and Iranian than Greek” – and questions the extent to which historical connections and Greek epigraphy in the region amount to an actual Greek cultural or demographic presence. Luca Maria Olivieri's treatment of the archaeological material from the north-western Indian subcontinent shows that sites previous taken as indicative of a strong ‘Greek’ presence (in particular Taxila) cannot in fact act as evidence for this, whereas exciting new material (including DNA analysis) from sites in the Swat valley gives a valuable new insight into the cultural, population and political impact of Indo-Greek rule.

Section 4 treats the written sources on the Greek kingdoms in Bactria and India. Although few in number, these sources are diverse in their language (e.g. Greek, Latin, Chinese, Pāli) and medium (literary texts transmitted through the manuscript tradition, inscriptions, documents on perishable materials). I survey the Greek epigraphic and documentary evidence from Central Asia itself, all of which has emerged from excavations or the antiquities market since the mid-twentieth century. In the same chapter, I review the Greek and Roman historical sources on Central Asia. Olga Kubica treats references to the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms in Indian literary and epigraphic sources, with a particular focus on the *Milindapañha*, a Buddhist dialogue which features the Indo-Greek king Menander as an interlocutor. Juping Yang surveys the Chinese historical sources which deal with the ‘Western Regions’, including the Hellenistic world, Parthia and the eastern Roman Empire.

In the introduction to Section 5, Simon Glenn outlines the history of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage production, and examines the methodologies used (and abused) by scholars. Sushma Jansari examines the contentious Sophytes coinage

and presents new evidence assigning it to the Sophytes whom Alexander encountered in the Punjab. Jens Jakobsson uses numismatic and historical evidence to re-evaluate the date of Bactria's independence in the mid-third century BC. Olivier Bordeaux uses die studies to explore how conflict shaped the monetary policies of the early Graeco-Bactrian kings. Shailendra Bhandare discusses competing interpretations of political succession and territorial control under the later Indo-Greek kings, and offers new solutions.

Section 6 is broadly concerned with issues of culture and identity in the interpretation of archaeological material from Hellenistic Central and South Asia. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, the scholarly emphasis was firmly on the 'Greekness' or otherwise of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms. The multiplicity of authorial voices in this section shows how far the debate has moved away from a focus on Greek ethnicity, towards nuanced interpretations of material culture which do not privilege any single ethnic group or culture. Guy Lecuyot examines the residential architecture of Ai Khanoum as a hybrid, colonial creation. Milinda Hoo offers a globalisation paradigm for Central Asia aiming to "humanize cultural interaction by foregrounding human experiences of social relations rather than settle at their existence." Suchandra Ghosh explores what stylistically Greek religious imagery means in Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek visual culture, and how Greek gods were used as symbols of royal power. Lauren Morris presents a fresh analysis of the Begram hoard, and proposes that "the appeal of the Roman objects was determined less by their simple foreignness or their association with the Roman Empire and its cultural koine, than local associations with the cultural world of the Greeks, entangled with the social memory of Greek rule in this space."

Section 7 examines the Achaemenid foundations and Kushan legacy of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms. Xin Wu, in her study of the archaeological and written evidence on the region in Achaemenid period, shows how Achaemenid rule in Central Asia set the precedent in many ways for the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom's extensive bureaucracy, urban settlements and use of coinage. Cameron Petrie surveys the literary and archaeological evidence on north-western South Asia in the Achaemenid period and explores how Achaemenid imperial control was manifested in these regions. The Kushan Empire is outside the scope of this volume, and will be the subject of a separate volume in the Routledge Worlds series, edited by Joe Cribb. Cribb has also contributed a chapter to the present volume, in which he examines the survival and evolution of Greek culture in the period after the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms. The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra is also outside the scope of this volume, although I hope that much of the material contained here will be of interest to scholars of Gandhāra.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deepest thanks go to the contributors. It has been a privilege to work with so many colleagues whose work I admire, who have set research agendas in the field over the past decades, and who will continue to do so in those to come. I would also like to thank those colleagues who were unable to contribute themselves, but

nevertheless offered inspiration and advice. At Routledge, special thanks are due to Ella Halstead, Lizzi Risch and Amy Davis-Poynter. Editorial work was undertaken during a trying time, and could not have been completed without the support of my family, and the outstanding staff of the UK National Health Service.

REFERENCES

Narain, A. K. (1957) *The Indo-Greeks*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Tarn, W. W. (1951 [1938]) *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

PART I

INTERACTIONS





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CHAPTER 2

THE SELEUKID EMPIRE

—◆—
Rolf Strootman

INTRODUCTION

In the third century BCE, the Seleukid dynasty claimed imperial hegemony over Alexander the Great's Asian conquests, including Central Asia. The dynasty came to power when the Macedonian general Seleukos Nikator ('the Conqueror'), a former companion of Alexander, occupied Babylonia and Susiana in 311 BCE. With the resources of Babylonia at his disposal, Seleukos expanded his military domination first into the Upper Satrapies and then into Syria and Anatolia. The Seleukid Empire's existence as a world power lasted until the conquest of Iran and Mesopotamia by the Parthians in the 140s and 130s BCE. The dynasty lingered on as a regional power in the Levant until its rather pathetic demise in 64/3 BCE. The former Seleukid sphere of influence was divided among the Parthian, Roman, and Graeco-Bactrian empires.

In the third century BCE, the Seleukid Empire was the largest empire in the world, with internal lines of communication stretching over a distance of about 5,000 km from west to east. But the Seleukid Empire should be understood in the context of an even larger 'Hellenistic' world of connectivity, cultural exchange and inter-imperial competition. This context of early 'globalization' is important for understanding Central Asia in this and subsequent periods. As previously in the Achaemenid Empire, Seleukid imperial institutions and roads connected Central Asia directly to both the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Connectivity was augmented by the mobility of imperial administrators and commanders (mainly Macedonians, Greeks, and Iranians), soldiers, traders, colonists, and captives. That of course had already been the case in Achaemenid times, but connectivity increased enormously in both size and intensity during the Hellenistic period, incorporating also naval networks and systems of exchange in the western Mediterranean and Indian Ocean.

Of crucial importance for the creation of Seleukid imperial domination were the many (re)foundations of cities, as well as the dynasty's active encouragement of polis institutions and Greek-style citizenship in cities old and new. In the Hellenistic period, the *polis* stopped being a specific Greek phenomenon and became a 'globalized' type of urban organization. The language of intercultural communication for urban elites was a form of Greek known as Koinē, comparable to the globalized English of the modern world (Mairs 2016b, 893–894). For local elites, the (partial) socialization to 'Greek' culture generated cultural capital that enabled them to participate

in transregional networks, and to distance themselves from domestic inferiors and rivals (Strootman 2013).¹ For the imperial court, ‘Hellenism’ was a powerful tool to bind local elites to the centre and encourage imperial cohesion (Strootman 2014a, 7–13). Of importance too was the empire-wide use of standardized bronze and silver coinages based on the Attic standard, already in use, though on a much smaller scale, in Achaemenid times. In the Hellenistic period, the entire area west of the Pamirs between approximately 35–40° latitudes—Afro-Eurasia’s ‘lucky latitudes’—became a monetary union of sorts, and from Sicily to India, Greek could be used as a language of intercultural communication.² Aramaic, too, was a *lingua franca* in the Near East, Iran, and Central Asia. All this created a vast, cross-cultural urban koine that became the foundation for the central stretch of what is known today as the Silk Road. The Seleukid Empire was at the heart of this early form of globalization, the link between the Mediterranean and Central Asia.

To appreciate Central Asia’s place in the Seleukid world of the third century BCE, it is important to understand that this empire was not a unitary state.³ Like most pre-modern Eurasian empires, it was essentially a network polity exercising diverse forms of direct and indirect control over an heterogenous conglomerate of polities, including satrapies, city states, tribes, and client kingdoms.⁴ Power relations were continuously (re)negotiated by various imperial and local actors (Ma 2000; Strootman 2014a). Seleukid space was not continuous.⁵ Though the ‘Fertile Crescent’ (Mesopotamia and Syria) constituted some sort of imperial centre, the empire consisted in fact of a number of densely populated, urbanized cores, connected by military roads. The court was mobile and kingship itinerary (Strootman 2011a). Imperial core regions in the third century included western Asia Minor, northwestern Syria, Babylonia, Susiana, and Bactria. Local elites were persuaded to become co-entrepreneurs in the exercise of empire, buttressed by an imperial rhetoric that stressed the heroic charisma of the ruler and his ability to create universal peace, protect cities and populations, and provide gifts for his followers (Strootman 2014a, 111–135, 152–159).⁶ On Seleukid coinages, the deities depicted on the obverse (though ‘Greek’ in style to our eyes) typically were unnamed, and open for various cultural interpretations (Erickson 2011; Wright 2012), in accordance with the Near Eastern practice of intercultural translation of deities, e.g. Apollo-Nabû (Erickson 2011) or Herakles-Bahrām (Gnoli and Jamzadeh 1988; Canepa 2018, 185).⁷

Administration was geared towards accessing the resources needed for the upkeep of the armed forces and the court. Central Asia was important as a provider of war elephants, horses and horsemen, and a variety of natural resources. But the empire was not a static entity. Seleukid imperialism developed from attempts to exert direct influence through military governors (satraps or *stratēgoi*) and local representatives in cities (*epistatai*) to an increasing inclination to access resources indirectly through allied local rulers. Like most premodern empires, the Seleukid Empire was able to ‘breathe’: it did not follow a straightforward trajectory of rise, decline and fall, but instead expanded and contracted several times during its c. 240-year existence.

Despite strong continuities in practice, and notwithstanding the fact that the Seleukid Empire was a far more Iranian empire than is usually assumed,⁸ the Seleukids erased the Achaemenids from history just as they also erased Alexander. At least from the reign of Antiochos I, the dynasty propagated an ideology according to which history had started anew with the advent of Seleukos I in 312/311 BCE, creating the

first continuous year reckoning in world history, the Seleukid Era, which is still used by some religious groups in the present-day Middle East (Strootman 2015; Kosmin 2018). Dynastic representation stressed the dynasty's Macedonian identity, while the culture and language of the court was Greek—despite the presence of many non-Greeks at court and in the army, and despite the dynasty's regular intermarriage, and increasing cooperation, with local dynasties, who were often of Iranian descent.⁹ Hellenistic culture, together with universalistic imperial ideology, served to create unity among culturally heterogeneous elites (Strootman 2014, 7–13), though the second century also saw the development of Iranian-style dynastic identities among the empire's client rulers (Strootman 2017a; Canepa 2018).

Iran and Central Asia were the military backbone of the empire, and especially the early Seleukids therefore attached great importance to the Upper Satrapies. Seleukid imperialism led to competition between local rulers and interest groups, while interimperial rivalries led to a 'globalization' of warfare: the Seleukids brought manpower, horses, and elephants from the east to the west, while their principal enemies, the Ptolemies, exploited African manpower and resources, including Ethiopian elephants, for their wars with the Seleukids. From the mid-third century BCE we see in the peripheries of the empire a growing significance of warrior bands, fighting for the empire as allies or mercenaries, but also raiding against it. Some of them succeeded in controlling territory and the distinction between warlords, monarchs, and governors becomes difficult to draw. Successful military leaders were sometimes recognized by the imperial court as vassal rulers, for instance Arsakes I in northern Iran and Euthydemos I in eastern Iran. The inter-related development of warlordism and vassalization was of profound importance for the historical development of Hellenistic Central Asia especially in the second half of the third century BCE.

THE CONQUESTS OF SELEUKOS I NIKATOR (311–281 BCE)

Seleukos, the founder of the Seleukid Empire, accompanied Alexander on his campaigns in Bactria, Sogdiana, and India from 329 to 235 BCE. During these years, Seleukos became well-acquainted with Central Asian landscapes and their populations. A decade after Alexander's death, Seleukos gained control of Mesopotamia in the long and arduous Babylonian War of 311–308 BCE. Seleukos then went east to take control of the Macedonian empire in Iran and Central Asia. In Appian's words, reflecting Seleukid propaganda,

He conquered Mesopotamia, Armenia, Anatolia, the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Arabs, the Tapyri, the Sogdians, the Arachosians, the Hyrkansians, and all the other peoples that had before been conquered by Alexander, as far as the river Indus.¹⁰

This listing of subject peoples and countries follows the Achaemenid practice of specifying the constituent parts of an empire that in fact claims world dominion ('and all the other people'; see Strootman 2014b, 42–43.).¹¹ Most noticeable about this inventory, is the prominence of the Upper Satrapies: eight out of eleven items, including the Central Asian satrapies Bactria, Sogdiana, and Arachosia.¹²

Very little is known about Seleukos' eastern campaigns (Mehl 1986, 18–19; Holt 1988, 100–101). The sources are clear that Seleukos had to overcome resistance.¹³ But the relative speed by which he succeeded in doing so, as well as the subsequent stability of Seleukid rule for more than half a century, implies that the majority of the Greco-Macedonian and indigenous leaders accepted Seleukos, and could be co-opted in the implementation of the Seleukid imperial project. Although Alexander's Persian satrap of Bactria, Artabazos (Ašavazdah), because of old age had been replaced by the Macedonian Amyntas, local indigenous leaders (called 'hyparchs' in Greek sources) remained in control of their domains in both Bactria and Sogdiana (Holt 1988, 46). The Central Asian troops that fought for Alexander in India had operated in separate 'national' units—Sogdians, Bactrians, Arachosians, and Paropamisadans—and so probably were levied and commanded by local chieftains.¹⁴ Arrian moreover says that Alexander included Iranian nobles in the circle of his *hetairoi* (Companions), most of them from the far eastern satrapies.¹⁵

This was no different under Seleukos, as we know from one, perhaps two cases. Somewhere in Bactria and/or Punjab, a local ruler named Sophytes—perhaps a Greek rendering of the Indian (Prākṛit) name Subhūti—mimicked Seleukos' victory coinage from Susa on drachms struck between c. 305 and 295 (Mendoza 2017, 62; Jansari this volume).¹⁶ He may have been accepted as king by Seleukos. Another local ruler, Vakhšūvar (an Iranian name), issued remarkable gold staters with the bust of a man wearing a satrap's *kyrbasia* and the name *Vhšvr* in Aramaic lettering. It has been speculated that this ruler was in fact Roxane's father, Oxyartes, because that name may be a Greek translation of the Iranian Vakhšūvar, Vakhš being an Iranian name for the Oxus river (Mitchiner 1975, 23–24, following De la Fuye 1910). This coinage however is difficult to date and it is therefore impossible to say *whose* satrap Vakhšūvar was (Holt 1988, 97–98). Because of the use of Aramaic and Persian-style satrapal regalia, the Vakhšūvar coinage usually is interpreted as referring back to the Achaemenid Empire; but it could as well be said that it prefigures the vassal coinage of the Arsakid and Fratarakā rulers of Seleukid Parthia and Persis (Martinez-Sève 2014). Aramaic after all did not disappear with the dissolution of the Achaemenid Empire but persisted as a *lingua franca* of the Hellenistic world; in Bactria, so-called 'imperial' Aramaic may have persisted even as an official administrative language (Mairs 2016a). Meanwhile, the fate of Stasanor of Soloi, satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana since the settlement of Triparadeisos (321/320 BCE), is unknown;¹⁷ if he was still alive and in charge of his satrapy, he may have been displaced or killed, but he may also have sided with Seleukos and retained his position.

In India by contrast a major interimperial war broke out in 305 or 304 BCE as Chandragupta, who had united the various kingdoms of northern India, challenged Seleukid expansion beyond the Hindu Kush.¹⁸ The war ended in 304 or 303 BCE with a peace treaty. Seleukos ceded eastern Arachosia, Paropamisadai, Gedrosia, Gandhāra, and the Indus region in return for several hundred war elephants and the formal acknowledgment of his suzerainty.¹⁹ The arrangement was buttressed by a dynastic marriage, and it is most likely that a daughter or sister of Seleukos married Chandragupta (Seibert 1967, 47). Seleukos thus accepted the *de facto* power of Chandragupta by making an alliance that turned him into a *de iure* vassal (Mehl 1986, 180–181). How Chandragupta presented the arrangement to *his* followers is of course a wholly different matter. An important side effect of the arrangement was

the arrival at the Mauryan court of a Seleukid embassy led by Megasthenes, whose *Indikē* (of which a substantial number of fragments has survived) became an influential source of information on India for Mediterranean historians and ethnographers.²⁰

There was a high degree of connectedness between Mauryan and Seleukid Central Asia. This is evident from regular diplomatic and economic exchanges between the Seleukids and Mauryas for the next century (Wiesehöfer 1998), including the ongoing obtainment by the satrap of Bactria of war elephants in the reign of Chandragupta's successor, Bindusāra. In its self-presentation, the Seleukid dynasty continued to treat 'India' as a region it controlled (Megasthenes' *Indikē* played an important part in the construction of these claims; see Kosmin 2013; cf. Rollinger 2016).²¹ To be sure, after the breakdown of Mauryan power a century later, Antiochos III was able to temporarily restore Seleukid hegemony in Gandhāra.²²

Seleukos took the title of king (*basileus*) in 305 BCE, but antedated the beginning of his reign to the Babylonian year 312/11 BCE (which later became the first year of the Seleukid Era). The military forces that Seleukos could now summon from Iran and Central Asia enabled him to gain the upper hand over his enemies in the west. In alliance with Lysimachos, Seleukos first was victorious at Ipsos (301 BCE) against his principal rival, Antigonos Monophthalmos, who was killed in battle. The ancient sources stress the role of Seleukos' Indian elephants in achieving this victory,²³ but it is clear that it was above all the huge number of horsemen brought from Iran and Central Asia that carried the day (Olbrycht 2005, 232–233). According to Appian, Seleukos had now become the master of the whole of Asia 'from Phrygia to India'.²⁴ After a twenty-year interlude without any big wars, Seleukos turned against his erstwhile ally, Lysimachos, and defeated him in the Battle of Koroupedion (281 BCE). Like Antigonos, Lysimachos died during the fighting. This last victory gave Seleukos control over western Asia Minor and a claim to Thrace and Macedonia, but he was assassinated the same year. He was succeeded by his son Antiochos I, who had been co-ruler since c. 294 BCE and would reign as sole king until 261 BCE.

APAMA, DEMODAMAS, AND ANTIOCHOS

At the Susa Wedding in 324 BCE, Seleukos had married the Iranian princess, Apama.²⁵ She was the daughter of Spitamenes, the leading nobleman in Central Asia after the death of Bessos, and Alexander the Great's most formidable adversary. Apama fell into the hands of the Macedonians when her father was betrayed and killed in the Winter of 328/7 BCE.²⁶

Seleukos' marriage with Apama is crucial because she is the link between the early Seleukid dynasty and the Iranian nobility, especially in Central Asia (Müller 2013, 206–209).²⁷ W. W. Tarn even argued that she belonged to the Achaemenid royal house, so that the Seleukids from Antiochos I could boast descent from the Achaemenids (Tarn 1929). Modern scholars commonly reject this, but recently G. Ramsey has put forward new arguments in support of this view (Ramsey 2016, 88–89). On the other hand, the Seleukids never referred to the Achaemenids in their self-presentation.²⁸ It is unknown if Spitamenes was a Bactrian or Sogdian, as is often assumed. Like his predecessor, Bessos, he may originally have been a Persian from western Iran.²⁹ But the little that is known about Apama's later career indicates that she played a leading role in establishing Seleukid hegemony in Central Asia after the

conquest.³⁰ She fulfilled this role in cooperation with the *stratēgos* Demodamas of Miletos, and perhaps her son, the later king Antiochos I Soter (281–261 BCE), who was co-ruler from 294 BCE as well as viceroy of the Upper Satrapies.³¹ Apama was the second Hellenistic queen to be given the innovative title of *basilissa* ('queen'),³² and as an indication of her authority she bore the honorific title of 'Sister' of Seleukos.³³ She was a central figure in the creation of a dynastic image (Engels and Erickson 2016), especially in the west (Widmer 2015; Plischke 2016).³⁴ At least four cities (re)founded by Seleukos or Antiochos were named after her, three of them in the west and one in the Upper Satrapies.³⁵ The fact that 'Apama' reoccurs three times as a dynastic name in Seleukid history also attests to the importance of the Seleukids' Iranian affiliation.³⁶

Seleukos' and Apama's eldest son, Antiochos, is usually credited with consolidating Seleukid rule in the eastern 'terra multiplex' (Curt. 7.4.26), comprising the provinces Parthia, Margiana, Aria, Bactria, and Sogdiana (Plischke 2014, 195–201). But a process of consolidation must have already been in progress during the ten years between the conquest of the region and Antiochos' arrival there in c. 194/3 BCE. Entrusted with this task was perhaps Demodamas of Miletos, a military entrepreneur from western Asia Minor and a *philos* of Seleukos.³⁷ Demodamas participated in Seleukos' eastern campaigns, as is attested by a Milesian inscription from 299/8 BCE.³⁸ Demodamas held an independent command, perhaps as satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana, during the co-regency of Seleukos and Antiochos (294–281),³⁹ and so may have been in charge of Seleukid forces in the region during the intermediate period as well.

Demodamas undertook a military expedition across the river Jaxartes (Syr Darya) sometime after 294 BCE.⁴⁰ He founded a sanctuary for Apollo there, symbolically demarcating the edge of civilization and empire in old Near Eastern fashion (Strootman 2014b, 49; cf. Rollinger 2016; Strootman 2019, 138). His 'memoirs', which have not survived,⁴¹ were the principal source for Strabo's and Pliny's accounts for Antiochos I's city foundations in Central Asia (Wolski 1984, 13–14; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 83). P. Kosmin rightly argued that Demodamas in his writings created an image of an imperial boundary where the civilized world ended in a sea of barbarism, thereby presenting the Seleukid king as a defender of civilization (Kosmin 2014, 64–65). As F. Holt points out, the Seleukid steppe frontier to the east of Sogdiana in fact was a cultural and economic meeting place rather than a barrier (Holt 1988, 23), as was, it may be added, the Seleukid-Mauryan border.

Antiochos was seconded also by Patrokles, another former general of Seleukos.⁴² This Patrokles had famously explored the Caspian Sea with a fleet sometime during the co-regency of Seleukos and Antiochos. He wrote a *Periplous* of that voyage, which is now also lost (*FGrH* 712; cf. Kosmin 2014, 67–74). Like Megasthenes' *Indikē*, this work had an imperial undercurrent, since what later authors mostly remembered from it, was the claim that the Caspian was an inlet of the Ocean;⁴³ Patrokles thereby asserted that also in the north Seleukid space stretched to the edges of the earth—as it also did in the east, where the world ended in steppe and mountains, and in the south, where Seleukid space was again delineated by the Ocean (Strootman 2014b, 49; 2019, 138).

Antiochos the son of Seleukos had received the title of *basileus* in 294 BCE, during his father's lifetime, when he also married Stratonike, the daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes and formerly Seleukos' wife.⁴⁴ At the same time or shortly later he took

charge of the consolidation of the Upper Satrapies.⁴⁵ The Upper Satrapies comprised the provinces in the Iranian highlands, including Central Asia. The term first turns up in the context of the reorganization of the Macedonian empire at Triparadeisos (Summer 320 BCE),⁴⁶ and then in relation to Antiochos' and Stratonike's rule in the east.⁴⁷ The last attestation of a Seleukid 'viceroy' of the Upper Satrapies is in an inscription from Bīsotūn dated to Panemos 163 SE, that is, May/June 148 BCE (Robert 1949); by that time, the Upper Satrapies were controlled from Media instead of Baktria (Capdetrey 2007, 366).⁴⁸ The focus of Antiochos' activities however was Central Asia rather than western Iran.⁴⁹

THE MAKING OF SELEUKID CENTRAL ASIA (294–261 BCE)

The long presence of Antiochos in Central Asia shows that the region held a place of central importance in the early Seleukids' imperial vision. It was a core region of the empire (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 72–113), not a peripheral frontier zone to be defended against the barbarian hordes that allegedly threatened it (though imperial ideology could of course claim as much, as we have seen).

Seleukid interest in the region was military above all. Central Asia had been a pivotal source of manpower for the Achaemenids.⁵⁰ According to Arrian, the Central Asian satrapies sent a staggering 20,000 horsemen to fight for the Persian king at the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 BCE.⁵¹ Alexander must have understood the military potential of Central Asia well. When he departed from Baktria in 327 BCE, he left behind an army of 10,000 infantry and 3,500 cavalry—about a third of the military force that had entered Central Asia two years earlier.⁵² Rather than a symptom of the precarious state of pacification, this is indicative of the geopolitical importance that Central Asia had for Alexander. Alexander also recruited troops there. In the Summer of 326 BCE he deployed about 3,500 Central Asian horsemen against Poros at the Hydaspes (Jhelum).⁵³ Their number may be small in comparison to those who fought for the Achaemenids and later the Seleukids, but upon leaving Baktria, Alexander had ordered that in the eastern satrapies 30,000 young men should be trained as phalanx infantry (the much-debated 'Oriental' *epigonoi*).⁵⁴ Central Asia remained a source of manpower, especially cavalry, during the wars of the Diadochs. At the Battle of Gabiene (Winter 317/6 BCE), the satraps of Central Asia supporting Eumenes fielded 2,500 horsemen—a relatively high proportion of their total force of 6,500—and more than a hundred Indian war elephants (Diod. 19.14.5–8, 28.1–4). Their enemy, Peithon, who fought for Antigonos, had recruited almost 8,000 cavalry in various regions in Iran, including mounted archers and heavy 'lancers'—perhaps the precursors of the more famous Seleukid *kataphraktoi*—and about 120 elephants (Diod. 19.29.1–7).

For the Seleukid Empire, being a military organization, the region was crucial as a source of manpower, just as it had previously been for Alexander and before him the Achaemenids. Constant competition with rival empires in the west—first those of Antigonos and Lysimachos, and then for a century or so the Ptolemaic Empire—compelled Seleukid rulers to regularly transfer military resources on a massive scale from the east to Asia Minor and the Levant. Having marched directly from Baktria to Phrygia, Seleukos was able to deploy a huge body of cavalry and hundreds of war elephants against Antigonos at the Battle of Ipsos (301 BCE).⁵⁵ Many of these

eastern horsemen were mounted archers, who harassed Antigonos' infantry with the typical Central Asian tactic known as the 'Parthian shot' (Olbrycht 2005, 232–233). About a century later, Antiochos III would combine cataphracts and mounted archers against the Romans in the Battle of Magnesia (see below).⁵⁶ Throughout the third century and probably well into the second BCE, the Seleukids transferred war elephants and their personnel from India, via Bactria, to the Levant.⁵⁷ Central Asia thus became fully integrated in the globalization of warfare that characterized the Hellenistic period.

Seleukid imperialism had a profound influence on the development of Central Asia, and the creation of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek world. As Holt formulated it rather strongly, 'everything achieved in Bactria by the Greeks owed its origin first to the wandering spirit of Alexander but foremost to the steadfast work of the early Seleucids. ... Seleucus I and his son Antiochos I, were far more interested in the East than Tarn and others believed' (Holt 1999, 26). A major effect of the activities of Seleukos I and Antiochos I, was the monetization of Central Asia (Holt 1999, 29–36; Bopearachchi 2005a). There is no proof that Alexander set up mints anywhere in the region, and darics were still struck in Bactria under Alexander and his immediate successors (Bopearachchi 2015, 44–46). A Seleukid imperial mint was located in the satrapal capital Bactra (Newell 1978, 228–230; Bopearachchi 1999), probably in Marakanda (Naymark 2014), and perhaps in Ai Khanoum (Kritt 1996, elaborating a suggestion by Houghton and Moore 1984). The last Seleukid king in whose name coins were struck in Bactra was Antiochos II (261–246 BCE) (Bopearachchi 1994). But the coins of local rulers continued to use the imperial (Attic) standard. This furthered the region's incorporation in the economy of the empire and the wider Hellenistic World. Seleukid coins postdating Antiochos II—from the mints of Susa, Ekbatana, and Seleukeia on the Tigris—continued to be used in Bactria (Bopearachchi 2015, 55). Under Antiochos III and IV the Seleukid court moreover promoted trade connections through the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean; that too must have been beneficial to the economy of Central Asia.

Antiochos I in Central Asia is best remembered for his city foundations, generally on pre-existing settlements. These include Antioch in Margiana (Merv), Antioch on the Jaxartes, and Ai Khanoum.⁵⁸ His principal concern was the construction of fortifications and military roads—not to 'defend' the region from external threats but to establish control of it. It is unknown whether Antiochos' building activities involved a substantial influx of colonists from the Aegean, as is often assumed (Widemann 2009; Plischke 2014, 200–201). Though imperial officials often had an Aegean background (Strootman 2014, 124–135), the little information we have on 'Greek' settlers in Bactria belongs to the context of the Achaemenids and Alexander the Great, not the Seleukid Empire.⁵⁹ They may have been there, of course, but their presence is difficult to prove. The two principal markers of ethnic identity in the ancient world are language and religion. But the first known use of Greek on inscriptions and for administrative purposes dates to the late third century BCE (Mairs 2016a; Wallace 2016), and is found only in Bactria (Mairs 2013, 280–283), not elsewhere in Central Asia. Greek was eclipsed by Bactrian in the first century BCE, but it persisted for some time on Kushan coins and perhaps as a written language for administrative purposes (Burstein 2010, 188). Also, the conspicuous absence of archaeological evidence for the worship of Greek deities in Hellenistic Central Asia indicates that Antiochos'

foundations likely were populated primarily by settlers from the region itself. The little evidence there is, suggests that in Central Asia the Seleukids patronized indigenous sanctuaries and cults just as they also did elsewhere in the empire (Naymark 2014, 3).

In the non-religious (if such a thing exists in antiquity), civic sphere, however, Greek influence is discernible. Various institutions and architectural forms of the polis were introduced in the east to create a koine of interconnected cities that extended from Sicily to Bactria. The first evidence for an active involvement of the empire in promoting Greek-style citizenship dates to the early second century BCE, but before that time, cities adopted polis institutions from each other through a process of horizontal peer polity interaction (Ma 2003). Ai Khanoum, a foundation of Antiochos I, is a case in point. Greek architectural style is employed for civic structures—the theatre and gymnasium, both typical for cities with a polis identity—but not for religious architecture, which is most of all local in style (Hoo 2018).

SELEUKID SITES IN CENTRAL ASIA

The early third century BCE was a period of extensive building activity in the whole of Central Asia. In Afghanistan alone, nearly forty archaeological sites show traces of construction that can be dated to the time of Seleukid rule (Holt 1999, 26). Fortifications were (re)built at strategic locations, often at crossroads of important routes or near mountain passes.

Bactria obviously was the heart of Seleukid Central Asia, and Bactra was its regional ‘capital’ and principal mint (Mairs 2011, 29–30). Other Seleukid settlements in Bactria include Termez and Kampyr Tepa, perhaps to be identified with Antioch Tharmata (Tarn 1940 89–94; Grenet and Rapin 2001, 83–84; cf. Mairs 2011, 30–31; Cohen 2013, 301–305). Superseding a smaller settlement from Achaemenid times, Ai Khanoum became a military stronghold with additional administrative functions (Lyonnet 2012, 157–159; Martínez-Sève 2015, 25–26), guarding the northeastern route to India as well as controlling access to the lapis lazuli mines in the Badakhshan mountains (Bernard and Francfort 1978, 9; Rapin 1992, 50).

New archaeological evidence has shown that the Seleukids exerted strong control also in Sogdiana (Stark 2016; cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 105–107). The provincial capital Marakanda (Samarkand) was fortified (Chichkina 1986; Rapin and Isamiddinov 1994),⁶⁰ and perhaps had a royal mint (Naymark 2014). A large granary from the early Hellenistic period confirms the presence of a Seleukid garrison (Baratin and Martínez-Sève 2013; cf. Bernard 1996; Lerner 2010). Further to the west, along the lower Zarafshan, fortifications were constructed at Bukhara, Paikand, Khodja-Buston, Burkut Tepa, and Kuzimon Tepa (Stark 2016, 136). These fortresses controlled the Bukhara oasis, an important crossroads of routes leading from Sogdiana to Margiana, Chorasmia and Bactria. The mountain passes between Bactria and Sogdiana were also guarded, for instance by the well-excavated fortress of Kurganzol at Kampyr Tepe—a foundation associated with the Sogdian War of Alexander or the upheavals after his death, and still in use in Seleukid times (Sverchkov 2008; Lindström 2009, 260–265; Martínez Ferreras et al. 2016 and Martínez Ferreras et al. 2018). The recently excavated fortress at Uzundara also may have been part of a Seleukid project to protect the passes between Bactria and Sogdiana (Dvurechenskaya 2015).

Following Demodamas of Miletos, Pliny and Strabo write that in the north *Alexandria Eschate* ('the Furthest') on the Jaxartes, present-day Khujand, was refounded as Antioch-in-Scythia,⁶¹ which can be confirmed by Hellenistic pottery found at the site (Bernard 1985, 167). Traditionally romanticized as an isolated frontier town in a sea of hostile nomads, the Seleukid site more likely was an attempt to gain access to the Ferghana Valley and its 'Heavenly Horses', in addition to it being a centre of 'Silk Road' trade.

The best known, and perhaps most strategic, fortified crossroads was the oasis of Merv in the Murghab delta in present-day Turkmenistan where Antiochos refounded *Alexandria* in Margiana as Antioch in Margiana (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 82–84; Cohen 2013, 145–250; Puschnigg this volume).⁶² The fertile oasis was a hub of long-distance trade. It connected Iran with Sogdiana via a route through the Karakum and Kyzylkum deserts (the 'King's Road' to Samarkand of medieval times). A southern route along the Murghab river led to another Antioch, known as Upper Merv or Merv al-Rūd in early Islamic times, and from there to Bactria; another southern route led to Alexandria in Areia (Herāt) (Barthold 1984, 35). More surprisingly, perhaps, it has been shown that also the northern route to Chorasmia was controlled by the Seleukids with strongholds, including a heavily fortified outpost at Bash Tepa (Stark 2016, 138).

Antioch in Margiana (Gyaur-Kala) in the Merv oasis, is the best known of Antiochos' settlements. An oasis settlement surrounded by desert but watered by the Murghab river (ancient Margos), the Merv oasis in antiquity was famous for its vineyards.⁶³ Antioch in Margiana was large and well-fortified (Zavyalov 2007). The oasis was surrounded by long walls—perhaps the first recorded instance of the typical Central Asian walled oasis that persisted until the tenth century CE (Frye 1996, 227).⁶⁴

Located near the Aral Sea, the Chorasmia oasis was never brought under direct Macedonian control, although a Chorasmian king, Phrataphernes, had formally submitted to Alexander to gain the status of autonomous vassal (Curt. 8.1.8; Arr., *Anab.* 4.15.4). But since premodern empires habitually claimed universal dominion, and had no formal 'state' borders, the conventional view of Chorasmia as being outside of the Hellenistic world is in need of reconsideration. Exciting new insights into Chorasmia's central place in a web of connections between Iran, Central Asia, and the steppe societies of Inner Asia during the Hellenistic period have recently become available for historians, thanks to the work of Michele Minardi, Fiona Kidd, Vadim Yagodin, and others (see e.g. Kidd 2011; Betts et al. 2012; Minardi 2015; Minardi and Ivantchik 2018). The Seleukids, as we saw above, actively protected these routes, and Chorasmians must have been able to partake in Seleukid networks of exchange and trade. Because of these connections (rather than because of being 'liberated' from Persian rule), the Chorasmian economy and culture flourished from the late fourth through third centuries BCE, causing an upsurge in building activity (Baimatova 2008, 178–204). The expanded connectivity is clear not only from the rich artistic developments, especially in painting, but also from a growing number of imported objects, an increase in cultural borrowings, and the introduction of new types of pottery (Minardi 2015, 87–95). Indeed, Chorasmia may have played a substantial role in the cultural and religious development of Central Asia as a whole, including the first creation of Zoroastrian art in the late Hellenistic period (Grenet 2018).

FROM ANTIOCHOS I TO ANTIOCHOS III (261–222 BCE)

In the course of the third century BCE, Seleukid imperialism developed from attempts to exert direct influence through military governors to an increasing inclination to access resources indirectly through client rulers (Strootman 2010, 153–155; 2011a, 83–85; Engels 2011; 2014). This process of decentralization was in part a response to a series of crises. Beginning with the accession of Antiochos I as sole king in 281 BCE, every new reign began with attempts by local rulers and interest groups to attain more power or autonomy, so that virtually each new ruler was faced with the challenge of reasserting Seleukid hegemony. Most reigns also started with a fresh war with the Ptolemies.

Antiochos I had been succeeded by his son, Antiochos II (261–246 BCE), about whose reign little is known. Under the next king, Seleukos II (246–226/5 BCE), a number of severe conflicts nearly destroyed the empire. A contested succession led to a Ptolemaic intervention, the so-called Laodikean War (246–241 BCE), in which a Ptolemaic army ravaged Babylonia, and several cities on the Levantine and the Anatolian coasts were lost (Erickson 2018). A dynastic war between Seleukos II and his brother, Antiochos Hierax ('the Hawk'), viceroy of Asia Minor, lasted with intervals from c. 240 to 227 BCE. During these upheavals, satraps and local rulers in Iran and Central Asia increased their autonomy. Narrative sources for these events are few and notoriously confused. A consensus has not yet emerged and this is not the place to discuss the various chronologies and interpretations that have been proposed for Bactrian 'independence'. The general trends however are clear.⁶⁵ In Parthia (northern Iran), the satrap Andragoras from c. 247 BCE struck coins with his own name and his own likeness (though without the title of king). He was expelled by the Parni, who entered Parthia from Hyrkania. The Parni, later called 'Parthians' after the province that became their power base, became a migrating nomadic tribe in the later European imagination; however, they more likely were an ethnically mixed warrior band under a charismatic leader, Arsakes (Aršak).⁶⁶ They may have been called in from Central Asia by the Seleukid court to fight Andragoras, or else raided the territory as a result of the chaotic situation caused by Andragoras' revolt, which likely was disputed locally. When the Parni settled in Hyrkania and Parthia, Seleukos II dealt with them by including Arsakes in the Seleukid imperial fabric, acknowledging him as a local ruler in exchange for Arsakes' formal acceptance of Seleukid suzerainty (Strootman 2018).⁶⁷

Sometime earlier, the Seleukid satrap of Bactria, Diodotos I, had begun issuing silver coins in the name of the Seleukid emperor, Antiochos II, but with his own image on the obverse and on the reverse an image of the so-called 'Thundering Zeus', replacing the Seleukid 'Seated Apollo' type; in his later reign, Diodotos struck coins with both his own name and image (Lerner 1999, 89–108).⁶⁸ It is unlikely however that Diodotos took the title of king (Holt 1999, 103). Central Asia at this time was still nominally part of the Seleukid world empire, and it is now commonly assumed that Diodotos I, like the early Arsakids, was a Seleukid vassal ruler (Dumke 2012; Chrubasik 2016, 43–44; Wenghofer 2018). His successor, Diodotos II, did present himself as king from an uncertain date. The Diodotid dynasty of Bactria came to an abrupt end in 223 or 222 BCE when Diodotos II was overthrown by a certain Euthydemus,⁶⁹ who may have been a local powerholder in Sogdiana.⁷⁰ The rebellion

of Euthydemos occurred in the context of the accession of Antiochos III—whose legitimacy was disputed—and coincided with a major uprising of Macedonian satraps in western Iran and Mesopotamia, (Lerner 1999, 43; Coloru 2009, 176). It was in other words not an isolated event in a remote province but linked to developments in the wider Seleukid world.

THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHOS III THE GREAT (222/1–187 BCE)

Antiochos III may have been the first Seleukid emperor to be present in Central Asia since the departure of Antiochos I in 281 BCE, but this is uncertain because of the lack of narrative sources for the intermediate period known as the Third Century Gap.⁷¹ His reign generated the earliest consistent narrative of Central Asian history that is still (partly) extant: the account of his eastern campaigns in Books 10 and 11 of Polybios' *Histories*. Because of his celebrated *anabasis* through the Upper Satrapies, followed by a string of victories against the Ptolemies in the west, Antiochos III has been called the *restitutor orbis* of the Seleukid Empire (Cary 1951, 69–73). He was the first Seleukid to assume the title of 'Great King' and the concomitant epithet Megas ('the Great') to express his status as a king on top of a hierarchy of kings. His reign however ended with a humiliating defeat in a war against Rome (191–188 BCE), followed by another severe crisis at his death a year afterward, one that his successors were never able to fully recover from.

Antiochos' reign began with a vicious faction struggle at his court, a massive rebellion of the Macedonian satraps of western Iran ('Molon's revolt', c. 222–220 BCE), a lost war against the Ptolemies (the Fourth Syrian War, 219–217 BCE), and a rebellion of his powerful uncle Achaïos, the viceroy of Asia Minor (216–214 BCE). After putting down these revolts, Antiochos in reaction to them reorganized the power networks that had previously held the empire together but were now tearing it apart. As far as possible, Macedonian grandees were replaced by his own personal clients and by 'indigenous', often Iranian rulers (Strootman 2011a). A recurrent pattern was to first force a rebellious local leader into submission and then reaffirm him as ruler. Successful warfare was essential for this operation. Only war would generate sufficient prestige and booty to bind powerful men to the king's person and subjugate others. In 211 BCE, after a campaign and some new appointments in the Armenian principalities, Antiochos embarked upon his *anabasis* through the Upper Satrapies, which would last until 205/4 BCE. In addition to being a military campaign aimed at acquiring resources and manpower, the *anabasis* was a symbolic tour to ritually demarcate the empire.

Antiochos first vanquished the rebellious Parni leader, Arsakes II, who was reinstalled as the ruler of Parthia and Hyrkania but denied the use of the royal title. In 209 BCE the Seleukid army reached Bactria.⁷² At that time Euthydemos I was in control of Bactria, and Antiochos considered him a rebel. The Bactrian army was defeated at a crossing of the river Arios (Harī Rūd).⁷³ Euthydemos thereupon was blockaded in Bactra for several years.⁷⁴ Antiochos used these years to pacify the region, negotiating deals with local communities and military leaders, and isolate Euthydemos (Coloru 2017, 309–310). Numismatic and archaeological evidence affirms that Antiochos was quite active throughout Bactria and Sogdiana (Kritt 2000; Martinez-Sève 2017, 282–292). New fortifications guarding the Iron Gates between

Bactria and Sogdiana may date to this time (Martinez-Sève 2017, 288–291). At Ai Khanoum building activities were conducted on a scale that indicates the involvement of a monarch (Martinez-Sève 2012). J. D. Lerner has made the case that the new, massive fortifications may be ascribed partly to Antiochos III (Lerner 2004; cf. Lerner 2010), against the conventional view that the builder was Euthydemos. L. Martinez-Sève suggested that Antiochos’ building activities were carried out in cooperation with Euthydemos after the peace of 206 BCE (below), with the aim of strengthening Euthydemos’ kingdom (Martinez-Sève 2017, 288–292; the interesting suggestion that Antiochos left behind troops to support Euthydemos must remain hypothetical)

Because Antiochos failed to take Bactra, an agreement was reached between him and Euthydemos (in 206 BCE): Euthydemos was given the title of *basileus* in exchange for tribute and his acceptance of Seleukid suzerainty.⁷⁵ The agreement also involved the marriage of Euthydemos’ son (and eventually successor), Demetrios, and a daughter of Antiochos. The reconciliation was legitimated by casting Euthydemos in the role of a loyal Seleukid governor, who had put down the rebellion of Diodotos II. Euthydemos was restored to power also on the pretext that he was the best man to ward off the barbarian hordes that allegedly threatened the northeastern frontier.⁷⁶ This of course is a trope, one that likely was propagated, if not invented, by the Seleukid court for the sake of western audiences (Kosmin 2014, 66–67).⁷⁷

The arrangement was mutually beneficial. Euthydemos could legitimately claim the title of king, and this must have given him a decisive advantage over his rivals. Antiochos regained imperial suzerainty, while creating strong bonds of loyalty with Euthydemos’ dynasty through kinship. Euthydemos acknowledged Antiochos’ overlordship by offering him tribute in the form of provisions for his army and war elephants.⁷⁸

Antiochos continued his march to the east. He descended into India, where he reasserted Seleukid suzerainty over some of the territories that Seleukos I had given to Chandragupta, collecting provisions, tribute and additional war elephants.⁷⁹ Like Seleukos, he left behind an ambassador, Androsthenes of Kyzikos, to oversee the transfer of the regular tribute that the Indian king, Sophagasenos (Subhagasena), had agreed to pay.⁸⁰ It seems that in India Antiochos most of all was interested in creating naval links between Central Asia (via the Indus Valley) and Mesopotamia (Lerner 2004; on Central Asia’s continued integration in the Indian Ocean trade networks, see Mairs 2012). A remarkable passage in 1 Maccabees suggests that in 188 BCE ‘India’ (here perhaps a *pars pro toto* for the whole of Central Asia) was still considered a part of Antiochos’ empire during his negotiations with the Romans at Apameia.⁸¹

Antiochos proceeded to recover Arachosia and Drangiana,⁸² and finally marched back to Mesopotamia via Karmania and Persis. When he returned from his *anabasis*, he had accumulated enough prestige to adopt the title of Megas (Μέγας, ‘the Great’),⁸³ and shortly thereafter also the title of βασιλεύς μέγας, ‘Great King’ (Ma 2000, 271–276). Both titles expressed his activities as a kingmaker (Strootman 2019, 140–148). Like his ancestor, Seleukos I, Antiochos brought a large number of horsemen from the east. At the Battle of Magnesia (190 BCE), the king fielded 6,000 cataphracts and 1,200 ‘Dahae’ mounted archers (Liv. 37.40.1–14; cf. Bar-Kochva 1989), in contrast to his field army at Raphia (217 BCE), prior to the *anabasis*, where

no troops from the Upper Satrapies had been present (Polyb. 5.80.3–13). The newly acquired prestige, capital, and manpower enabled Antiochos to destroy the Ptolemaic Empire in the Mediterranean in a string of military and diplomatic successes between 202 and 198 BCE, effectively reducing the Ptolemies to the status of local kings of Egypt and even invading Greece (which caused an unsuccessful war against Rome).

Antiochos III's reorganization of the empire seems to have worked out well for the Seleukids, at least for several decades. Central Asia became more tightly integrated in imperial networks, now also by sea. The establishment of a friendly satellite kingdom in Bactria and Sogdiana may have been more beneficial for the empire than re-establishing direct control. Connections with that kingdom remained intact under his successors. Antiochos IV (145–164 BCE) continued his father's policy of strengthening the Seleukid hold on the Persian Gulf and diverting the Indian Ocean trade to Mesopotamia, and from there to the Mediterranean (rather than taking the longer route through the Red Sea, which was controlled by the Ptolemies and the Nabataeans).⁸⁴ A Seleukid elephant corps is attested in Syria some fifty years after Antiochos' departure from Central Asia, which therefore likely had been replenished via Bactria.⁸⁵ After 162 BCE, internal conflicts, rebellions, and a series of disastrous wars with the Parthians destroyed Seleukid hegemony in the Middle East. But as late as 140/39 BCE, the Seleukid king Demetrios II could still call upon a local ruler or governor in 'Bactria' for military support against the Parthians.⁸⁶

CONCLUSION: THE IMPACT OF EMPIRE

The impact of the Seleukid Empire on Central Asia was twofold. First, the Seleukid organization of Margiana, Bactria, and Sogdiana became the foundation upon which the monarchies of the Diodotids and Euthydemids were built. Second, the integration of Hellenistic Central Asia in the Seleukid Empire—in fluctuating degrees of (in) dependence—meant that these principalities could tap into long-distance imperial networks, that connected the region to the Near East and the Mediterranean.

In the early Hellenistic period Central Asia was a hub in the globalization of warfare caused by the wars of the Diadochs—a conflict that was not resolved as long as there remained rival Macedonian empires in the east Mediterranean theatre that could draw upon the substantial resources of Alexander's and their own conquests. It has even been contended that due to the Seleukids' repeated use of dynastic marriages, Central Asia 'remained effectively Seleukid even until the reign of Eukratides I' (c. 170–145 BCE), if indeed his mother Laodike was Antiochos III's granddaughter (Wenghofer and Houle 2016, 200 and 214–215).⁸⁷

The modern idea that Greek colonists in Bactria soon lost contact with their 'home-land' is contradicted by persisting interactions with the west even after the Seleukid withdrawal from the region. The Kunduz Hoard, deposited on the south bank of the Oxus around 100 BCE, contained in addition to Greco-Bactrian coins a small number of Seleukid tetradrachms postdating Antiochos III (Bivar 1955; Curiel and Fussman 1965). Among the remarkable 'heritage' (or 'pedigree') coinage of Agathokles (c. 190–180), we find coins celebrating ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, 'Alexander son of Philippos' (Holt 1984; cf. Bopearachchi 2017). This reference to Alexander should not be taken for granted. In third-century Central Asia, as in the west, there is no evidence for *imitatio Alexandri* (Von den Hoff 2013). So, when the image of

Alexander turns up there in the early second century BCE, this shows that Central Asian kings in their policies followed developments in the west, where Alexander was introduced as a model of kingship after a 100-year absence. Finally, it is remarkable that it is only in the mid-second century BCE that the inhabitants of Ai Khanoum first felt the need to construct for themselves a Greek migrant identity (Mairs 2015).

The monarchies of the Hellenistic ‘Far East’ were not exotic kingdoms cut off from the rest of the Near East and the Mediterranean. They were fully engaged in a wider Hellenistic world until *at least* the mid-second century BCE. Of course, such connectivity had previously existed in the Achaemenid Empire (Briant 1984, 60–61 and 89–99; Vogelsang 1987; Wu 2017; Henkelman 2018),⁸⁸ so that continuous Persian and Macedonian imperialism directly connected the Mediterranean and Central Asia continuously for half a millennium (c. 550–150 BCE). This brought about a high level of mobility and exchange in both directions. From the Hellenistic period, inter-regional connections also increasingly extended to the east and the south, as is, for example, clear from the Begram Hoard of the first or second century CE (see Morris, this volume), which combines commodities from the Mediterranean, China, and the south of the Indian subcontinent. With the establishment of trade routes and the creation of a koine of interconnected cities, Achaemenid and Seleukid imperialism laid the foundations of what is now known as the Silk Road(s). Although the political unity of western Asia disintegrated after the collapse of the Seleukids, trade connections between Central Asia and the west persisted.

The Seleukid association with Central Asia came to an end after the death of Antiochos IV in 164 BCE, when rebellions and dynastic wars tore apart the core of the empire. After c.150, the emergent Parthians conquered Iran and Mesopotamia, driving a wedge between the Seleukid west and Central Asia (in political terms, that is—not in terms of cultural and economic exchange). After that date the Arsakid dynasty became the principal imperial power that communities in Central Asia had to relate to.

NOTES

- 1 For the concept of ‘cultural capital’ and its ability to create social distinction (and facilitate social mobility), see Bourdieu 1979.
- 2 The term ‘lucky latitudes’ was coined by Morris 2010; for the Hellenistic World as a monetary koine, see Thonemann 2015.
- 3 A note on geographic terminology: ‘Central Asia’ is used as an umbrella term for all lands surrounding the great carousel of roads that today is known as Afghanistan, including eastern Iran and the Punjab; ‘Bactria’ in this chapter denotes specifically the Upper Oxus valley while ‘Sogdiana’ is the area along the Zarafshan river and around Samarkand. See the other chapters in this volume for the evolving archaeological definitions of the scope of these regions.
- 4 For a complete overview of Seleukid client kingdoms and other satellite states, consult Capdetrey 2007, 87–133.
- 5 On the various ways that Seleukid ‘space’ was constructed—dynastic toponyms, ruler portraits on coins, the empire-wide dispersal of emblems such as the elephant or the anchor, etc.—see Kosmin 2014; cf. now also Engels 2017, 157–212.
- 6 On the charisma of Hellenistic kings, see Gehrke 1982/2013; Gropp 1984; Chaniotis 2003.
- 7 On the widespread phenomenon of *Göttergleichungen* in the pre-Hellenistic Near East, see Assmann 2003, 28–37; Bachmann-Medick 2014.

- 8 On the significance of Iranian lands and peoples in the Seleukid imperial project, see Strootman 2011b.
- 9 The *damnatio memoriae* of the Achaemenids of Pārsa may have been prompted by the wish to win over rival Iranian families. For the presence of Iranians at the Seleukid court, see Strootman 2017b, 132–134.
- 10 App., *Syr.* 55. The Tapyri were a people living in the northern Zagros.
- 11 On the stock phrase ‘as far as India/Bactria’ and its universalistic connotations, see Strootman 2010, 149–150.
- 12 Margiana and Aria however are absent from the listing; Arachosia soon came under the rule of Chandragupta Maurya.
- 13 See esp. Or. 3.23.43 and Just. 15.4.11; cf. Diod. 19.29; App., *Syr.*, 54–55. Capdetrey 2007, 39–43, hypothesizes that Central Asian leaders joined Seleukos because he offered protection against the expansionism of Chandragupta; also see Wolski 1960, 113–115, making a similar argument regarding an alleged nomadic threat from the north.
- 14 Arr., *Anab.* 5.11.3.
- 15 Arr., *Anab.* 7.6.3.
- 16 For date and provenance of the Sophytes coinage (SNG ANS 21–33), see Bernard and Guillaume 1980; Bopearachchi 1996. A higher chronology (c. 315–c. 305) has been proposed by Bopearachchi 2005b, and accepted by Holt 1988, 96–97, Coloru 2009, 139–141. A full discussion of all known Sophytes coinage is now offered by Jansari 2018. For the Indian name, see Bernard, Pinault, Rougemont 2004, 261–263.
- 17 Diod. 18.39.6. On the career of Stasanor, see now Mendoza 2017.
- 18 Just. 15.4.12–19.
- 19 Strabo 15.2.9; Just. 15.4.20–21; App., *Syr.* 55; cf. Plut., *Alex.* 62.4. The round number of 500 elephants given by these sources is certainly exaggerated; cf. already Tarn 1940, 84–89. On Seleukos’ war in India, see most extensively Mehl 1986, 156–193, and most recently Wheatley 2014.
- 20 *FGrH* 715. On Megasthenes see Bichler, Brinkhaus, Wiesehöfer 2016; for the *Indikē* as a Seleukid text, Kosmin 2014, 37–53. A much earlier date for Megasthenes’ embassy (319/8 BCE) has been proposed by Bosworth 1996, and endorsed by Wheatley 2014.
- 21 Interestingly, the Ptolemies claimed possession of India, too; see Strootman 2014a, 258–261; cf. *id.* 2010.
- 22 Polyb. 11.39.11–12.
- 23 App., *Syr.* 55; Plut., *Demetr.* 28–29.
- 24 App. *Syr.* 55; cf. Primo 2009b.
- 25 Arr., *Anab.* 7.4.6. Grainger 1992, 12, suggests Apama already was Seleukos’ consort while still in Central Asia.
- 26 On the Sogdian War of 329–327 BCE, see Holt 1988, 52–67; Bosworth 1995, 109–117.
- 27 A good recent account of Apama’s career is Ramsey 2016, 86–93; also see Widmer 2015; Harders 2016, 17–21; Engels and Erickson 2016.
- 28 The only *possible* exception, emphasized by Tarn 1929, is a reference in a letter of Antiochos I to the people of Erythrai (*OGIS* 223, l. 24; cf. 220 l. 20) to the benevolence of his ‘ancestors’ (πρόγονοι) towards the Ionian cities.
- 29 The name Apamā in any case is Persian, and a ‘Lady of the Palace’ *Ap-pa-mu-ū* appears in two texts from Borsippa as a wife of Darius I (Zadok 2002; cf. Brosius 1996, 47–49). A late source, Plut., *Artax.* 27.4, mentions a daughter of Artaxerxes II named Apama.
- 30 *I.Didyma* 480 = *SEG* IV 442 (299/8 BCE); cf. Robert 1984; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 26–27.
- 31 The date of Apama’s death is unknown; she is often thought to have died shortly before Seleukos’ marriage to Stratonike in 299 BCE, or to have ‘divorced’ him and then retired, but such views have been challenged by Tarn 1929, 139; Brosius 1996, 79; Ogden 1999,

- 119–120; and others. In defence of the traditional date, see now Engels and Erickson 2016, 32–33. The once widespread assumption that all Diadochs except Seleukos ‘divorced’ the Iranian wives Alexander had given them, is no longer widely believed (see now, conclusively, Van Oppen 2014). On the creation of the title of *basilissa*, see Carney 1991.
- 32 *I. Didyma* 480.
- 33 Liv. 38.13.5.
- 34 The term ‘pioneering phase’ is from Kosmin 2013, 109.
- 35 Apameia Rhagiane in northern Iran; the other cities are in the west: Apameia on the Orontes, Apameia in Mesene, and Apameia on the Euphrates; cf. Cohen 2013, *ad loc.*
- 36 On the Iranian aspects of the Seleukids, see Canepa 2018, 170–187 and 307–315. For the presence of Iranian nobles at the Seleukid court, see Strootman 2011a; 2014, 134–135. The Seleukid Apamas are daughters of Antiochos I (Paus. 1.7.3; Porph., *FGrH* 32.5; Euseb., *Chron.* 1.40.5 = 1.249 Schoene) and Antiochos II (*BCHP* 11), and a consort of Demetrios II (John of Antioch, *FHG* IV 561).
- 37 On Demodamas’ significance for the creation of the Seleukid Empire, see Nawotka 2019.
- 38 *I. Didyma* 480; Robert 1984.
- 39 Plin., *NH* 6.49. On Demodamas’ activities in the Seleukid northeast, Kosmin 2014, 61–67.
- 40 Plin., *NH* 6.49.
- 41 *FGrH* 428.
- 42 Plin., *NH* 2.74; Memnon *FHG* III, 534 (15); cf. Primo 2009a, 77–78.
- 43 Plin., *NH* 6.58; Strabo 11.7.1–3.
- 44 Plut., *Demetr.* 38. The first reference to Seleukos and Antiochos as joint kings is on a Babylonian text dated to 18 November 294 BCE (BM 109941; Oelsner 1986, 271).
- 45 App., *Syr.* 62; Diod. 21.1.20.
- 46 Diod. 19.14.1.
- 47 Plut., *Demetr.* 38.1. Antiochos’ responsibilities were extended to include all of Asia early in 281 BCE when his father crossed to Europe to claim the throne of Macedonia (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 8).
- 48 It is possible that from the mid-third century BCE there were two Seleukid ‘viceroys’, one for western Iran (attested are Molon in 223/2 BCE; and still Kleomenes in 148 BCE) and one in eastern Iran/Central Asia (Diodotos I after c. 256 BCE; Euthydemos [as *basileus*] from 206 BCE).
- 49 Coinage in the name of Seleukos and Antiochos as joint kings was minted only in Bactria and Aria/Drangiana; see Houghton and Lorber 2002, nos. 233, 235, 283A, 279, 281, and 282 (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ); and nos. 280, 285–290 (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ [ΚΑΙ] ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ).
- 50 On the eastern satrapies of the Achaemenid Empire, see Briant 2002, 743–757.
- 51 Arr., *Anab.* 3.11.3–7.
- 52 Arr., *Anab.* 4.22.3; cf. Holt 1988, 81.
- 53 Arr., *Anab.* 5.11.3, 12.2; cf. Bosworth 1995, 125–130. Around 329 BCE, the Macedonian cavalry had been resupplied with Sogdian horses (Holt 1988, 53 n. 6).
- 54 Diod. 17.108.1–3; Arr., *Anab.* 7.6.1; Curt. 7.5.1; Plut., *Alex.* 71.1. On Alexander’s use of ‘Oriental’ troops see Bosworth 1995, 271–273.
- 55 Diod. 20.113.4 gives the very high number of 12,000 cavalry fighting for Seleukos. Plut., *Demetr.* 28.3, gives a total of 10,500 cavalry for Seleukos’ and Lysimachos’ combined armies; see however Bar Kochva 1976, 247 n. 11, suggesting that this is a textual corruption and the allied cavalry total should instead be read as 15,000 (still a very high number). Seleukos’ elephants numbered 480 (Diodoros) or 400 (Plutarch).
- 56 On the persistence of ‘Oriental’, viz., ‘Median’ cavalry in Seleukid armies after the reign of Seleukos I, see Bar-Kochva 1976, 71–72.

- 57 The crucial role of the satrap of Bactria in acquiring and forwarding Indian war elephants is attested on two documents from Seleukid Babylon: BCHP 7, Obv. 13'-15' (281 BCE?) and AD I, p. 345, No. -273B, Rev. 30'-32' (273 BCE); cf. Bernard 1990; Van der Spek 1993.
- 58 For a full overview of the narrative sources for Antiochos' (and Alexander's) colonizing activities in Margiana, Sogdiana, and Bactria, consult Cohen 2013, 225-288; for the archaeological evidence, Mairs 2011.
- 59 On the presence of Greeks in Bactria until the coming of Seleukos, Coloru 2009, 123-138.
- 60 For the narrative sources for Hellenistic Marakanda, consult Cohen 2013, 279-282.
- 61 Plin., *NH* 6.47; Strabo 11.10.2; for Alexander's foundation, Arr., *Anab.* 4.1.3-4, 4.1; Curt. 7.6.13, 25-27; 7.7.1; cf. Cohen 2013, 252-255.
- 62 On the historical topography of the Merv oasis in ancient times, see Vogelsang 1992, 56-58.
- 63 Strabo 11.10.1-2 (515-516); Plin., *NH* 6.18 (47).
- 64 On the oasis wall, see Bader, Callieri, Khodzhanizayov 1998; Cerasetti 2004.
- 65 Attempts to construct comprehensive narratives include Wolski 1947; Lerner 1999, 13-31; Coloru 2009, 157-173.
- 66 See Strootman 2018, 135-136, with n. 29 on 146-147, after a suggestion by Eiland 2003.
- 67 The conventional view that an independent Parthian 'state' (rather than a vassal polity) emerged is defended at length by Bernard 1994. It is more likely that Seleukos II defeated the Parni, as Strabo 11.8.8 says, than that he was himself defeated and captured; cf. Drijvers 1998.
- 68 Justin's assertion (41.4.6) that Diodotos and Arsakes 'revolted' simultaneously is not historical; see Van Wickevoort Crommelin 1998, 261-263; cf. Holt 1999, 63-64.
- 69 Strabo 11.9.2. For the date, Lerner 1999, 54-58; cf. Jakobsson 2007.
- 70 Lerner 1996.
- 71 It cannot be excluded that Antiochos I returned during his twenty years of sole rule, and there is moreover a possibility that Seleukos II campaigned in the region in the 230s.
- 72 On the anabasis of Antiochos III, see now Brüggemann 2017, rightly stressing that the king was not emulating Alexander the Great; specifically on the campaigns in Bactria, see Martinez-Sève 2017. Earlier attempts at reconstructing the events include Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 197-201; Holt 1999, 126-133; Lerner 1999, 45-62; Coloru 2009, 179-186; and Plischke 2014, 270-274. Coloru 2017 offers an overview of the *anabasis*' various campaigns with a focus on Antiochos' political aims.
- 73 Polyb. 10.49.1-14.
- 74 Polyb. 10.49.15.
- 75 Polyb. 11.34.1.
- 76 Polyb. 11.34.5.
- 77 Coloru 2009, 181-182, accepts the nomad threat as genuine; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius* II, 313 ad 5, argues that it is a Polybian insertion.
- 78 Polyb. 11.34.10.
- 79 Polyb. 11.34.11-12.
- 80 Polyb. 11.39.12.
- 81 1 Macc. 8.8 For an interpretation of this passage consult Jakobsson forthcoming; see preliminary Jakobsson and Glenn 2018, 68-70.
- 82 Polyb. 11.34.13.
- 83 App., *Syr.* 11.3.15; cf. Polyb. 4.2.7.
- 84 Plin., *NH* 6.31.138-139; Mittag 2006, 298-307.
- 85 Polyb. 31.2.9-11; App., *Syr.* 46 (240).
- 86 Just. 36.1.4; cf. Jos., *AJ* 13.185.

- 87 Hollis 1996 has argued that Eukratides' mother was a daughter of Antiochos III, while Tarn 1951, 196–197 suggested that she was a daughter of Seleukos III; see however the cautionary remarks by Glenn 2014.
- 88 For the integration of Central Asia in the economy of the wider Persian Empire—as evidenced by a hoard of Achaemenid-period Bactrian, Indian and Greek coins found in Kabul in 1933—consult Schlumberger 1953. In fact, regular trade between Central Asia and the Near East by land and by sea was established already in the second millennium BCE (Olijdam and Spoor 2008), and there even is evidence for the export of Bactrian lapis lazuli to Mesopotamia and Egypt in the Neolithic (Herrmann 1968; Petrie 2013, 395–396; Bavay 1997). Central Asia is not really as remote as nineteenth-century European narratives like Kipling's 'The man who would be king' (1888) made us believe it was; on (post)colonial European perceptions of Ancient Central Asia's remoteness, see Howe 2015; Coloru this volume.

REFERENCES

- Assmann, J., *Die Mosaische Unterscheidung oder der Preis des Monotheismus* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003).
- Bachmann-Medick, D., 'From hybridity to translation: Reflections on travelling concepts', in: id., ed., *The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Translational Perspective* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014) 119–136.
- Bader, A., Callieri, P., Khodzhanizayov, T., 'Survey of the Antiochus Wall. Preliminary report on the 1993–1994 campaigns', in: A. Gubaev, G. A. Koshelenko, and M. Tonsi, eds., *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–1995* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1998) 159–186.
- Baimatova, N. S., *5000 Jahre Architektur im Mittelasien. Lehmziegelgewölbe vom 4./3. Jht. v. Chr. bis zum Ende des 8. Jhs. n. Chr.* Archäologie in Iran und Turan 7 (Berlin/Tehran: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 2008).
- Bar-Kochva, B., *The Seleucid Army. Organisation and Tactics in the Great Campaigns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
- Bar-Kochva, B., 'The deployment of the armies at Magnesia 190 BCE', in: id., ed., *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle Against the Seleucids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 567–568.
- Baratin, C., and Martinez-Sève, L., 'Le grenier grec de Samarkand', in: J. Benezu-Sarmiento, ed., *L'Archéologie Française en Asie Centrale. Nouvelles recherches et enjeux socioculturels. Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 21/22 (Paris: De Boccard, 2013) 373–388.
- Barthold, W., *An Historical Geography of Iran* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Bavay, L., 'Matière première et commerce à longue distance: le lapis-lazuli et l'Égypte prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil* 7 (1997) 79–100.
- Bernard, P., ed., *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum. Tome IV: Les monnaies hors trésors*. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (Paris: De Boccard, 1985).
- Bernard, P., 'Nouvelle contribution de l'épigraphie cunéiforme à l'histoire hellénistique,' *BCH* 114 (1990) 513–541.
- Bernard, P., 'L'Asie centrale et l'empire séleucide', *Topoi* 4.2 (1994) 473–511.
- Bernard, P., 'Maracanda-Afrasiab colonie grecque', in: *La Persia e l'Asia centrale da Alessandro al X Secolo* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1996) 331–365.
- Bernard, P., and Francfort, H.-P., *Études de géographie historique sur la plaine d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1978).
- Bernard, P., and Guillaume, O., 'Monnaies inédites de la Bactriane grecque a Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN* 22 (1980) 9–32.

- Bernard, P., Pinault, G. J., and Rougemont, G., 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie centrale', *Journal des Savants* 2.2 (2004) 333–356.
- Betts, A., Yagodin, V. N., Grenet, F., Kidd, F., Minardi, M., Bonnat, M., and Khashimov, S., 'The Akchakhan-kala wall paintings: New perspectives on kingship and religion in ancient Chorasmia', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 7 (2012) 125–165.
- Bichler, R., Brinkhaus, H., Wiesehöfer, J., eds., *Megasthenes und seine Zeit / Megasthenes and His Time* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016).
- Bivar, A. D. H., *Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz*. Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the Numismatic Society of India 3 (Bombay: Numismatic Society of India, 1955).
- Bopearachchi, O., 'L'indépendance de la Bactriane', *Topoi* 4.2 (1994) 519–531.
- Bopearachchi, O., 'Sophytes, the enigmatic ruler of Central Asia', *Nomismatika Khronika* 15 (1996) 19–32.
- Bopearachchi, O., 'Les monnaies séleucides de l'Asie centrale et l'atelier de Bactres', in: M. Amandry and S. Hurter, eds., *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider* (London: Spink, 1999) 77–93.
- Bopearachchi, O., 'La politique monétaire de la Bactriane sous les Séleucides', in: V. Chankowski and F. Duyrat, eds., *Le roi et l'économie. Autonomies locales et structures royales dans l'économie de l'empire séleucide* (Paris: Topoi, 2005a) 349–369.
- Bopearachchi, O., 'Royaumes grecs en Afghanistan. Nouvelles données', in: *L'art d'Afghanistan de la préhistoire à nos jours* (Paris: CERDAF, 2005b) 49–69.
- Bopearachchi, O., 'The monetary policy of Bactria under the Seleucids', in: id., ed., *From Bactria to Taprobane: Selected Works of Osmund Bopearachchi. Volume 1: Central Asian and Indian Numismatics* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2015) 42–60.
- Bopearachchi, O., 'Alexandre le Grand et les portraits monétaires des souverains indogrecs', in: Q. Boschung, ed., *Bilder der Macht. Das griechische Porträt und seine Verwendung in der antiken Welt* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2017) 255–268.
- Bosworth, A. B., *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; 2nd edn. 1995).
- Bosworth, A. B., 'The historical settings of Megasthenes' Indica', *CPh* 91 (1996) 113–127.
- Bourdieu, P., *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1979).
- Briant, P., *L'Asie centrale et les royaumes proche-orientaux du premier millénaire (c. VIIIe–IVe siècles avant notre ère)*. Recherches sur les civilisations 42 (Paris: Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1984).
- Briant, P., *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Translated by P. T. Daniels (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002).
- Brosius, M., *Women in Ancient Persia (559–331 BC)* (Oxford/New York: Clarendon Press, 1996).
- Brügmann, T., 'The Anabasis of Antiochus III and the tribal populations of the Upper Satrapies', in: C. Feyel and L. Graslin-Thomé, eds., *Antiochos III et l'Orient. Actes de la rencontre franco-allemande tenue à Nancy du 6 au 8 juin 2016*. Études nancéennes d'histoire grecque 3 (Paris: De Boccard, 2017) 341–376.
- Burstein, S. M., 'New light on the fate of Greek in Ancient Central and South Asia', *Ancient West and East* 9 (2010) 181–192.
- Canepa, M., *The Iranian Expanse: Transforming Royal Identity Through Architecture, Landscape, and the Built Environment, 550 BCE–642 CE* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018).
- Capdetrey, L., *Le pouvoir séleucide. Territoire, administration, finances d'un royaume hellénistique (312–129 avant J.C.)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007).
- Carney, E. D., "'What's in a name?' The emergence of a title for royal women in the Hellenistic Period', in: S. B. Pomeroy, ed., *Women's History and Ancient History* (Chapel Hill, NC/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 154–172.

- Cary, M., *A History of the Greek World, 323 BC–146 BC* (London: Methuen, 1951).
- Cerasetti, B., 'Reasoning with GIS: Tracing the Silk Road and the defensive systems of the Murghab Delta (Turkmenistan)', *The Silk Road* 2 (2004) 39–42.
- Chaniotis, A., 'The divinity of Hellenistic rulers', in: A. Erskine, ed., *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 2003) 431–446.
- Chichkina, G. V., 'Les remparts de Samarcande à l'époque hellénistique', in: P. Leriche and H. Tréziny, eds., *La fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1986) 71–78.
- Chrubasik, B., *Kings and Usurpers in the Seleukid Empire: The Men Who Would Be King* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Cohen, G. M., *Hellenistic Settlements in the East: From Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 54 (Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2013).
- Coloru, O., *Da Alessandro a Menandro: il regno greco di Battriana*. Studi Ellenistici 21 (Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2009).
- Coloru, O., 'La forme de l'eau: idéologie, politique et stratégie dans l'Anabase d'Antiochos III', in: C. Feyel and L. Graslin-Thomé, eds., *Antiochos III et l'Orient. Actes de la rencontre franco-allemande tenue à Nancy du 6 au 8 juin 2016*. Études nancéennes d'histoire grecque 3 (Paris: De Boccard, 2017) 303–318.
- Curiel, R., and Fussman, G., eds., *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz*. MDAFA 20 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1965).
- De la Fuye, A., 'Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane et des contrées voisines', *RN* 14 (1910) 281–333.
- Drijvers, J. W., 'Strabo on Parthia and the Parthians', in: J. Wiesehöfer, ed., *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998) 278–292.
- Dumke, G. R., 'Diadem = Königsherrschaft? Der Fall des Diodotos I. von Baktrien', in: A. Lichtenberger, K. Martin, H.-H. Nieswandt, D. Salzmann, eds., *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher. Übernahme, Transformation oder Neuschöpfung eines Herrschaftszeichens?* (Bonn: Habelt-Verlag, 2012) 385–393.
- Dvurechenskaya, N. D., 'Предварительные материалы археологических работ 2014 г на крепости Узундара', *Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры / Journal of Historical, Philological and Cultural Studies* 47.1 (2015) 124–133.
- Eiland, M., 'Parthians in Nineveh: Identifying a nomadic administration' (2003), available online at www.parthia.com (accessed 17-07-2016).
- Engels, D., 'Middle Eastern "Feudalism" and Seleukid dissolution', in: K. Erickson and G. Ramsey, eds., *Seleucid Dissolution: The Sinking of the Anchor*. Philippika 50 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011) 19–36.
- Engels, D., 'Antiochos III. der Große und sein Reich. Überlegungen zur "Feudalisierung" der seleukidischen Peripherie', in: F. Hoffmann and K. S. Schmidt, eds., *Orient und Okzident in hellenistischer Zeit. Beiträge zur Tagung "Orient und Okzident – Antagonismus oder Konstrukt? Machtstrukturen, Ideologien und Kulturtransfer in hellenistischer Zeit"*, Würzburg 10–13 April 2008 (Vaterstetten: Verlag Patrick Brose, 2014) 31–76.
- Engels, D., and Erickson, K., 'Apama and Stratonike: Marriage and legitimacy', in: A. Coşkun and A. McAuley, eds., *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire*. Historia Einzelschriften 240 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016) 67–86.
- Engels, D., *Benefactors, Kings, Rulers: Studies on the Seleukid Empire between East and West*. Studia Hellenistica 57 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017).
- Erickson, K., 'Apollo-Nabû: The Babylonian policy of Antiochus I', in: K. Erickson and G. Ramsey, eds., *Seleucid Dissolution: The Sinking of the Anchor*. Philippika 50 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011) 51–66.

- Erickson, K., 'Antiochos Soter and the Third Syrian War', in: id., ed., *The Seleucid Empire, 281–222 BC: War within the Family* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2018) 253–273.
- Frye, R. N., *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1996).
- Gehrke, H.-J., 'Der siegreiche König. Überlegungen zur hellenistischen Monarchie', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 64.2 (1982) 247–277 = 'The victorious king: Reflections on the Hellenistic monarchy', in: N. Luraghi, ed., *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone: Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic Mediterranean*. Studies in Ancient Monarchies 1 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013) 73–98.
- Glenn, S., 'Heliclos and Laodice of Bactria: A reconsideration', *The Numismatic Chronicle* 174 (2014) 45–59.
- Gnoli, G., and Jamzadeh, P., 'Bahrām (Vahrām (K " ', in: E. Yarshater, et al., eds., *Encyclopaedia Iranica* III.5 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1988) 510–514.
- Grainger, J. D., *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Grenet, F., and Rapin, C., 'Alexander, Aī Khanum, Termez: Remarks on the Spring campaign of 328', in: O. Bopearachchi, et al., eds., *Alexander's Legacy in the East: Studies in Honor of Paul Bernard*. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12 (2001) 79–89.
- Grenet, F., 'Was Zoroastrian art invented in Chorasmia?', in: M. Minardi and A. Ivantchik, eds., *Ancient Chorasmia, Central Asia and the Steppes: Cultural Relations and Exchanges from the Achaemenids to the Arabs*. Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia 24 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018) 68–86.
- Gropp, G., 'Herrscherethos und Kriegsführung bei Achämeniden und Makedonen', in: J. Ozols and V. Thewalt, eds., *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches. Völker und Kulturen zwischen Orient und Okzident: Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indien* (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1984) 32–42.
- Harders, A.-C., 'The making of a queen: Seleukos Nikator and his wives', in: A. Coşkun and A. McAuley, eds., *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire*. *Historia Einzelschriften* 240 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016) 25–38.
- Henkelman, W. F. M., 'Bactrians in Persepolis – Persians in Bactria', in: J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka, eds., *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*. *Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2015)*. *Dedicated to the Memory of Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2018) 223–256.
- Herrmann, G., 'Lapis-Lazuli: The early phases of its trade', *Iraq* 30 (1968) 21–57.
- Hollis, A. S., 'Laodice mother of Eucratides of Bactria', *ZPE* 110 (1996) 161–164.
- Holt, F. L., 'The so-called pedigree coins of the Bactrian Greeks', in: W. Heckel and R. Sullivan, eds., *Ancient Coins of the Graeco-Roman World: The Nickle Numismatic Papers* (Waterloo, ON: Laurier, 1984) 69–91.
- Holt, F. L., *Alexander the Great and Bactria*. *Mnemosyne Supplement* 100 (Leiden: Brill, 1988).
- Holt, F. L., *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 32 (Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999).
- Hoo, M., 'Aī Khanum in the face of Eurasian globalisation: A translocal approach to a contested site in Hellenistic Bactria', *Ancient West and East* 17 (2018) 161–185.
- Houghton, A., and Lorber, C. C., *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part 1: Seleucus I through Antiochus III* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2002).
- Houghton, A., and Moore, W., 'Some early far northeastern Seleucid mints'. *ANSMN* 29 (1984) 1–9.

- Howe, T., 'Alexander and "Afghan insurgency": A reassessment', in: T. Howe and L. Brice, eds., *Brill's Companion to Insurgency and Terrorism in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2015) 151–182.
- Jakobsson, J., 'The Greeks of Afghanistan revisited', *Nomismatika Khronika* 26 (2007) 71–66.
- Jakobsson, J., 'Eumenes II of Pergamon and Eumenes, the Bactrian joint-king – a new discovery in 1. Macc', in: I. A. Ladynin and O. L. Gabelko, eds., *Hellenistic Time Reckoning* (Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities, forthcoming).
- Jansari, S., 'The Sophytes coins: From the Punjab to Bactria and back again', *Numismatic Chronicle* 178 (2018) 71–98, pl. 8–12.
- Kidd, F., 'Complex connections: Figurative art from Akchakhan-kala and the problematic question of relations between Khorezm and Parthia', *Topoi* 17.1 (2011) 229–276.
- Kosmin, P. J., 'Apologetic ethnography: Megasthenes' Indica and the Seleucid elephant', in: E. Almagor and J. Skinner, eds., *Ancient Ethnography. New Approaches* (London/New Delhi/New York/Sidney: Bloomsbury, 2013) 97–115.
- Kosmin, P. J., *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).
- Kosmin, P. J., *Time and Its Adversaries in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2018).
- Kritt, B., *Seleucid Coins of Bactria*. Classical Numismatic Studies 1 (Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatics Group, 1996).
- Kritt, B., 'Three Seleucid notes. I: Coinage of Antiochus III in Bactria', *AJN* 12 (2000) 93–101.
- Lerner, J. D., 'A Graeco-Sogdian mint of Euthydemus', *RN* 151.6 (1996) 77–94.
- Lerner, J. D., *The Impact of Seleucid Decline on the Eastern Iranian Plateau: The Foundations of Arsacid Parthia and Graeco-Bactria*. Historia Einzelschriften 123 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999).
- Lerner, J. D., 'Correcting the early history at Āy Kānom', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 35/36 (2004) 373–410.
- Lerner, J. D., 'Revising the chronologies of the Hellenistic colonies of Samarkand-Marakanda (Afrasiab II–III) and Ai Khanoum (Northeastern Afghanistan)', *Anabasis* 1 (2010) 58–79.
- Lindström, G., 'Alexander der Große und Baktrien', *Das Altertum* 54 (2009) 241–266.
- Lyonnet, B., 'Questions on the date of the Hellenistic pottery from Central Asia (Ai Khanoum, Marakanda and Koktepe)', *Ancient Cultures from Scythia to Siberia* 18.1 (2012) 143–173.
- Ma, J., 'Peer polity interaction in the Hellenistic Age', *Past and Present* 180.1 (2003) 9–39.
- Mairs, R. R., *The Archaeology of the Hellenistic Far East: A Survey*. BAR International Series 2196 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011).
- Mairs, R. R., 'Glassware from Roman Egypt at Begram (Afghanistan) and the Indian Ocean trade', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012) 1–14.
- Mairs, R. R., 'The Hellenistic far east: From the oikoumene to the community', in: E. Stavrianopoulou, ed., *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*. Mnemosyne Supplements 363 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2013) 365–387.
- Mairs, R. R., 'The founder's shrine and the foundation of Ai Khanoum', in: Naoise Mac Sweeney, ed., *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies: Dialogues and Discourses* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) 103–128.
- Mairs, R. R., 'New discoveries of documentary texts from Bactria: Political and cultural change, administrative continuity', in: T. Derda, A. Lajtar, and J. Urbanik, eds., *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*. Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 28 (Warsaw: Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 2016a) 2037–2061.
- Mairs, R. R., 'Lapis lazuli, Homer and the Buddha: Material and ideological exchange in West Asia (c. 250 BCE–200 CE)', in: T. Hodos, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization* (London/New York: Routledge, 2016b) 885–898.

- Mairs, R. R., 'The men who would be Alexander: Alexander the Great and his Graeco-Bactrian successors in the Raj', in: K. R. Moore, ed., *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2018) 576–595.
- Martínez Ferreras, V., Gurt Esparraguera, J. M., Hein, A., Pidaev, S., Rtveladze, E. V., and Bolelov, S. B., 'Tableware in the Hellenistic tradition from the city of Kampyr Tepe in ancient Bactria (Uzbekistan)', *Archaeometry* 58.5 (2016) 736–764.
- Martínez Ferreras, V., Angourakis, A., Hein, A., Gurt Esparraguera, J. M., Sverchkov, L. M., and Sánchez del Corral, A., 'Pottery in Hellenistic tradition from ancient Bactria: The Kurganzol fortress (Uzbekistan, Central Asia)', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 21 (2018) 1044–1054.
- Martínez-Sève, L., 'Roi et cités en Asie Centrale: un roi indispensable?', in: C. Feyel, J. Fournier, L. Graslin-Thomé, and F. Kirbihler, eds., *Entités locales et pouvoir central. La cité dominée dans l'Orient hellénistique* (Nancy: A.D.R.A., 2012) 211–233.
- Martínez-Sève, L., 'Remarques sur la transmission aux Parthes des pratiques de gouvernement séleucides: modalités et chronologie', *Ktema* 39 (2014) 123–142.
- Martínez-Sève, L., 'Ai Khanoum and Greek domination in Central Asia', *Electrum* 22 (2015) 17–46.
- Martínez-Sève, L., 'Les opérations d'Antiochos III en Bactriane-Sogdiane: l'apport de la documentation archéologique', in: C. Feyel and L. Graslin-Thomé, eds., *Antiochos III et l'Orient. Actes de la rencontre franco-allemande tenue à Nancy du 6 au 8 juin 2016*. Études nancéennes d'histoire grecque 3 (Paris: De Boccard, 2017) 271–302.
- Mehl, A., *Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich I. Seleukos' Leben und die Entwicklung sein Machtposition*. *Studia Hellenistica* 28 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986).
- Mendoza, M., 'Stasanor of Soloi and the government of Bactria during the Wars of the Diadochi', *Anabasis* 8 (2017) 44–70.
- Minardi, M., *Ancient Chorasmia: A Polity Between the Semi-Nomadic and Sedentary Cultural Areas of Central Asia. Cultural Interactions and Local Developments from the Sixth Century BC to the First Century AD*. *Acta Iranica* 56 (Leuven: Peeters, 2015).
- Minardi, M., and Ivantchik, A. I., eds., *Ancient Chorasmia, Central Asia and the Steppes. Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2018).
- Mitchiner, M., *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage. Volume 1: The Early Indo-Greeks and Their Antecedents: Alexander the Great, the Satraps of Egypt, Babylon, Ecbatana, Bactra and Kapsia: the Seleucids, circa 330 to 150 BC* (London: Hawkins, 1975).
- Mittag, P. F., *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes. Eine politische Biographie*. *Klio Beihefte* N.F. 11 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006).
- Morris, I., *Why the West Rules—For Now: The Patterns of History and What They Reveal About the Future* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2010).
- Müller, S., 'The female element of the political self-fashioning of the Diadochi: Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and their Iranian wives', in: V. A. Troncoso and E. M. Anson, eds., *After Alexander: The Time of the Diadochi (323–281 BC)* (Oxford/Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2013) 199–214.
- Nawotka, K., 'Apollo, the tutelary god of the Seleucids, and Demodamas of Miletus', in: Z. Archibald and J. Haywood eds., *The Power of Individual and Community in Ancient Athens and Beyond: Essays in Honour of John K. Davies* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2019) 261–284.
- Naymark, A., 'Seleucid coinage of Samarqand?', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 221 (2014) 15–19.
- Newell, E. T., *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. *Numismatic Studies* 1 (2nd rev. Edn, New York: American Numismatic Society, 1978).
- Oelsner, J., *Materialien zur babylonischen Gesellschaft und Kultur in hellenistischer Zeit* (Budapest: Eötvös University, 1986).

- Ogden, D., *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death: The Hellenistic Dynasties* (London: Duckworth, 1999).
- Olbrycht, M. J., 'Creating an empire: Iran and Middle Asia in the policy of Seleukos I', in: P. Nikonorov, et al., eds., *Central Asia From the Achaemenids to the Timurids* (St Petersburg: State Hermitage, 2005) 231–234.
- Olijdam, E., and Spoor, R. H., eds., *Intercultural Relations Between South and Southwest Asia. Studies in Commemoration of E. C. L. During Caspers (1934–1996)*. Society for Arabian Studies Monographs 7 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008).
- Petrie, C. A., 'Ancient Iran and its neighbours: Emerging paradigms and future direction', in: id., ed., *Ancient Iran and Its Neighbours: Local Developments and Long-Range Interactions in the Fourth Millennium BC* (Oxford/Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2013) 385–411.
- Plischke, S., *Die Seleukiden und Iran. Die seleukidische Herrschaftspolitik in den östlichen Satrapien*. Classica et Orientalia 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014).
- Plischke, S., 'Apame und Stratonike – Die seleukidische Königin als Bindeglied zwischen West und Ost', in: C. Binder, H. Börm, and A. Luther, eds., *Diwan: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen Ostens und des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes im Altertum, Festschrift für Josef Wiesehöfer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Duisburg: Wellem Verlag, 2016) 325–346.
- Primo, A., *La storiografia sui Seleucidi: da Megastene a Eusebio di Cesarea*. Studi Ellenistici 10 (Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra, 2009a).
- Primo, A., 'La battaglia di Ipso e la storiografia sui Seleucidi', *Tyche* 24 (2009b) 99–102.
- Ramsey, G., 'The diplomacy of Seleukid women: Apama and Stratonike', in: A. Coşkun and A. McAuley, eds., *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire*. Historia Einzelschriften 240 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016) 87–104.
- Rapin, C., *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum. Tome VIII: La Trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum. L'Apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane*. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan XXXIII (Paris: De Boccard, 1992).
- Rapin, C., and Isamiddinov, M., 'Fortifications hellénistiques de Samarcande (Samarkand-Afrasiab)', *Topoi* 4.2 (1994) 547–565.
- Robert, L., 'Inscriptions Séleucides de Phrygie et d'Iran', *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 22–24.
- Robert, L., 'Plin VI 49, Démodamas de Milet et la reine Apamè', *BCH* 108 (1984) 467–472.
- Rollinger, R., 'Megasthenes, mental maps and Seleucid royal ideology: The western fringes of the world or how Ancient Near Eastern empires conceptualized world dominion', in: R. Bichler, H. Brinkhaus, and J. Wiesehöfer, eds., *Megasthenes und seine Zeit / Megasthenes and His Time* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016) 129–164.
- Schlumberger, D., *L'Argent grec dans l'empire achéménide*. Mémoires de Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan 14 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1953).
- Seibert, J., *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit*. Historia Einzelschriften 10 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967).
- Sherwin-White, S., and Kuhrt, A., *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (London: Duckworth, 1993).
- Stark, S., '"Hellenism" at the Fringes: On the Relationship between Bactria and Western Sogdiana (Bukhara oasis)', in: A. E. Berdimuradov, ed., *История и Археология Турана 3: П освященный юбилею Джамалиддина Камаловича Мирзаахмедова* (Samarkand: Institute of Archeology, 2016) 134–150.
- Strootman, R., 'Queen of Kings: Cleopatra VII and the Donations of Alexandria', in: M. Facella and T. Kaizer, eds., *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*. Occidens et Oriens 19 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010) 139–158.
- Strootman, R., 'Hellenistic court society: The Seleukid imperial court under Antiochos the Great, 223–187 BCE', in: J. Duindam, M. Kunt, and T. Artan, eds., *Royal Courts in*

- Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*. Rulers and Elites 1 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2011a) 63–89.
- Strootman, R., ‘The Seleukid Empire between Orientalism and Hellenocentrism: Writing the history of Iran in the Third and Second Centuries BCE’, *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān: The International Journal of Ancient Iranian Studies* 11.1–2 (2011b) 17–35.
- Strootman, R., ‘Babylonian, Macedonian, King of the World: The Antiochos Cylinder from Borsippa and Seleukid imperial integration’, in: E. Stavrianopoulou, ed., *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*. Mnemosyne Supplements 363 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013) 67–97.
- Strootman, R., *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires: The Near East After the Achaemenids, 330–30 BCE*. Studies in Ancient Persia 1 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014a).
- Strootman, R., ‘Hellenistic imperialism and the idea of world unity’, in: C. Rapp and H. Drake, eds., *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014b) 38–61.
- Strootman, R., ‘Seleucid Era’, in: E. Yarshater, et al., eds., *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online* (2015 [2008]) www.iranicaonline.org.
- Strootman, R., ‘Imperial Persianism: Seleukids, Arsakids, Fratarakā’, in: R. Strootman and M. J. Versluys, eds., *Persianism in Antiquity*. Oriens et Occidens 25 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017a) 169–192.
- Strootman, R., ‘Eunuchs, renegades and concubines: The “paradox of power” and the promotion of favorites in the Hellenistic empires’, in: A. Erskine, L. Llewellyn-Jones, and S. Wallace, eds., *The Hellenistic Court: Monarchic Power and Elite Society From Alexander to Cleopatra* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2017b) 121–142.
- Strootman, R., ‘The coming of the Parthians: Crisis and resilience in Seleukid Iran in the reign of Seleukos II’, in: K. Erickson, ed., *The Seleukid Empire, 281–222 BC: War Within the Family* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2018) 129–150.
- Strootman, R., ‘Imperial titulature in the Seleukid and post-Seleukid Middle East’, in: R. Oetjen and F. X. Ryan, eds., *Seleukeia: New Perspectives in Seleucid History, Archaeology and Numismatics in Honor of Getzel M. Cohen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019) 123–157.
- Sverchkov, L. M., ‘The Kurganzol Fortress (on the history of Central Asia in the Hellenistic Era)’, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 14 (2008) 123–191.
- Tarn, W. W., ‘Queen Ptolemais and Apama’, *CQ* 23.3/4 (1929) 138–141.
- Tarn, W. W., ‘Two notes on Seleucid history: (1) Seleucus’ 500 elephants. (2) Tarmita’, *JHS* 60 (1940) 84–94.
- Tarn, W. W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).
- Thonemann, P., *The Hellenistic World: Using Coins as Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Van der Spek, R. J., ‘The astronomical diaries as a source for Achaemenid and Seleucid history’, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 50 (1993) 91–101.
- Van Oppen, B., ‘The Susa marriages: A historiographical note’, *Ancient Society* 44 (2014) 25–41.
- Van Wickevoort Crommelin, B., ‘Die Parther und die parthische Geschichte bei Pompeius Trogus-Justin’, in: J. Wiesehöfer, ed., *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998) 259–277.
- Vogelsang, W., ‘Some remarks on eastern Iran in the late Achaemenid period’, in: H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, ed., *Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures and Synthesis. Proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid History Workshop* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987) 183–189.

- Vogelsang, W. J., *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenid Empire. The Eastern Iranian Evidence*. Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1992).
- Von den Hoff, R., 'Alexanderbildnisse und imitatio Alexandri in Baktrien', in: G. Lindström, S. Hansen, M. Tellenbach, and A. Wiczorek, eds., *Zwischen Ost und West. Neue Forschungen zum antiken Zentralasien. Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium 30.9.-2.10.2009 in Mannheim. Archäologie in Iran und Turan* 14 (Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2013) 83–98.
- Walbank, F. W., *A Historical Commentary on Polybius. Volume II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).
- Wallace, S., 'Greek culture in Afghanistan and India: Old evidence and new discoveries', *Greece and Rome* 63.2 (2016) 205–226.
- Wenghofer, R., 'New interpretations of the evidence for the Diodotid revolt and the secession of Bactria from the Seleucid Empire', in: K. Erickson, ed., *The Seleukid Empire, 281–222 BC: War Within the Family* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2018) 151–172.
- Wenghofer, R., and Houle, D. J., 'Marriage diplomacy and the political role of royal women in the Seleukid Far East', in: A. Coşkun and A. McAuley, eds., *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire*. Historia Einzelschriften 240 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016) 191–208.
- Wheatley, P. V., 'Seleukos and Chandragupta in Justin XV 4', in: H. Hauben and A. Meeus, eds., *The Age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms (323–276 B.C.)*. Studia Hellenistica 53 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014) 501–516.
- Widemann, F., *Les successeurs d'Alexandre en Asie centrale et leur héritage culturel* (Paris: Riveneuve, 2009).
- Widmer, M., 'Apamè. Une reine au cœur de la construction d'un royaume', in: A. Bielman-Sánchez, I. Cogitore, and A. Kolb, eds., *Femmes influentes dans le monde hellénistique et à Rome, IIIe s. av. J.-C. – Ier s. ap. J.-C.* (Grenoble: ELLUG, 2015) 17–34.
- Wolski, J., *L'effondrement de la domination des Séleucides en Iran au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.* Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres Supplement V 13 (Cracow: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1947).
- Wolski, J., 'Les Iraniens et le royaume gréco-bactrien', *Klio* 38 (1960) 110–121.
- Wolski, J., 'Les Séleucides et l'héritage d'Alexandre le Grand en Iran', in: B. Virgilio, ed., *Studi Ellenistici* 1 (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 1984) 9–20.
- Wright, N. L., *Divine Kings and Sacred Spaces: Power and Religion in Hellenistic Syria (301–64 BC)*. BAR International Series 2450 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012).
- Wu, X., 'Land of the unruleables: Bactria in the Achaemenid period', in: K. O. Weber, E. Hite, L. Khatchadourian, and A. T. Smith, eds., *Fitful Histories and Unruly Publics: Rethinking Temporality and Community in Eurasian Archaeology* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2017) 258–287.
- Zadok, R., 'An Achaemenid queen', *N.A.B.U.* 3 (2002), 63–66.
- Zavyalov, V. A., 'The fortifications of the city of Gyaour Kala, Merv', in: J. Cribb and G. Herrmann, eds., *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam* (Oxford/London: Oxford University Press, 2007) 313–329.

CHAPTER 3

SOUTH ASIA



Sushma Jansari

INTRODUCTION

In c. 320/19 BC, shortly after the death of Alexander III of Macedon, Chandragupta Maurya (r.c. 320–297 BC) overthrew the Nanda dynasty and established in its place an empire which lasted for almost 150 years. As with the preceding Nanda empire, the heartlands of the Mauryan empire lay in Magadha, a region at the centre of the Gangetic Plain, and its capital city, Pāṭaliputra, lay on the banks of the River Ganges. Chandragupta, like Seleukos (c. 358–281 BC), his counterpart in the west, embarked on a course of territorial expansion which extended the boundaries of his new empire to the northwestern regions of the subcontinent. The territorial advance of both rulers was checked when they clashed by the banks of the River Indus in c. 305 BC before agreeing a treaty with one another. The eastern and western boundaries of the respective Seleukid and Mauryan empires took shape in this region and a relationship was established between them that appears to have lasted through at least three generations of Seleukid and Mauryan rule.

As the Mauryan empire reached its zenith under the rule of Chandragupta's grandson, Aśoka (r.c. 268–232 BC), Seleukid influence declined in Bactria as their satrap, Diodotos I, rebelled and established himself as ruler of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. After a series of short-lived rulers and less than fifty years after Aśoka's death, the Mauryan empire fell when in c. 185 BC, Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (r.c. 185–149 BC), the commander-in-chief of the Mauryan forces, assassinated Brhadratha, the last Mauryan ruler, and installed himself as the first ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty.

In the upheaval that followed the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, numerous independent kingdoms arose in its place, including in the northwest. In the years immediately following the Śuṅga coup, for example, Demetrios I invaded India, establishing the Indo-Greek kingdom and paved the way for further territorial expansion by later Indo-Greek rulers, including Menander I.

This, then, was the backdrop to the changing power relations and other multifaceted links between the Mauryans and northwestern South Asia during the second half of the first millennium BC. The extent of the manifold and long-lasting connections, whether cultural, religious or in terms of trade, between the two neighbouring regions were such that it is not possible to understand Central Asia (broadly conceived) without some reference to Mauryan India. To give just one example, Buddhism is widely

believed to have arrived in the northwest from the Ganges valley during the mid-3rd century BC, i.e. during Aśoka's reign and his active propagation of this religion. Buddhism had a significant impact on the religious life, philosophy, material culture and landscape of the region through the periods of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek ascendancy, and beyond into the early centuries AD. From this part of the world, Buddhism travelled along the Silk Roads into the heart of Central Asia and surrounding regions, as well as to East Asia.

Generally, scholars of 'Hellenistic' period Central Asia and the Mediterranean world, have focused primarily on literary evidence which specifically links the Mauryans with their western, specifically Seleukid, counterparts. There is comparatively little awareness about the Mauryan empire beyond a small section of its periphery in the northwest of the subcontinent. In response to this situation, I dwell only briefly on the Graeco-Roman sources, for which there is already considerable literature spanning more than two centuries, and provide more contextualising details for the South Asian sources. In addition, I introduce a broader range of South Asian sources, from religious texts to archaeological, sculptural and numismatic evidence. In this way, I hope to encourage scholars to move beyond the narrow boundaries enforced by reliance on a small group of literary sources and, instead, explore in a nuanced and critical way, the full scope of the rich and wide-ranging evidence available from South Asia for the Mauryan period.

The Mauryan dynasty in Graeco-Roman and South Asian literature

Most of the earliest surviving literary information about Chandragupta and early Mauryan India comes from Graeco-Roman sources, much of which ultimately derives from Megasthenes' *Indike*. These sources have an added importance: the only firm dates for Chandragupta's reign, and therefore those of his successors, are derived from their links with Alexander, Seleukos and other Hellenistic rulers mentioned in Graeco-Roman sources. The ability to anchor the dates of Mauryan rulers in this way is vital because, while the order of rulers and the number of years during which they ruled can be reconstructed using a range of South Asian Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanic sources, the precise dates must remain conjectural. For example, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (24) states that ten Mauryan kings ruled for 137 years, but it is not clear what the dates of these reigns are. Jain and Buddhist sources link the years of Mauryan rule to the lives of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. For example, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (5.61, 6.1) and *Mahāvāṃsa* (5.21, 5.97) note that Aśoka became king 218 years after the Buddha's nirvana, while Chandragupta reigned for 24 years, Bindusāra for 28 years and, after a four-year interregnum, Aśoka reigned for 37 years. The *Sthavirāvalīcaritra* ('The Lives of the Jain Elders' also known as the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* 'The Appendix') notes that Chandragupta became king 155 years after the Jain *jina* Mahāvīra's nirvana. However, the dates of the lives of the Buddha and Mahāvīra remain uncertain.

For example, Buddhist sources agree that the Buddha was 80 years old at the time of his physical death. Pāli sources of Theravāda Buddhism note that this was 218 years before the start of Aśoka's reign and this is known as the 'long chronology'. In contrast, a 'short chronology' giving only 100 years between the Buddha's death and Aśoka's reign is found in Sanskrit sources preserved in East Asia. Based on the references to named Hellenistic kings in Aśoka's Edicts, modern scholars

traditionally give Aśoka's inauguration at c.268 BC. However, based on the lineage of Buddhist teachers mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, R. Gombrich argued that there were 136 years (not 218 or 100) between the Buddha's death and Aśoka's reign and, with different margins of error, the Buddha died between 422–399 BC, with c.404 BC suggested as the most likely year. However, these dates remain contested (Harvey 2013: 8). Graeco-Roman sources, therefore, remain key to providing accurate dates for the Mauryan dynasty.

According to the *Sthavirāvalīcaritra* (8.291–7), Chandragupta carved out his empire by defeating his enemies around the periphery of the Nanda empire, before gradually working his way to its power base in Magadha and wresting control in, perhaps, c.320/19 BC. The *Sthavirāvalīcaritra* was written in western India by the Jain monk and polymath Hemacandra (AD 1089–1172). Hemacandra drew on written works, as well as Jain tradition and popular stories transmitted orally, for his information, although it is not known from where he derived this particular piece of information. When Seleukos was 'laying the foundations of his future greatness', i.e., when he was defending his satrapy of Babylonia against the Antigonids between c.311–308 BC, Justin (*Epit.* 15.4.18–20) writes that Chandragupta crossed into those Indian satrapies in the northwest which had thrown off 'the yoke of servitude' imposed by Alexander through his governors. Interestingly, he also adds that on seizing power, Chandragupta 'began himself to enslave the people he had championed against foreign domination.' It is not clear what this enslavement involved, but it may have been the imposition of his own political and military dominion.

Details about Mauryan rulers found in Graeco-Roman literature focus primarily on their contact and interaction with their Seleukid counterparts. Chandragupta and Seleukos, the founders of these respective dynasties, first met in battle by the banks of the Indus in c.305 BC, and then concluded a treaty comprising of an exchange of 500 elephants and a marriage alliance for an unspecified territory. Afterwards Seleukos returned west to face Antigonos at Ipsos in 301 BC (Strab. 15.2.9; App. Syr. 11.9.55; Just. *Epit.* 15.4.21). No South Asian sources, even those such as Viśākhadatta's play *Mudrārākṣasa* ('*Rākṣasa's Ring*'), perhaps dating to the 5th century AD (Coulson 2005: 15), which deals with Chandragupta's rise to power, have anything to say about this meeting or treaty. The play (5.140) does, however, mention 'Greek kings of Gandhara' and one of the key characters, Prince Malayaketu, may possibly be identified with the son of Porus who was defeated in battle by Alexander. A closer examination of this work may prove revealing.

Diplomatic activities between the dynasties ensued at the time of the treaty at the Indus. Megasthenes' association with Sibyrtius and Porus ties him to the diplomatic framework established by Alexander in the Punjab region, while his connections to Seleukos and Chandragupta may associate him with the meeting in c.305 BC. Based on the surviving fragments of his *Indike*, it is clear that he travelled into Mauryan India and had some level of personal and direct access to Chandragupta in his capacity as an ambassador to the Mauryan court. The *Indike* also provides the earliest surviving references describing various aspects of contemporary early Mauryan India, including history, mythology, ethnography and geography (Stoneman 2019: 129ff.). The *Indike* was the first work to provide a Greek audience with first-hand knowledge of the Indian interior but it is difficult to corroborate these details through contemporary South Asian sources, including the *Arthaśāstra*.

It has long been argued that the *Arthaśāstra*, a treatise on statecraft, was written by Kauṭilya, advisor to Chandragupta, and therefore can be closely linked with the Mauryan state. However, recent detailed studies of the text suggest there may in fact be no link with the Mauryan dynasty (McClish 2012). It is more difficult to ascertain whether the text can be used to shed light on Mauryan society. However, cross-comparison with sources such as Megasthenes' *Indike*, which is contemporary with Chandragupta's reign, as well as archaeological and numismatic evidence, reveal a number of fundamental discrepancies which encourage a cautious approach.

Apart from Megasthenes, two further Greek ambassadors of the Hellenistic period are known to have been sent to Indian courts: Daimachus who was sent to Chandragupta's son and successor, Bindusāra (Strab. 2.1.9); Dionysius was despatched by Ptolemy II Philadelphus to an Indian ruler, but Pliny (*HN* 6.21.58) does not specify who this was. Details concerning these embassies are limited. Aśoka's embassies sent to five Hellenistic rulers are discussed below.

During the period that Mauryan and Seleukid rulers shared a border in north-western India, i.e. before Diodotos and other Seleukid satraps in the eastern part of the empire revolted, contact between them is reported in the available Graeco-Roman sources. For example, in his *Deipnosophists* (1.18 d–e; 13.652f–653a) Athenaeus includes a reference from Phylarchus who mentioned that Chandragupta sent aphrodisiacs to Seleukos (Ath. *Deip.* 1.18 d–e), and from Hegesander who wrote that Bindusāra requested figs, grape-syrup and a sophist from Antiochos I. The historicity, or otherwise, of this information remains unclear. In contrast, references to Chandragupta and Bindusāra are more limited in the range of South Asian sources available and references to Mauryan links with the Seleukid dynasty across borderlands at the northwestern periphery of the empire, are notable by their absence.

Aśokan inscriptions and Buddhist sources

As literary information for early Mauryan rulers from Graeco-Roman sources gives way, South Asian sources pick up with the reign of Aśoka. Aśoka is the first South Asian ruler from whom we hear directly through the many inscriptions he had inscribed on rocks, pillars and cave walls at sites across the subcontinent during his reign. The inscriptions have an added importance: they are the earliest monumental inscriptions of South Asia. Aśoka also looms large in Buddhist literature because of his propagation, patronage and conversion to this religion, while this material places other Mauryan rulers such as his father and grandfather in an ancillary role.

The Aśokan inscriptions are generally divided into groups of Minor and Major Rock and Pillar Edicts, many of which appear with minor variations in multiple locations while others are unique to particular sites. There are also a number of cave inscriptions. Of these, the Minor Rock Edicts are the oldest and relate to Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism. They were inscribed at 16 sites, mostly caves or rock shelters on hills, that may have been associated with pilgrimages or festivals that do not appear to have any connection with Buddhism. This suggests that Aśoka was appealing to his non-Buddhist subjects (Falk 2006: 55–7). An Aśokan inscription found in Kandahar and inscribed in Greek and Aramaic is sometimes grouped with the Minor Rock Edicts.

In comparison with the Minor Rock Edicts, the 14 Major Rock Edicts were inscribed at sites close to important towns which appear to have been located towards the boundaries of the empire across the subcontinent (Falk 2006: 111). Of these sites, two are located in Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi in the northwest and both are inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī rather than Brāhmī script. In addition, Edicts XII and XIII were inscribed in Greek and were found in Old Kandahar. In Edicts II and XIII Aśoka mentions his embassies to five *Yonārājās* ('Greek kings') who are identified as Antiochos I Soter or Antiochos II Theos, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, Antigonos II Gonatas, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander II of Epiros. These are the only surviving references to Aśokan communication with the West in either South Asian or Graeco-Roman sources and, unfortunately, this means it is not clear if any of these embassies reached their intended destinations or what the result might have been.

The wider context of these embassies is Buddhist proselytism and Aśoka also mentions the success of his missions among the Chola and Pandya kingdoms in south India and in Sri Lanka. Two Sri Lankan Buddhist chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, which were drawn from earlier commentary literature and oral tradition, also note that Buddhism arrived at the island through Aśoka's embassy. These sources also provide some information about the early Mauryan rulers because of their connection with Aśoka, including their patronage of different religious groups such as the Ājīvikas and Brahmins. There are also references to proselytising missions apparently sent to the *Yonā* ('Greek') regions (D.8.7; M. 12.4) during Aśoka's reign, but more research into these references is needed.

The Minor and Major Pillar Edicts appear to have been located at or near important Buddhist sites. The Minor Edicts are wide-ranging in content and include Aśoka's injunction against schism in the Buddhist *saṃgha* (community), while another provides insight into donative practice by other members of the royal family, in this case by Aśoka's second queen. The Major Pillar Edicts were inscribed towards the end of Aśoka's reign and deal with matters such as his definition and practice of *dharma* (right way of living) and practical affairs including the roles of his officials.

The introduction of rock-cut caves at Barabar, Sitamarji and Nagarjuni was, like the erection of pillars, an Aśokan innovation. Considerable expense and attention to aesthetics appears to have been devoted to the construction of these caves: not only were they a new feature of Indian architecture, but the cave walls were treated in the same way as Aśokan pillars and capitals, i.e. they were polished to a glossy shine. Careful analysis of the cave measurements reveals that a particular measurement of 85.5 centimetres is used, which Falk describes as a 'Mauryan yard' (Falk 2006: 255–6). The inscriptions found in three of the four caves at Barabar and all three caves at Nagarjuni reveal that they were dedicated to the Ājīvika religious sect by Aśoka and his son Daśaratha, respectively.

As with the Aśokan inscriptions, early Buddhist sources containing information about Mauryan rulers focus primarily on matters concerning the *saṃgha* within the subcontinent. There is little detail about relations with external powers in the northwest of the subcontinent or beyond or about matters in the peripheral regions of the Mauryan empire located in the northwest. Information found in the *Aśokavadana* is a case in point.

The *Aśokavadana* is a collection of stories and legends about Aśoka from the Sanskrit *Divyāvadāna*, an anthology of Buddhist legends. The author(s) of the *Aśokavadana* are unknown, although the present form is likely to be a product of

the Buddhist Sanskrit community of Mathura, or more generally of northwest India, from the 2nd century AD (Strong 1989: 26–8). The work explains that, as a response to the city of Taxila rising up against him because ‘evil ministers came and oppressed us’, Bindusāra sent his son Aśoka to deal with the first rebellion and then rule there in person. Afterwards, he sent another son, Susīma/Sumana, to quell a second uprising and, like Aśoka, rule in person (As.39–41). The same situation arose in the following generation and, in his capacity as Mauryan emperor, Aśoka sent his son Kuṇāla to deal with the rebellion in Taxila (As.108–9).

The source for this information, and therefore the historicity or otherwise of the events, remains unclear. What is apparent, however, is that a longer tradition of a Mauryan presence in the northwest, including regular local uprisings, is supported to some extent by a range of literary and archaeological evidence, including some Aśokan inscriptions, the *Aśokavadana* and Mauryan levels found at the Bhir Mound. There is also the as yet unproven suggestion that the *Dharmarajika* stūpa in Taxila was built by Aśoka (Coningham and Young 2015: 436).

MAURYAN SITES AND ARTEFACTS

While the textual evidence available for the Mauryan period is integral to the way in which this era has been understood and interpreted, archaeological data and artefacts provide a valuable counterpoint to this information. However, as with the literary material, the physical evidence available for this period must be approached with care. This section explores the heartlands rather than the periphery of the Mauryan empire and, by focusing on Pāṭaliputra, the Aśokan pillars, stone sculpture and punch-marked coins, the aim is to provide more context while outlining some of the key problems associated with these sites and objects. Punch-marked coins are discussed in greater detail because, despite the importance of numismatics to any historical study, especially where literary and other archaeological material is lacking or problematic, it remains an unfamiliar discipline and source for many historians.

Archaeology

The decline of the Indus valley culture (c.2600–1900 BC) also meant the end of the Indian subcontinent’s ‘first urbanisation’. After a gap of more than a thousand years, archaeological excavations and textual evidence points to the re-emergence of cities, as well as widespread road and river-based trade networks connecting cities and other sites, in South Asia during the mid-first millennium BC. This phenomenon is referred to as the ‘second urbanisation’ and the period, c. 3rd century BC – 4th century AD, is known as the Early Historic (Smith 2006: 100).

While numerous sites, mostly monumental and religious in nature, connected with the Early Historic period in general, and the Mauryan period in particular, have been excavated in South Asia, much of this work was undertaken between the late 19th and mid-20th century when archaeological techniques were not as advanced as they are now. Only a small number of these sites have been revisited and more carefully re-excavated in recent times, or re-evaluated based on the archaeological reports (where they exist) and finds. However, re-evaluation is itself problematic: earlier digs and, therefore, associated reports, tended to focus on

architectural remains, objects considered to have artistic merit, and sometimes coin finds, while often overlooking quotidian material such as pottery, with the result that only a partial record of a site has survived. In addition, the Mauryan period represents such a narrow span of time – some 150 years – that it has proved challenging to recover archaeologically, even in more recent excavations. Reliance on vertical rather than horizontal excavations, except at sites such as Taxila and Bhita, adds to the problem (Chakrabarti 2006: 347). The excavations at Pāṭaliputra, the ancient Mauryan capital, are a case in point.

The European search for Mauryan cities and sites, particularly Pāṭaliputra, began in the mid-18th century (Chakrabarti 2009: 5) and were closely based on information contained within the remaining fragments of Megasthenes' *Indike*. By the end of the 18th century, Sir William Jones had identified Patna as the location of ancient Pāṭaliputra (Jones 1799: 10–11). Almost 100 years later, after initial surveys by Sir Alexander Cunningham, excavations were started at Bulandibagh in 1895 by L.A. Waddell (1903) where he uncovered the carved stone Pāṭaliputra capital. Later excavations undertaken under the aegis of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1912–13 and funded by the Indian industrialist Sir Ratan Tata were led by D.S. Spooner (1915). Further excavations by J.A. Page and M. Ghosh took place in 1926–27. These digs revealed a wooden structure thought to be Pāṭaliputra's outer palisade as described by Megasthenes. These fortifications comprise two parallel walls of *śāl* wood posts and there was also another wooden structure that is believed to be a drain bringing wastewater out of the city (Lahiri 2015: 57). Objects such as punch-marked coins, terracotta figurines and inscribed glass seals were also discovered. P.C. Mukharji (1898) uncovered wooden structures alongside fragments of a stone pillar and capital during his excavations at Lohanipur, a site also at the boundary of ancient Pāṭaliputra, in 1897–8 (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1 Remains of the wooden palisade excavated at Bulandi Bagh. Archaeological Survey of India 1926–1927.

At Kumrahar, close to Bulandibagh but beyond the ancient city's boundaries, Spooner excavated a pillared hall. This hall, the purpose of which remains unclear, comprised 80 sandstone pillars (all fragmentary with one exception) arranged in a series of eight rows of ten pillars. The date and purpose of this structure remains subject to debate, although the use of stone pillars has led some to associate it with Aśoka. Another pillared structure is at Bodh Gaya and it has been suggested that it was a temple built by Aśoka (Lahiri 2015: 236–7).

Notably, all of these excavations took place at and beyond the boundaries of ancient Pāṭaliputra. While modern building works have revealed some objects and structures such as Mauryan terracottas and ring wells, it is unlikely that the heart of this city will be excavated in the foreseeable future because the modern city of Patna has been constructed directly on top of it (Lahiri 2015: 56). For this reason, virtually nothing is known about the city itself and little about the environs or material culture represented at the site through archaeology. Despite some re-excavation after Indian independence by A.S. Altekar and V. Mishra (1959), overall the reports and data are not as reliable and accurate as could be hoped for. For example, the wooden palisade is assumed to be Mauryan because of the similarity to Megasthenes' description, but it may be pre-Mauryan. Radiocarbon dating of the wooden rampart provides a broad timespan suggesting that it was constructed in the 2nd century BC +/- 250 years (Chatterjee et al. 1955).

While some of the objects described in the archaeological reports and associated articles are on display in the newly opened Bihar Museum, it is not clear where other objects are currently held. So, while a re-evaluation of the sites and objects is desirable, it would be challenging to pursue without further excavation and access to the objects for a detailed comparative analysis. The result is that conclusive dating for various objects and some of the structures ascribed to the Mauryan era remains frustratingly out of reach.

Overall, this situation has meant that the original chronologies originally put forward for many of the sites connected with the Mauryan dynasty are unreliable and cannot be used to accurately date specific layers or objects. On the other hand, excavated objects such as punch-marked coins, which are so prevalent at Early Historic Indian sites, cannot be used to date archaeological layers because they themselves have yet to be accurately dated. Many hundreds of other objects of various types are divorced from their archaeological context and their lack of provenance means that they, too, cannot help with accurate dating, nor can they be situated within a relative chronology without additional comparative work. While there are exceptions, including the recent excavations at Sisupalgarh in India and Gotihawa in Nepal, a detailed reassessment of Mauryan archaeological sites and associated physical evidence is urgently needed.

Aśokan pillars

The erection of monolithic cream coloured sandstone pillars topped with a tripartite capital (bell, abacus, animal figure) is thought to be one of the many innovations introduced by Aśoka. Sixteen standing pillars (some partial and without capitals) are found at sites in and around the Ganges valley and the Nepalese Terai. Inscriptions reveal that Aśoka visited some of these sites as part of a pilgrimage to important

Buddhist sites. According to Faxian and Xuanzang, two pilgrims from China who travelled to important Buddhist sites in South Asia during the 5th and 7th centuries AD respectively, there were originally many more Aśokan pillars. In addition, a number of pillars, including the Delhi-Meerut and Delhi-Topra pillars, were moved in the past to new locations. However, scholars have recently started to question whether all of the stone pillars, including the pillared structures at Pāṭaliputra and Bodhi Gaya, can be directly linked to Aśoka, citing the wide geographical distribution of surviving pillars and pillar fragments; the varying quality of execution; and the recent discovery of a pillar at Deur Kothar which is identical to other examples with one exception: the inscription reveals that it was dedicated as a gift by a Buddhist monk (Chakrabarti 2006: 376–8).

Unlike the Major Rock Edicts, the pillars were not erected next to key provincial cities or major settlements. Instead, where the pillars appear to be in their original locations, they are at sites with pre-existing religious structures such as burial mounds and stūpas, the earliest of which do not seem to be Buddhist (Lahiri 2015: 262–3). Objects found at these sites and along the routes which connected them are made from materials not available locally such as lapis lazuli, carnelian, shell and amethyst. The presence of these objects emphasises the extensive lines of commerce and communication extending to the Gangetic plain and Nepal from regions such as coastal and western India, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka (Lahiri 2015: 265–7). The Aśokan pillars were, therefore, carefully located at sites that intersected with important ancient trading, communication and pilgrimage routes – some of which continued to be used into modern times – thereby ensuring that Aśoka’s message was disseminated widely.

The Buddhist links of these sites emphasise the Buddhist messages inscribed on the pillars and Aśoka’s own conversion to this faith. The massive investment into the erection of monumental structures at such sites was not limited to pillars. According to a Buddhist tradition contained in the *Aśokavadāna*, Aśoka opened seven of the original eight stūpas containing the Buddha’s ashes and shared them among 84,000 new stūpas. While this very large figure is unlikely to approximate reality, the foundation or refoundation of some stūpas has been associated with Aśoka and some of them are adjacent to Aśokan pillars. For example, it has been suggested that the brick layers of Stūpa 1 at Sanchi (Shaw 2016: cxlvii–cxlviii) and the Dharmarajika stūpa at Sarnath (Lahiri 2015: 255) are linked to the Mauryan era. However, only the stūpa at Gotihawa in Nepal, which has an Aśokan pillar adjacent to it, has been firmly chronometrically dated and the results demonstrate a construction sequence that begins in the mid-3rd century BC (Verardi 2007: 128–9).

Many questions about the Aśokan pillars remain, one of the most contentious of which concerns influence. Stone pillars with capitals appear to have been a new part of the Mauryan landscape and scholars have long suggested that external, specifically Achaemenid, influences were at play. While there are certainly artistic similarities between Achaemenid columns and those in South Asia, until recently there has been less focus on the link between the Aśokan stone pillars and the long Indian tradition of erecting wooden pillars (*Dvajastambha*), which have not survived in the archaeological record, in a religious context (Chakrabarti 2006: 376–7; Coningham and Young 2015: 414). Other questions include the impetus which led to the erection of specifically stone pillars and the order in which they were erected. Their purpose,



Figure 3.2 Four lion capital discovered in Sarnath. Bihar Museum.

apart from bearing inscriptions – although the Vaishali pillar, for example, has no inscription – has tended to be reconstructed from later depictions of Aśokan pillars in Buddhist art. A carved panel from Mathura, for example, appears to show a man and a woman circumambulating a pillar, while another panel from Stūpa 2 at Sanchi shows two women touching their heads to a pillar in what seems to be an act of veneration (Falk 2006: 148).

Aśokan pillars held ongoing importance and relevance to later rulers in South Asia. The Delhi Sultan Firuz Shah Tugluq (1309–1388), for example, moved some pillars to newly constructed sites in his kingdom, while he, the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1569–1627) and others, including earlier rulers, added new inscriptions to pillars. The symbolism of one particular pillar capital continues to resonate today: On 26th January 1950 when India became a secular republic, the four-lion capital from the pillar at Sarnath, where the Buddha preached his first sermon, was adopted as the state emblem (Figure 3.2).

Stone sculpture

Large stone figurative sculptures discovered in Patna and Mathura have traditionally been linked with the Mauryan period and three will be discussed in more detail in this section. The Didarganj *yakṣī* (more accurately, an attendant *chauri* or ‘fly-whisk’ bearer) was discovered embedded in the riverbank at Didarganj, near Patna, in 1917; two male torsos now missing their heads (the larger one has a Mauryan polish

surface) were found by villagers in an abandoned canal near ancient Pāṭaliputra in 1937 (Jayaswal 1937); and the Parkham *yakṣa* Māṇibhadra was discovered by villagers before A. Cunningham (1885: 40) encountered it in Parkham village near Mathura in 1882. One point stands out: none of the sculptures were found in an archaeological context.

The lack of archaeological provenance has meant that the dating of these, and other, stone sculptures to the Mauryan period has relied instead on aspects such as style and the presence of a glossy, mirror-like surface, referred to as ‘Mauryan polish’, on the figures. ‘Mauryan polish’ is also found on Aśokan pillars, capitals and the interior of caves excavated and dedicated by Aśoka, hence the link between the figurative sculptures and the Mauryan period. However, more recent research suggests that while the male torsos from Lohanipur may have been produced in the 3rd century BC, it is also possible that they were carved as late as the 1st century AD (Cort 2010: 32–7). Similarly, a reassessment of features such as the hairstyle and personal ornaments of the female *chauri*-bearer from Didarganj suggests a 1st or 2nd century AD date (Singh 2017: 364, see Figure 3.3). One of the few large stone sculptures that may date to the Mauryan period is the Parkham *yakṣa* and this attribution is based on the fragmentary Brāhmī inscription on its base (Singh 2017: 365) although a mid-2nd century BC date has also been suggested based on the sculptural style and character of the inscription (Quintanilla 2007: 31).

The purpose, religious or otherwise, of these sculptures also remains debated. It has been suggested that the Lohanipur torsos are early *jina* representations because



Figure 3.3 Didarganj chauri-bearer displayed at Bihar Museum, India.

of their upright stance and nudity, but there is no conclusive evidence for this. In contrast, the inscription on the Parkham *yakṣa* reveals that it is a representation of the *yakṣa* Māṇibhadra commissioned and donated by eight members of the Māṇibhadra congregation (Quintanilla 2007: 26–7). Epigraphic, sculptural and literary evidence reveals that this *yakṣa* was worshipped in his own right at different sites in northern India and linked with various religious traditions. Inscriptions and literature reveal that he is primarily a deity of itinerant merchants and one who bestows wealth (Quintanilla 2007: 27), which fits well with his presence and worship at important trading centres such as Mathura and also with the broader picture of increased trade across South Asia that was encouraged by Mauryan rulers (Smith 2006: 118–21). In Major Rock Edict II and Major Pillar Edict VII, for example, Aśoka proclaims that, alongside roads – which were vital to internal trade – he planted banyan trees to provide shade and dug step-wells at regular intervals for the benefit of men and cattle.

Another type of stone sculpture that is closely associated with the Mauryan period are small, carved ring stones found at numerous sites in north and north-west South Asia, including Patna, Vaishali, Mathura and Taxila. These stones, most of which survive in fragmentary condition, bear intricately carved representations of various animals, female figures, as well as floral and geometric motifs. While it was previously suggested that these ring stones had a ritual function (Singh 2017: 364), more recent research associates them with jewellery production. Thin sheets of gold may have been placed on top of the decorated surface and hammered or pressed into the surface of the ring stone. The resulting form was perhaps used as ear ornaments as seen in a range of terracotta and stone sculptures (Bennett 2018). If this was the way in which ring stones were used, the diffusion of these objects at sites across northwest and northern South Asia suggests a similar demand for this type of jewellery in these regions. The date of such ring stones is more problematic; they are generally dated between the 3rd to 1st centuries BC (i.e. Maurya or Śuṅga periods) on stylistic grounds, but these dates are not conclusive (Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4 Ring stone carved with representations of female figures and floral motifs. Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Bequest of Samuel Eilenberg, 1998. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number 2000.284.10.



Figure 3.5 Example of a silver punch-marked coin. Gift of Sri B. D. Dwivedi. Cleveland Museum of Art, Accession Number 1967.242.

Punch-marked coins

Silver punch-marked coins have long been linked to the Mauryan dynasty with scholars building on this association to make assumptions about matters such as the Mauryan economy and the dynasty's influence across South Asia. However, recent research suggests any such link is problematic at best.

Punch-marked coins are the first coins to be minted in South Asia. The earliest of these coins are found in northern India and they gradually spread to southern India and Sri Lanka. They differ from earlier and contemporary Greek and Achaemenid coins in terms of size, shape and the designs found on them. They are so-called because they are 'punched' with between one and five small dies bearing different symbols. These wide-ranging symbols include geometric patterns, wavy lines, dots, wheels, human figures, animals, trees and flowers. Alongside these main symbols, many of the coins were also punched with additional symbols that are often smaller in size and found on the obverse and/or reverse. These secondary symbols are called countermarks and they are symbols or other marks stamped into the surface of a coin at some point after its production, i.e. when it is in circulation. In the case of punch-marked coins, these marks are usually called 'bankers marks' because it is thought that money-changers applied them to these coins in order to verify their weight and metal purity (Figure 3.5).

There is no definitive evidence for the date when punch-marked coinage started, although it is generally accepted that the idea behind Indian coinage was imported from the Greek world via Achaemenid Afghanistan (Cribb 2005: 20). No punch-marked coins bear an inscription with the date or name of a ruler which might help in terms of attribution or date, nor are there any historical sources stating who issued the first coins or when (Cribb 2005: 41). Based on the discovery of punch-marked coins present alongside datable coins in the Chaman Hazouri hoard found in Afghanistan, Cribb (2005: 524) suggests that the earliest punch-marked coins originated in this part of the subcontinent by the mid-4th century BC and the production of such coins later spread to the Ganges valley. In contrast, Gupta and Hardaker (2014: 45, 49) suggest this coinage was first in use in Gandhara around the second half of the 5th

century BC, and that it was unlikely that coinage started very much earlier in the Ganges valley, otherwise it would have been found in the Chaman Hazouri hoard.

The period of the demise of punch-marked coinage is known. The discovery of a hoard of late punch-marked coins in the treasury at Ai Khanoum, i.e. a datable context, reveals that issues of silver punch-marked coins came to an end in the middle of the 2nd century BC (Cribb 2005: 17). However, punch-marked coins continued to circulate in South Asia until the early centuries AD.

Punch-marked coins are divided into two main groups. The first comprises groups of coins found in specific geographic locations and which generally have between one and four prominent punch marks. Gupta and Hardaker (2014: 19) interpret these as the earliest punch-marked coins to be produced locally by *janapada* (small states in northern India). Coins from the second group bearing five symbols, most of which include a sun and a six-armed symbol, are of particular interest here because they are found across the subcontinent and have been linked with the Mauryan dynasty. These coins, known as *kārshāpaṇa* (Series I–VII in Gupta and Hardaker 2014) weigh about 3.4 grams. Gupta and Hardaker (2014: 19–20) suggest that *kārshāpaṇa* originated in the region of Magadha and later spread across the subcontinent alongside the expansion of the Nanda and Mauryan empires, driving out the coinage of local states.

Unfortunately, there is no definitive evidence linking this ‘universal’ coinage with either the Nanda or Mauryan dynasties. Instead, they have been mapped onto an accepted historical chronology derived from Buddhist literature which refers to the existence of localized polities called *mahajanapada* that were contemporary with the Buddha (Bhandare 2012: 95). Such links are problematic, not least because of the ongoing debates concerning the date of the Buddha’s life. The *Arthaśāstra* has also been used to try and date punch-marked coins and link them with the Mauryan dynasty. However, this approach is also problematic because of the later date of the text and the numerous discrepancies between the discussion of money in the text and the material reality of the tens of thousands of punch-marked coins (Bhandare 2012: 123, 127). Despite these problems, many numismatists still try to find links between this text and these coins (Gupta and Hardaker 2014: 15).

Scholars such as Prasad (1937) have tried to link *kārshāpaṇa* with specific Mauryan rulers through certain symbols found on these coins. His association of coins bearing the three-arched hill surmounted by a crescent with Chandragupta and the Mauryan dynasty brought into existence a ‘Mauryan’ coinage. Others assume that the sun and the six-armed symbol are ‘badges’ of Magadha and the later Mauryan dynasty (Gupta and Hardaker 2014: 19). All of these suggestions must, however, remain just that: suggestions. This is because, despite over a century of research into punch-marked coins, no evidence conclusively links these symbols with particular dynasties. The reason is that many of these symbols were used for many hundreds of years on a wide range of objects and in different contexts, including later coinages. The three-arched hill surmounted by a crescent, for example, is also found on later Sātavāhana and Western Kṣatrapa coinages (Gupta and Hardaker 2014: 51).

For these reasons, in the most recent catalogue of punch-marked coins, Gupta and Hardaker (2014: 60) conclude that the punch-marks were symbolic and unlikely to represent ‘personal signatures, rulers or individual personalities. While they write

that the six-armed symbol ‘might be a coded badge representing some aspect of Magadhan state authority’, there is no firm evidence for this statement.

Despite the many and as yet unresolved problems associated with dating the ‘universal’ coins and identifying the authorities under which they were minted, some useful inferences can be made and areas of future study suggested. Gupta and Hardaker divide punch-marked coins into nine groups running from Series 0 (earliest) to VIII (latest) based on the appearance of similar symbols found on these coins and their weights. They also include a group referred to as ‘vassal state(s)’ which they assert is contemporary with Series I. Maps which plot the hoard findspots of Series 0–VII coins reveal that the earliest coins (Series 0) are found in hoards clustered in the heart of Magadha, while hoards containing predominantly Series I coins tend to be found along the Ganges, and those with coins up to and including Series VII are found across the subcontinent and Sri Lanka (Gupta and Hardaker 2014: 16, 81).

An investigation of the weight standard reveals that the earliest coins were produced in a wide range of weights which appear to vary between the regions in which they were found. In contrast, unworn specimens of *kārshāpaṇa* consistently weighed 3.3–3.5 grams. Gupta and Hardaker (2014: 32) write that there is little correlation between *kārshāpaṇa* and the coinages circulating in northwest India but they miss a crucial piece of evidence that may help to locate them temporally: the Sophytes drachms minted in northwest India during the 4th century BC and Seleukid coins minted in Bactra during the early 3rd century BC also weighed 3.5–3.6 grams (Jansari 2018: 85). Further numismatic investigation between these three groups of coins, including a re-evaluation of previously known coin hoards and more recent parcels of coins that have been entering the market (Jansari 2018), may be valuable in establishing what the correlations might be and whether a broad date can be established between certain series of punch-marked coins and the Sophytes and Seleukid coins.

The geographical spread of the different series of coins has been used to argue that punch-marked coins, minted by the Nanda and then Mauryan dynasties, spread across India as these empires expanded their territories. However, it must be noted that punch-marked coins found in hoards in southern India and Sri Lanka tend to be very worn, suggesting they circulated for a considerable period of time after they were minted and were hoarded at a later date than those in Magadha (Gupta and Hardaker 2014: 26). Similarly, dating the hoards, and by extension the coins, is also difficult. For example, Kosambi (1992: 64) dated the Taxila I hoard containing punch-marked coins and Greek coins to c.317 BC, and Gupta and Hardaker (2014: 29) maintain this date without further argument. However, Cribb (2005: 62) points out numerous problems with this date and the assumptions which lead to it. For example, the general presumption that the Greek coins are the latest coins in these hoards cannot be proven without a date for the punch-marked coins. While a hoard can provide scholars with a date of deposition after the date of the latest coin in the hoard, it follows that it is difficult, if not impossible, to date the deposition *without* the date for the latest coin.

One of the most useful ways to historically situate punch-marked coins would be through careful excavation and documentation during archaeological digs. Unfortunately, so far, these types of coins have tended to be poorly recorded during

excavations and carbon-14 results from relevant strata have been imprecise (Gupta and Hardaker 2014: 43). This lack of accurate data has meant that numismatists have relied, instead, on hoard evidence and historical texts, particularly the *Arthaśāstra* and Buddhist works, in order to date the coins. As seen above, these two methods are problematic and cannot be used as firm evidence for dating the coins without additional firm data.

Without evidence derived from carefully documented archaeological excavations or close numismatic study such as die studies, it remains difficult to date the different series of punch-marked coins and, therefore, link them with the Mauryan period. Nor is it possible to draw conclusions about the Mauryan economy based on the coins. For now, numismatic evidence related to *kārshāpaṇa* must be used with extreme care and, as Bhandare (2012: 128) notes, ‘identifying ‘Mauryan’ or ‘Aśoka’ coinage is at best an exercise in approximation and at worst a flight of fancy.’

CONCLUSIONS

Knowledge about the Mauryan empire and dynasty, including links with the north-western part of the subcontinent, has been pieced together from diverse sources that, although partial and fragmented, mean that this period is better known than that of any other early Indian dynasty. The legacy of his encounter with Seleukos has meant that Chandragupta is especially well represented in Graeco-Roman sources. On the other hand, Aśoka left the most visible and enduring legacy in the literature and landscape of the subcontinent.

As discussed in this chapter, the available literary and archaeological sources, problematic and limited though they are, combine to reveal long-standing trading, political and cultural links between the Mauryan empire and Central Asia (broadly defined). In essence, the northwestern regions of the subcontinent which link the central region of Mauryan power in north India to Central Asia proper are geographically but not culturally or economically peripheral to the Mauryan empire. These manifold links pre- and post-date Mauryan era South Asia, testifying to their enduring significance. As Mauryan power declined, the empire contracted to the Magadhan heartlands and geopolitical influence in the northwest was lost. Notably, Buddhist sources suggest that the northwest was already subject to regular uprisings against Mauryan rule even at the height of Mauryan power.

Much work remains to be done to understand the internal workings of the empire, including political and cultural connections with its peripheries, although ongoing work at sites such as Sisupalgarh in eastern India and others in the Nepalese Terai is proving valuable. Re-evaluation of objects traditionally ascribed to the Mauryan period, not least due to an over-reliance on literary evidence, such as sculpture and punch-marked coins, is also reshaping our understanding of the empire, including its extent, internal dynamics and its multifaceted exchanges and relationships with the wider world.

REFERENCES

A.S. Altekar and V. Mishra. *Report on Kumrahar Excavations 1951–55* (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959).

- A. Bennett. 'A Mauryan-Śuṅga period ringstone (3rd – 1st century BCE found in peninsula Thailand)', talk delivered at *EASAA Conference at Naples* (2018).
- S. Bhandare. 'From Kauṭilya to Kosambi and beyond', in P. Olivelle, J. Leoshko, and H.P. Ray (eds.) *Reimagining Aśoka: Memory and History* (New Delhi: OUP, 2012).
- D.K. Chakrabarti. *India: An Archaeological History: Palaeolithic Beginnings to Early Historic Foundations* (Oxford: OUP, 2009).
- D.K. Chakrabarti. *The Oxford Companion to Indian Archaeology: The Archaeological Foundations of Ancient India, Stone Age to AD 13th Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2006).
- S.D. Chatterjee, N.N. Ghosh, S. Kisdnasami, and K.G. Bandopadhyay. 'Radiocarbon dating of ancient Pāṭaliputra rampart', *Science and Culture*, vol. 20 (12) (1955), pp. 615–17.
- R. Coningham and R. Young. *The Archaeology of South Asia: From the Indus to Aśoka, c.6500 BCE – 200 CE* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015).
- J. Cort. *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History* (Oxford: OUP, 2010).
- M. Coulson. *Rākshasa's Ring* (New York: NYU, 2005).
- J. Cribb. *The Indian Coinage Tradition: Origins, Continuity and Change* (Mumbai: IIRNS, 2005).
- A. Cunningham. *Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882–83* in ASI, vol. XX (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1885).
- E. Errington. 'A survey of late Hoards of Indian punch-marked coins', NC, vol. 163 (2003), pp. 69–121.
- H. Falk. *Aśoka Sites and Artefacts*. A source-book with bibliography (Mainz: von Zabern, 2006).
- R.C.C. Fynes. *The Lives of the Jain Elders* (Oxford: OUP, 1998).
- P.L. Gupta and T.R. Hardaker. *Punchmarked Coinage of the Indian Subcontinent. Magadha-Mauryan Series* (Mumbai: IIRNS, 2014 rev. ed.).
- P. Harvey. *An Introduction to Buddhism. Teachings, History and Practices* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013).
- S. Jansari. 'The Sophytes coins: from the Punjab to Bactria and back again', NC, vol. 178 (2018), pp. 71–98.
- K.P. Jayaswal. 'Jaina image of Maurya period', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XXIII (1937), pp. 128–132.
- D.D. Kosambi. *Indian Numismatics* (Delhi: Orient Longman, 1992, rpt.).
- N. Lahiri. *Ashoka in Ancient India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).
- M. McClish. 'Is the Arthaśāstra a Mauryan document?', in P. Olivelle, J. Leoshko, and H.P. Ray (eds.) *Reimagining Aśoka: Memory and History* (New Delhi: OUP, 2012).
- P.C. Mukharji. *Report on the Excavations on the Ancient Site of Pāṭaliputra (Patna-Bankipur)* (unpublished: Calcutta, 1898).
- J.A. Page. 'Bulandi Bagh, near Patna', in *ASI Annual Report 1926–7*, pp. 135–40.
- D. Prasad. 'Observations on different types of silver punch-marked coins, their periods and locale', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal - NS*, vol. 45 (1937), pp. 5–60.
- S. Rhie. *Quintanilla History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura, ca. 150 BCE–100 CE* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007).
- J. Shaw. *Buddhist Landscapes in Central India: Sanchi Hill and Archaeologies of Religious and Social Change, c.Third Century BC to Fifth Century AD* (Oxford/New York: Routledge, 2016).
- U. Singh. *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century* (New Delhi: Pearson, 2017).
- M.L. Smith. 'The archaeology of south Asian cities', JAR, vol. 14 (2006), pp. 97–142.
- D.S. Spooner. 'Mr Ratan Tata's excavations at Pāṭaliputra', in *ASI Annual Report 1912–13*, pp. 53–86.

- R. Stoneman. *The Greek Experience of India: From Alexander to the Indo-Greeks* (Princeton: PUP, 2019).
- J.S. Strong. *The Legend of King Aśoka. A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989).
- G. Verardi. *Excavations at Gotihawa and Pipri, Kapilbastu District, Nepal* (Rome: ISAO, 2007).
- L.A. Waddell. *Report on the Excavations at Pāṭaliputra (Patna), the Palibothra of the Greeks* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1903).

CHAPTER 4

PARTHIA



Jacopo Bruno

INTRODUCTION

Parthia is a large region located between the north-eastern edge of the Iranian plateau and the foothills of the Kopet Dag mountains, east of the Caspian Sea, in Central Asia. The boundaries of this region, as reported in written sources of different epochs, are not well defined; however, the core of the region can be identified with the mountain and piedmont areas along the Khorasan-Turkmenistan border (Pilipko, Koshelenko 1985, 209; Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993, 84–85). This area is extremely important from an historical and archaeological point of view as it represents an interaction zone between the Iranian plateau and Central Asia, which was critical for the Parthian state's formation and first expansion.

GEOGRAPHY

The heart of Parthia (Figure 4.1) is situated in the border territories between modern Turkmenistan and Iran and, more precisely, in the province of Akhal in southern Turkmenistan and in the regions of northern Khorasan and Razavi Khorasan in north-eastern Iran. The Dasht-e Kavir desert is located south of this area while the other geographical boundaries of this region are represented by the Karakum desert and the Uzboy river to the north, the plains of Gorgan and Misrian (Dehistan) to the west and the deltas of the Tedjen and Murghab rivers to the east.

This area is delimited by the two parallel mountain ranges of the Kopet Dag to the north and the Aladagh and Kuh-e Binalud to the south. The Atrek and Kashaf Rud rivers run between these ranges, along the Bojnurd-Quchan-Mashad corridor, which is north-west-south-east oriented. To the north, the piedmont area is characterized by a fertile zone stretching between the northern slope of the Kopet Dag and the southern limits of the Karakum desert. This fertile zone consists of two main areas: Akhal, which includes the district of Ashgabat and the western part of the Kopet Dag, and Etek, which includes the district of Kaakhka and the eastern foothills of the same mountain range. Along the foothills of the Kopet Dag, a river network is formed by numerous small waterways descending from the mountains of the Turkmen plain and flowing in a south-north direction. In some cases they form

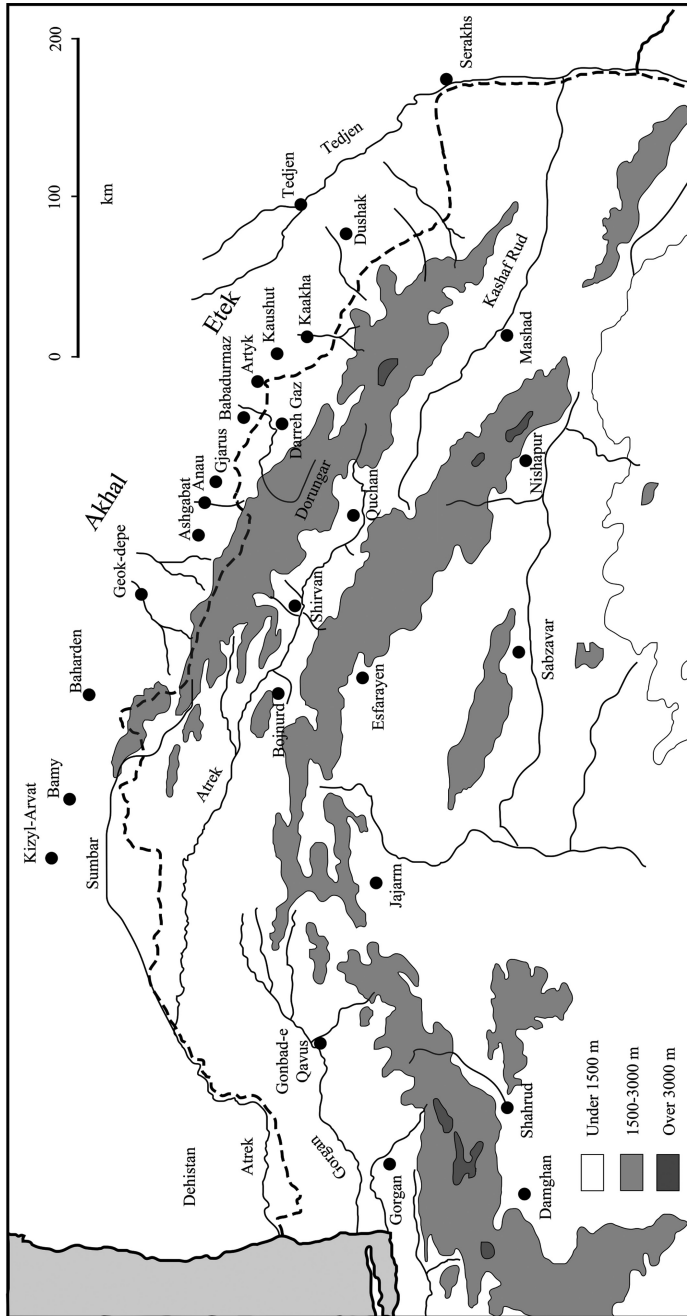


Figure 4.1 Turkmen-Khorasan mountain and piedmont areas.

deltas at the edge of the Karakum desert. In the south, a fluvial network of tributaries that flow into the Atrek and Kashaf Rud rivers ensures an abundance of water on the valley floors. Throughout history, these favourable conditions allowed the exploitation of the territory in the form of pastures and cultivable land as well as the establishment of settlements in the Atrek valley and on the northern foothills of the Kopet Dagħ. Furthermore, the system of valleys on both sides of the mountain range allows the crossing of the Kopet Dagħ in a north–south direction, providing a communication route between the Iranian plateau and the Turkmen foothills. The roads running from Quchan to Ashgabat and the passages following the course of the Dorungar river to the plain of Darreh Gaz and, from there, to Anau in the west or to the eastern district of the Kopet Dagħ, between the cities of Artyk and Kaakhka, are equally fundamental in guaranteeing connections among these regions. The geographical structure of the Atrek valley and the northern foothills of the Kopet Dagħ facilitates the connection between east and west as well. To the west, the Atrek river flows into the Caspian Sea through the plains of Gorgan and Misrian, part of ancient Hyrcania. These plains are also accessible through the northern foothills of the Kopet Dagħ or down through the Sumbar valley. To the east, the Atrek valley extends towards the Kashaf Rud valley reaching Mashad and, from there, Nishapur in the south or to the point where the Kashaf Rud river joins the Tedjen/Hari Rud river in the east. The Tedjen delta can also be easily reached through the northern foothills of the Kopet Dagħ range, a fertile corridor that provides a crossing point to head further east, towards Margiana and the Murghab delta. In the south, the Atrek valley – as a sort of passageway between the Kopet Dagħ and Aladagħ ranges along the Bojnurd-Quchan-Mashad route – connects the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea with the eastern plains of Mashad and with Central Asia via Serakhs, or with Afghanistan via Herat. To the north, the Kopet Dagħ foothills form a fertile corridor along the same east–west axis.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The archaeological activities conducted in ancient Parthia have concentrated in particular on its northern portion, which corresponds to modern Turkmenistan. In 1904, after the initial pioneering research carried out by officers of the Russian army, R. Pumpelly started his excavations in Anau, a city located about 15 kilometres east of Ashgabat in the central part of the northern foothills of the Kopet Dagħ (Pumpelly 1908). Pumpelly's research turned out to be fundamental, and adopting an innovative approach he was able to define the first chronological sequence of the area encompassing the Chalcolithic period (Anau North), the Bronze Age and the Iron Age (Anau South), and the Mediaeval period (Anau East).

The ceramic complexes discovered at Anau, and especially those belonging to the Late Iron Age (Anau IV), have been maintained for many years as reference material for the pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid periods in the area of the Kopet Dagħ. Later on, during the 1950s, the excavation of Yaz-depe (Masson 1959) in Margiana and El'ken-depe (Marushchenko 1959) in the foothills of the Kopet Dagħ (Etek) provided new data about the Iron Age archaeological assemblages. After these developments, the use of a three-phase chronological sequence for the Iron Age (Yaz I–III) was commonly adopted in Central Asian studies.

The first investigations with a focus on the Parthian period began in the 1930s, when archaeological campaigns were conducted on the sites of New Nisa and Old Nisa, near Ashgabat. After the first research activities carried out by A. A. Marushchenko in those years, more intensive archaeological campaigns took place between 1946 and 1967 under the direction of the South Turkmenistan Archaeological Complex Expedition (YuTAKE) under the supervision of M. E. Masson. In the same years numerous surveys and excavations were conducted on the northern foothills of the Kopet Dag along with investigations in the sites of Nisa, Mansur-depe and Geok-depe in the Akhal territories and Kunya-Kaakhka, Khosrov-kala and Kaushut in Etek (Koshelenko 1977; Pilipko, Koshelenko 1985; Pilipko 2015a).

In this context, the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Turkmen SSR organized the “Parthian Expedition” in 1967 in order to document and study the archaeological remains of northern Parthia. Surveys and stratigraphic excavations were carried out all along the Kopet Dag foothills, between Kizil-Arvat in the west and the Chaacha river in the east, as well as in its mountain valleys.¹

Between the 1980s and the 1990s, further research was carried out in Old Nisa by the Parthian Expedition led by V. N. Pilipko, the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (IA AN) under the direction of G. A. Koshelenko and, starting from 1990, the Turkmen-Italian Archaeological Expedition led first by A. Invernizzi and then by C. Lippolis (Invernizzi, Lippolis 2008).

Between the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, many other teams were involved in archaeological activities in southern Turkmenistan; among them can be listed: the Turkmen-French missions in Dehistan and at Ulug-depe (Lecomte 1999; Bendezu-Sarmiento, Lhuillier 2011), the Turkmen-Polish mission in the Serakhs oasis (Kaim 2008; Buławka 2017), the Turkmen-Spanish mission at Geokchik-depe (Córdoba 2011) and the Turkmen-German mission in the Meana-Chaacha area (Pollock, Bernbeck et al. 2015).

As a result of these activities, 315 sites located in the foothills of the Kopet Dag were identified and recorded. According to their chronology, they belong to seven different phases: Iron Age I–III (Yaz I–III), Hellenistic (3rd century BC), Early Parthian (2nd–1st centuries BC), Late Parthian (1st century AD to the early 3rd century AD), Post-Parthian/Early Sasanian (second half of the 3rd–4th century AD) (Pilipko 2015a).

Unfortunately, the data from the southern part of this region on the Khorasan side are much scarcer than those available for southern Turkmenistan. Some investigations were carried out in the western part of Khorasan by Iranian and Iranian-Japanese teams during the 1970s,² while surveys were conducted by the Italian expedition between Shirvan and Quchan, in the upper Atrek valley, between 1976 and 1978 (Venco Ricciardi 1980). In 1978, another mission led by P. L. Kohl and D. L. Heskel (1980) briefly explored the Darreh Gaz plain north of the upper Atrek valley with the aim of identifying and dating the main sites located there.³

Few other investigations were carried out in this area (Gropp 1995) until recent years when systematic surveys were conducted and small trenches opened in the plains of Jajarm, Esfarayen and Safiabad (Biscione, Vahdati 2012; Vahdati 2015).

In addition to the research in Khorasan we should include the research in the western regions of Damghan (Hansman, Stronach 1970; 1974; Trinkaus 1981) and Gorgan (Kiani 1982; Cleuziou 1985; Sauer, Rekavandi, Wilkinson et al. 2013),

respectively part of ancient Comisene and Hyrcania, and geographically and historically linked with northern Parthia.

THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

The area of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains was incorporated into the Achaemenid Empire under the reign of Cyrus II, also known as the Great, (559–530 BC). At that time, the regions north and south of the Kopet Dagħ were part of the Achaemenid province of Parthava-Parthia (Jacobs 2011), which also included Hyrcania and was formed by the north-eastern territories of the Iranian plateau east of the Caspian Sea and by the Turkmen foothills. The whole area was culturally linked to the other regions of Central Asia – Margiana, Bactria, Sogdia and Chorasmia (Cattenat, Gardin 1977, 245–246; Lyonnet 1997, 83–119) – and acted as a frontier zone between the plateau and the steppes. Parthava-Parthia is mentioned in the inscription of Darius I at Bisotun as well as in the list of lands controlled by his successors. In these inscriptions Parthava-Parthia is either cited alone or in association with Hyrcania (Jacobs 2011). In Herodotos' tribute lists, Parthians, Sogdians, Chorasmians and Arians are all included in the 16th district (Herodotos 3.93).

Archaeological discoveries, even if their interpretation poses some problems, are the most relevant sources of information for the reconstruction of Parthava during the Late Iron Age and the Achaemenid period (Vogelsang 1992; Boucharlat 2005; Francfort 2005; Genito 2013). Large amounts of data come from the excavations conducted on the northern slope of the Kopet Dagħ and, to a lesser extent, from the research carried out in the Atrek valley and in the area south of the Aladagħ mountains.

In these regions, archaeological research has shown a certain continuity in agricultural and settlement patterns following the early stages of the Iron Age (Yaz I). Even if the position of the settlements is consistent with the earlier trends in the area, the number of sites increases during the Yaz II–III phase.⁴ The settlements are usually located close to the main rivers and their tributaries. Many of them had already been occupied in previous periods as proved by the presence of Yaz I pottery in some sites, whereas others were established during this phase. They often consist of a combination of densely packed dwellings, farmhouses and isolated manor houses (Pilipko 2015a). Some new small sites were founded on natural hills overlooking the surrounding territory and probably served as lookouts along the main communication routes (Venco Ricciardi 1980, 62; Vahdati 2015, 260–261). Larger sites can be attributed to this period as well, and it is possible that they played the role of regional centres as in the case of El'ken-depe and Ulug-depe on the northern slope of the Kopet Dagħ in Etek and Tepe Yam in the upper Atrek valley, between Shirvan and Quchan.

The material culture encountered in the valleys and foothills of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains during the pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid periods mainly falls within the cultural horizon of the Central Asian Iron Age (Cattenat, Gardin 1977, 230–235), corresponding to the Yaz II–III phase (c. 1100–329 BC). This cultural horizon is well known in Margiana and Bactria as well and is characterized by the typical carinated cylindro-conical shapes, wheel made, with smoothed or slipped surfaces. The diffusion of these and other shapes related to the Yaz II–III

ceramic complex in the Kopet Dagh region covers almost the same area as that of the Early Iron Age Yaz I painted handmade pottery and the ceramic assemblages of the Bronze Age Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) (Francfort 2005, 322; Biscione, Vahdati 2012, Figures 4.3–4.5). The ceramic assemblages of the areas located north and south of the Kopet Dagh are quite homogeneous during this period even if some sub-regional variations in fabrics and shapes can be recognized between Akhal and Etek (Pilipko 2015a) and between those found in the northern piedmont zone and the Atrek valley.

Besides the typical Yaz II–III shapes (Figure 4.2) – diffused along the whole Kopet Dagh range and attested also in the plains and river valleys of Khorasan – another characteristic shape of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains is the conical cup with concave flanged rim (Figure 4.3). This type of vessel is rarely found in the Turkmen foothills and its circulation area is mainly restricted to the central part of the Kopet

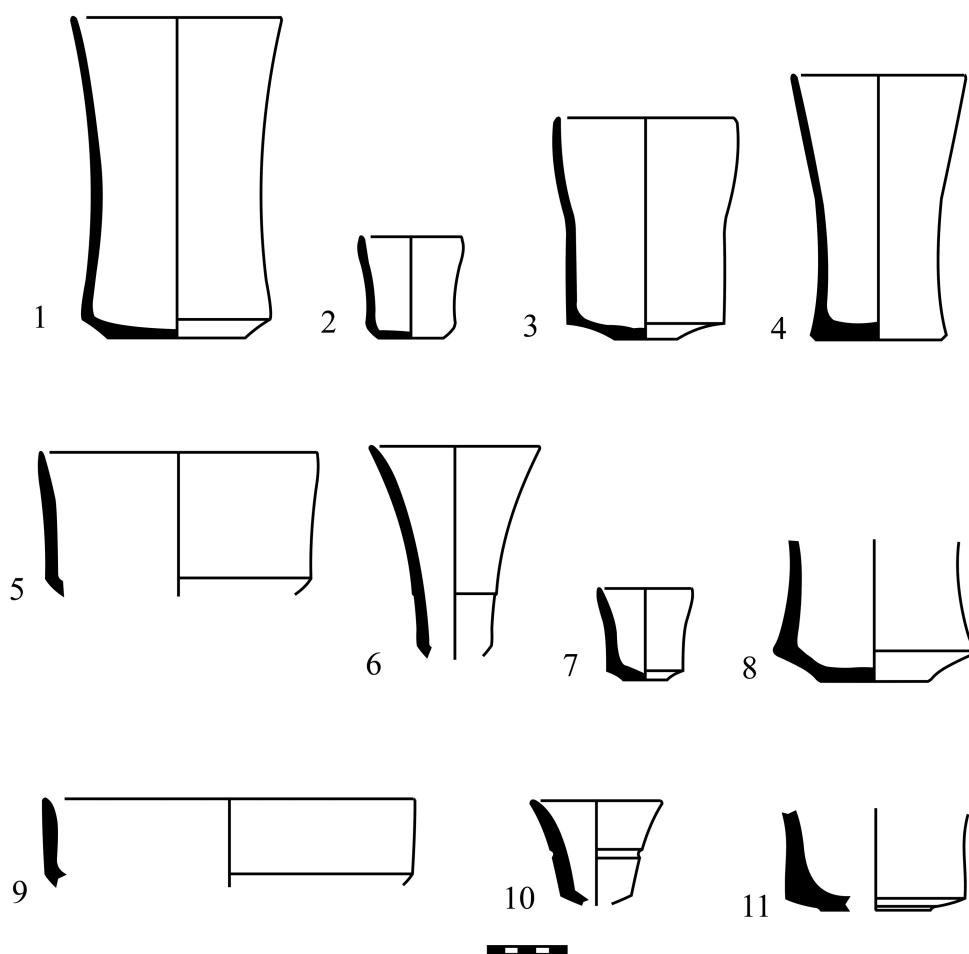


Figure 4.2 Cylindro-conical shapes. 1–2: Akhal (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 146 nos. 1, 5); 3–4: Etek (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 50 nos. 7, 9); 5–8: upper Atrek valley; 9–11: Esfarayen plain (after Vahdati 2015, fig. 11 nos. 1, 10, 13).

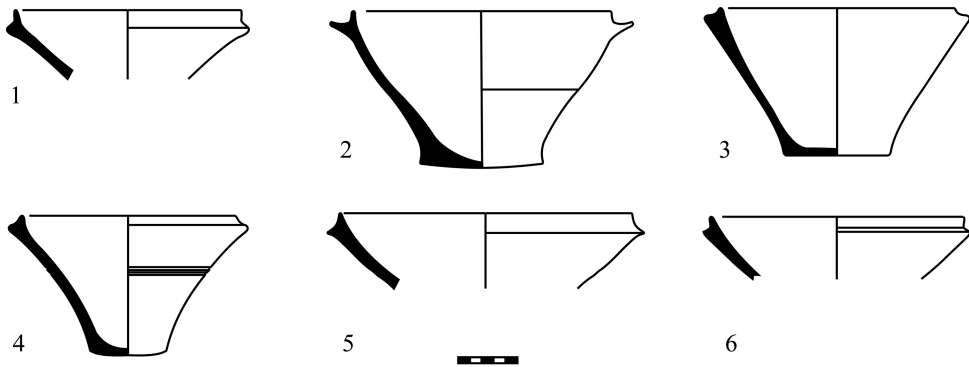


Figure 4.3 Conical cups with flanged rim. 1–2: Akhal (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 140 no. 11, fig. 148 no. 1); 3: Etek (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 51 no. 9); 4–5: upper Atrek valley; 6: Esfaryen plain (after Vahdati 2015, fig. 11 no. 8).

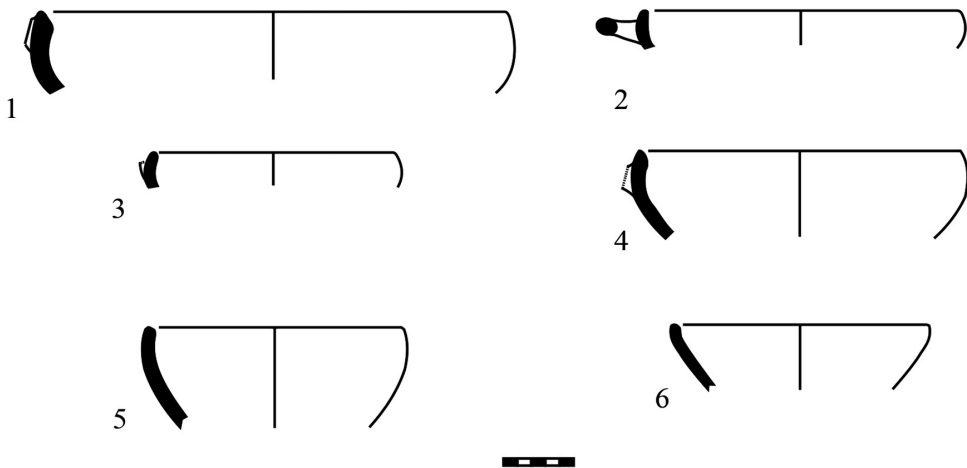


Figure 4.4 Hemispherical bowls. 1–2: Akhal (after Pilipko 2015a, fig. 140 nos. 27, 28); 3–4: upper Atrek valley; 5–6: Esfaryen plain (after Vahdati 2015, fig. 9 nos. 6, 10).

Dagh range: the Geok-depe district and the mountain river valleys. In contrast, this type of vessel is quite commonly encountered in the upper Atrek valley and south of the Aladagh mountains. The close relation between the northern and southern slopes of the Kopet Dagh could suggest the introduction of shapes and surface treatments in both north–south and south–north directions. Certain kinds of pottery, produced, for example, in the mountain valleys of the central portion of the range, such as the Atrek valley and the Darreh Gaz plain, could be introduced in the ceramic complex of the Kopet Dagh foothills and vice versa.

Another common feature shared by the ceramic complexes of Khorasan and those of the northern foothills of the Kopet Dagh – mainly in Akhal – is the presence of hemispherical bowls with or without a horizontal handle below slightly inturned rims, as well as the sporadic appearance of jugs and tripod bowls (Figures 4.4–4.5).

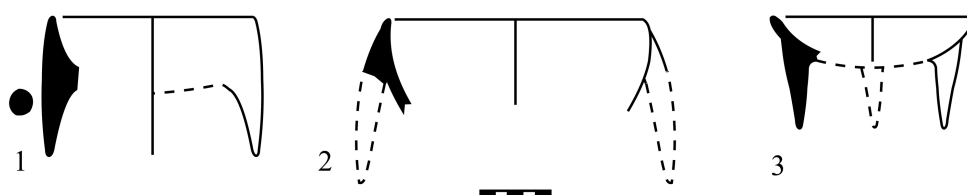


Figure 4.5 Tripod bowls. 1: upper Atrek valley; 2–3: Esfarayen plain (after Vahdati 2015, fig. 9 nos. 21, 22).

These shapes find precise correspondences in the ceramic assemblages of the Gorgan and Dehistan plains. Recent studies conducted in Gorgan (Priestman 2013) have highlighted an almost complete overlap in the circulation areas of tripod bowls, jugs and some types of hemispherical bowls. This is clearly inferable from the materials found in Late Iron Age contexts in the border area between Gorgan and Dehistan. These shapes have parallels within the ceramic complex of the Iron Age culture of northern Hyrcania, the so-called “Archaic Dehistan complex” (Muradova 1991; Lecomte 2005), whose chronological span can be identified within the periods between the 14th and 13th centuries and the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Several studies have already stressed how the Turkmen-Khorasan mountainous area constitutes both a border and a contact zone between two cultural regions respectively distinguished by the Yaz and Archaic Dehistan ceramic assemblages (Pilipko 2015a; Vahdati 2015; Bruno 2019). The central part of the Turkmen foothills still falls within the Yaz ceramic horizon, of which it should be seen as its westernmost extension but, at the same time, it is subjected to influences from the regions located east of the Caspian Sea where the Archaic Dehistan ceramic assemblages are prevalent. The same consideration applies to the districts of the upper Atrek valley and Aladagh. Here, the conspicuous presence of the typical carinated cylindro-conical shapes underlines the affinity of this material with the Yaz ceramic horizon. Nevertheless, the sporadic presence of tripod bowls, jugs and some types of hemispherical bowls is in line with the ceramic assemblages of the western area and the Archaic Dehistan complex. Elements of this culture are certainly attested in the lower Atrek valley and it is likely that the interaction and exchanges between these two cultural horizons took place along the course of the Atrek and Sumbar rivers, which connect the central Kopet Dag range and the Turkmen foothills with the plains east of the Caspian Sea.

One final element that has to be taken into consideration is the presence of influences in the pottery production of the Turkmen Khorasan mountainous region that can be attributed to the contemporaneous material of the Iranian plateau. Already in the 70s, the area of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains was recognized as a “zone-charnière” (“hinge area”) between Central Asia and the plateau (Cattenat and Gardin 1977, 241–243). In the northern foothills of the Kopet Dag, the sites of Anau and El’ken-depe show the coexistence of Iranian and Central Asian elements in their assemblages and the same can be said for the ceramic complex of the upper Atrek valley.

For example, the sporadic presence of bowls with thickened or rolled rims in these regions can be linked to the composition of the ceramic assemblages of the plateau.

The finding of similar shapes produced in local ware testifies to the existence of contacts and exchanges between the two cultural areas of Central Asia and Iran along the permeable border of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains. As already mentioned, the upper Atrek valley, as well as the other inner valleys of the central part of the Kopet Dagh range, was part of this geographic sphere of interaction; this is reflected by its material culture, in which simultaneous influences from both Iran and Central Asia are easily discernible.

The coexistence of different elements displayed by the pottery of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains from the Iron Age until the end of the Achaemenid period shows how the cultural landscape of this border region was that of a zone of interaction between the ceramic production centres of Central Asia (Yaz II–III), the Iranian plateau and Archaic Dehistan (Figure 4.6). During the Achaemenid period, the Kopet Dagh and Aladagh mountains represented the south-western limit of the circulation area of the Central Asian ceramic assemblages characterized by the typical Yaz II–III cylindro-conical shapes. The virtual boundary of this Central Asian cultural horizon runs along the Kopet Dagh and Aladagh ranges, on the border between Khorasan and Turkmenistan and to the edge of the Dasht-e Kavir desert, thus incorporating the Atrek valley and the Aladagh mountains to the south⁵ and the Akhal territories to the west. Further west, along the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea and the lower courses of the Atrek and Sumbar rivers, in the Misrian plain and the districts of Kyzyl-Arvat and Bamy on the western limit of the Turkmen foothills, the ceramic production belongs to the Archaic Dehistan complex. Finally, further south and south-west, in the Gorgan plain and along the edge of the plateau, the ceramic complexes fall into the Iranian cultural horizon (Cattenat, Gardin 1977, 235–240; Cleuziou 1985, 183).

THE HELLENISTIC AND PARTHIAN PERIODS

With the death of Darius III and the advance of the Macedonian armies in Central Asia (330–327 BC), the regions east of the Caspian Sea became part of the empire of Alexander the Great and were then inherited by the Seleukids at the end of 4th century BC. The organization of the Achaemenid province was maintained during the Hellenistic period and the area of the Kopet Dagh continued to belong to the province of Parthia-Hyrcania. Around the mid-third century BC, roughly in the same years of the secession of Bactria under Diodotos I, Andragoras, the satrap of Parthia-Hyrcania, revolted against the Seleukids and proclaimed the independence of his territories (Justin, 41.4.4–7). Andragoras' control of these regions did not last long as during the first half of the 3rd century BC the Scythian nomadic group of Parni, part of the confederation of the Dahae, migrated from the region east of the Caspian Sea to the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains (Justin, 41.1.9–12). Under the leadership of their first king Arsakes I (247–211 BC),⁶ they raided the neighbouring territories and the regions controlled by Diodotos I (Coloru 2009, 169–172); later, probably around 238 BC, they invaded Parthia and killed Andragoras. Sometime after the invasion of Parthia, Arsakes was able to annex Hyrcania and to lay the foundations for the Parthian Arsakid power (Justin, 41.4.8).

The relationship with Bactria had a conflicted nature during this period but, at the death of Diodotos I, his son and successor, Diodotos II, formed an alliance with

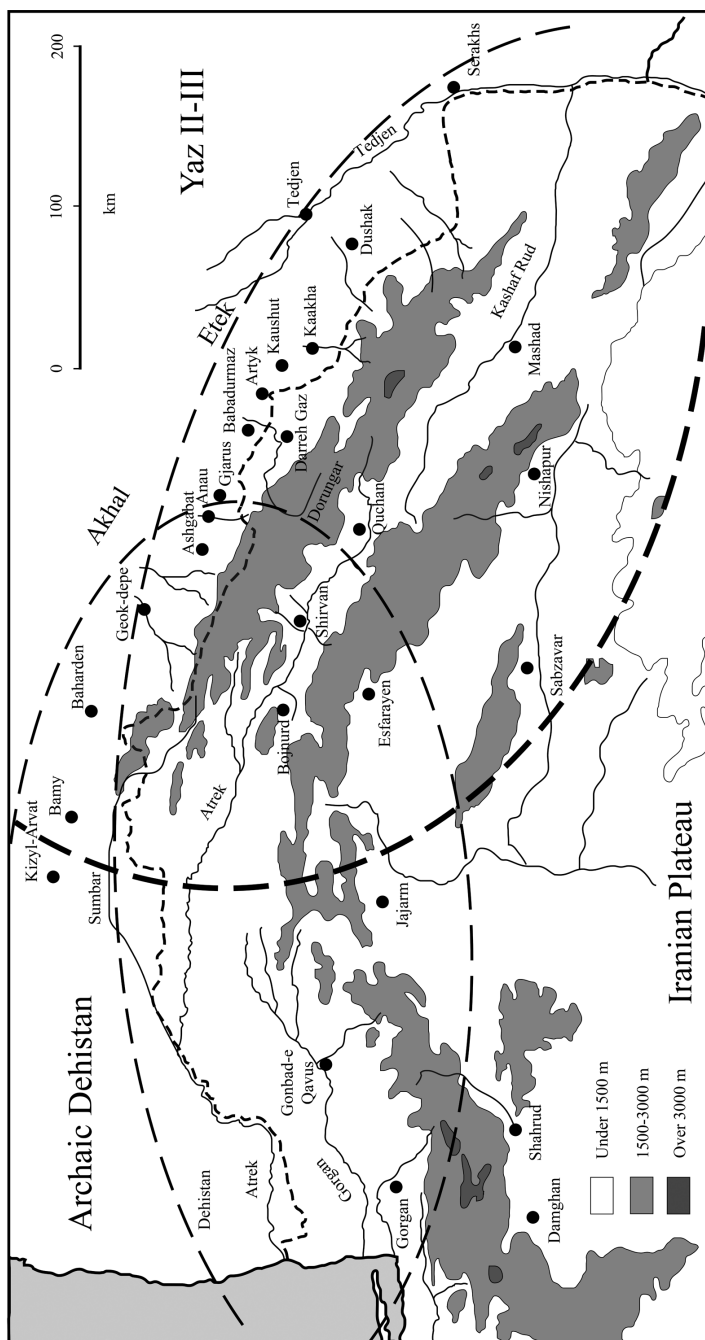


Figure 4.6 Cultural horizon of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountain and piedmont areas during the Late Iron Age.

Arsakes I against the Seleukids (Justin, 41.4.9).⁷ Arsakes and his successor had to face the attempts of Seleukus II (246–226 BC) and Antiochos III (223–187 BC) to regain control over the eastern territories. On this occasion the Parthians tried to avoid open battle and retreated into the desert regions east of the Caspian Sea. They successfully opposed the Seleukid armies and prevented the reconquest of the lost territories and the restoration of Seleukid supremacy over Parthia. Although the Arsakids eventually had to recognize the formal authority of the Seleukid kings, they maintained direct control over the territories around the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains.

On the eastern frontier, the relations between Bactria and Parthia seem to have been peaceful overall until the reign of Mithradates I (165–132 BC) (Rtveladze 1995, 183). When Mithradates I ascended to the throne – at the same time as Eukratides I in Bactria according to Justin (41.6.1) – the regions controlled by the Parthians would have included Gorgan, Khorasan and southern Turkmenistan west of the Tedjen river, which share a border with the territories subjected to the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. It is possible that taking advantage of the uprisings in the provinces of Graeco-Bactria (Justin, 41.6.3), Mithradates launched major military operations against the kingdom of Eucratides, conquering the neighbouring regions (Strabo, 11.11.2) and extending his control over part of Aria and Margiana. Perhaps, he moved further upwards along the middle course of the Amu Darya river, reaching the western territories of Bactria (Olbrycht 2010a),⁸ which he captured before leading the Parthian army to the south-west where he invaded Media (Justin, 41.6.6–7) and Elymais (Justin, 41.6.8). Eventually, he conquered Mesopotamia and entered Seleukeia on the Tigris triumphally in 141 BC. The attempts of the Seleukid kings Demetrius II (145–138 BC) and Antiochos VII (138–129 BC) to reconquer Mesopotamia and western Iran proved utterly unsuccessful.

In the second half of the 2nd century BC, owing to the movements of nomadic peoples that were occupying the regions of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, the Parthian kings had to face major issues on the eastern frontier. Phraates II (132–126 BC) and Artabanus I (126–122 BC) lost their lives while fighting them. The turning point of the conflicts in the east occurred when Mithradates II (121–91 BC) opposed the nomad penetration into Parthian territories and regained control over the region that had been previously conquered by Mithradates I (Olbrycht 2010b, 151–153). By his deeds Mithradates II was able to strengthen Parthian power while extending his influence over the eastern provinces.⁹

Despite the availability of written sources, the reconstruction of the landscape of northern Parthia during the Hellenistic period raises some issues. The Hellenistic phase in the region of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains is not very well known from an archaeological point of view. Moreover that the activities of Alexander the Great and the Seleukids are not always clearly reflected in the material culture can cause difficulties in the correct identification of settlements dating to this period.¹⁰ In the eastern portion of the Kopet Dag range (Etek), the archaeological data show a reduction in the number and dimension of the settlements, which now tend to be grouped in certain areas, around the main centres (Pilipko 2015a, 70–74; Pilipko 2015b, 89–91), according to a trend that characterizes Margiana as well (Bader et al. 1998a, 187–188) and that will further develop in the following period. In the western Kopet Dag and in the valleys located south of the mountains, the settlements that are datable to this period are more difficult to identify, even if the comparison with the Etek sites would suggest

that the settled population was relatively small (Pilipko 2015a, 167). Moreover, the material culture of Akhal and the southern valleys on the one hand, and of Etek on the other, seems to develop in different ways during the Hellenistic period. The ceramic complexes of the 3rd century BC in the Akhal area present certain “archaic” features that are still related to the Achaemenid period. At the same time, an absence of Hellenistic influences can be noticed in the pottery production of Akhal, while the neighbouring Etek is deeply affected by Hellenistic trends alongside Margiana and Bactria, where the ceramic assemblages show numerous traces of the thorough reception of Hellenized features (Pilipko 2012). It is possible, as proposed by Pilipko (2012, 116–117), that the differences between Etek and Akhal are connected to differences in the “Greek” colonisation of these regions – ephemeral and limited or completely absent in Akhal, more stable and enduring in Etek and the nearby Margiana – perhaps due to the strong influence of the nomadic Dahae who lived in the territories east of the Caspian Sea and along the Uzboy river, on the western part of the Kopet Dag.¹¹

More archaeological data and literary sources are available for the Parthian period. According to Isidore of Charax, the region of the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains consisted of the Parthian provinces of Astauene (upper Atrek valley), Parthyene (Akhal) and Apavartikene (Etek) (*Parthian Stations* 11–13), which constituted the cradle of the Parthian power and the setting of the first Arsakid royal foundations.¹² These regions bordered with Margiana (*Parthian Stations* 14) to the east and with Hyrcania (*Parthian Stations* 10) to the west. The excavations carried out in the Turkmen foothills (Pilipko 2015a) and the surveys conducted in the upper Atrek valley (Venco Ricciardi 1980) and in the area south of the Aladagh mountains (Vahdati 2015) give an idea of the organization of the Turkmen-Khorasan region during the Parthian period. In this phase, a sudden increase of the settled and cultivated area occurred in the whole region. A similar phenomenon is observed at the same time in the neighbouring regions of Serakhs (Kaim 2008, 131–134; Buławka 2017, 162–166), Margiana (Bader et al. 1998b, 189–190) and Bactria (Lyonnet 1997, 149–152). The number of sites seem to have increased with many new foundations and a substantial increase of the land devoted to agriculture, owing to the development of irrigation systems along the main water courses. Large fortified settlements were now established which soon became poles of attraction for other sites which tended to cluster in intensively irrigated areas. Simultaneously, the importance of urban areas, especially in the Turkmen foothills, grew considerably. Here, the main sites in the districts of Geok-depe and Ashgabat in Akhal (Pilipko 2015a, 174) are the fortress of Geok-depe, Old Nisa, New Nisa, Mansur-depe and Anau, while those located in the zone between Artyk and Kaakhka in Etek (Pilipko 2015a, 90) are Kemelek-depe (Dashly 9), Khosrov-kala, Kunya-Kaakhka. Among these, the most useful information for the Parthian period come from Old Nisa, one of the main sites of the area and the only one to have been extensively investigated.

The archaeological area of Nisa, near Ashgabat, consists of the two mounds of Old Nisa and New Nisa and is generally identified as the “Parthian Nisa” (Parthaunisa) mentioned by Isidore of Charax.¹³ Old Nisa-Mithradatkert¹⁴ (Figure 4.7) was originally a fortified residence of the Arsakid sovereigns;¹⁵ the name Mithradatkert, meaning “Fortress of Mithradates”, would suggest it was a royal foundation of Mithradates I (Invernizzi 2004, 137). The urban area on the nearby fortified hill of New Nisa, on the other hand, had probably been previously inhabited.

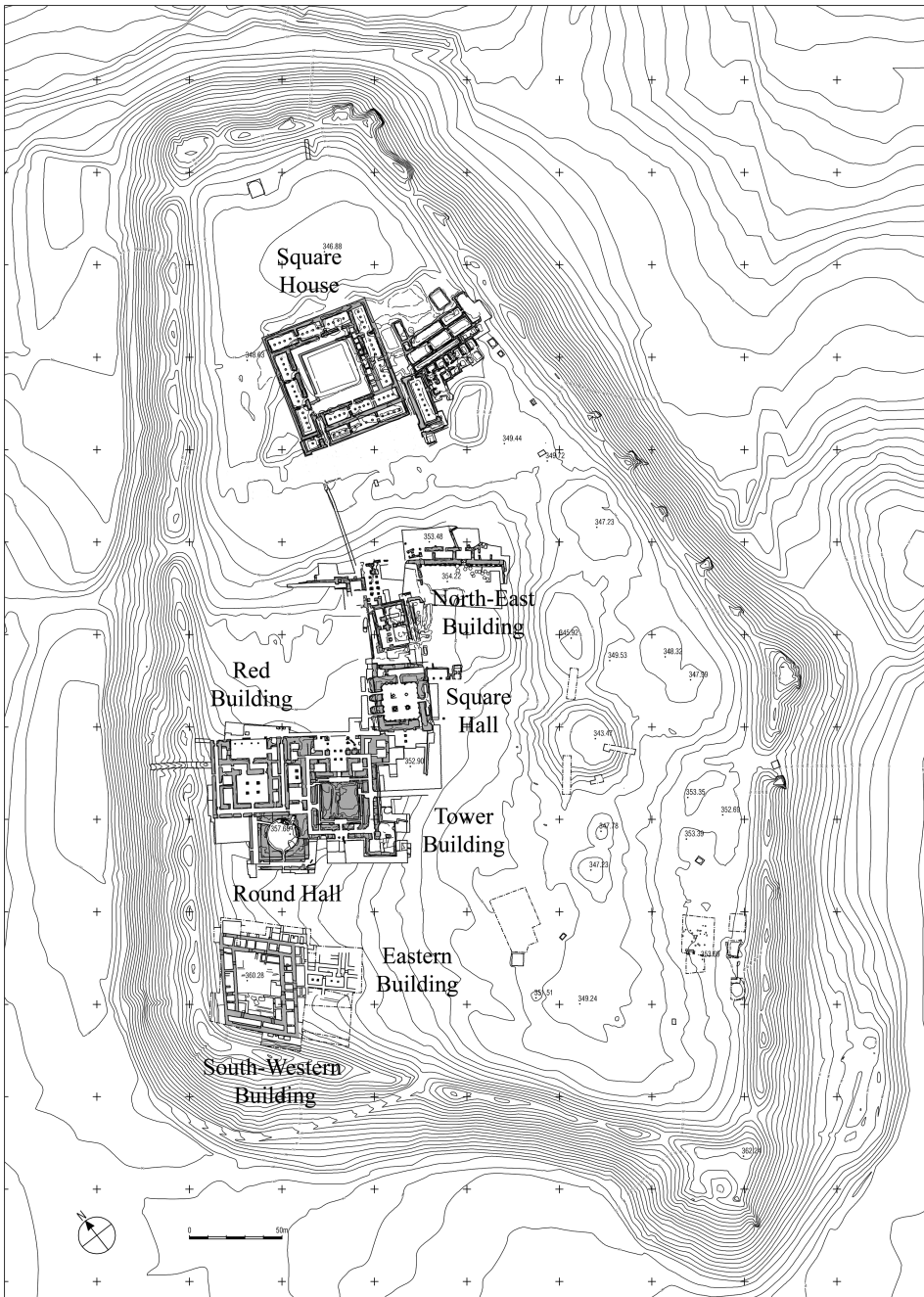


Figure 4.7 Old Nisa (after Lippolis 2013, fig. 3).

The second major construction phase of Old Nisa should be dated after the death of its founder, with the erection of a monumental complex in the middle of the site, accompanied by a change in the appearance and destination of the entire citadel that was now transformed with architectural works devoted to the commemoration and celebration of the Arsakid royal family (Invernizzi 2001; 2004; 2011).

The excavations carried out in Old Nisa since the 1930s allowed the identification of three main architectonic complexes located respectively in the central, the northern and the southern areas of the site. It is thought that more or less the whole surface of the citadel had been touched by building activities (Pilipko 2001). The first edifices to be investigated were the central complex and the northern complex. The central complex consists of a series of monumental buildings arranged around a main courtyard (Pilipko 2008) and it is the result of a unitary architectural plan, even if it was characterized by different construction phases and restorations. The specific purpose of the individual buildings is still debated, but it is clear that the function of this architectonic complex was to host ceremonies connected to the Arsakid royal cult. The oldest building of the complex, probably dating back to the first phase of the fortress, is the Red Building; it stands out for its central tetrastyle hall and the portico with stone decorations on the façade. The buildings added to the central complex in a second construction phase are: the Tower Building, the Round Hall, the Square Hall and the North-East Building (Pilipko 2001; Invernizzi, Lippolis 2008).

The Tower Building is characterized by a square central body surrounded by corridors and presenting four angular projections, the south-western projection is the so-called Round Hall. The Tower Building is, in spite of the scarce data, the only structure for which the presence of a second floor is almost certain. In fact, the central body was originally a platform for a small-sized colonnaded structure decorated with terracotta elements, wall painting and clay sculptures. In the south-western corner of the building, the Round Hall takes its name from the majestic central round hall covered by a semi-elliptical mud-brick dome enclosed in a square formed by four thick walls. Monumental painted clay sculptures representing individuals wearing Greek or Iranian costumes, directly modelled *in situ* by artists with Greek training, were found inside the hall. In this context, the discovery of a male head, interpreted as a portrait of Mithradates I, is of great interest¹⁶ (Figure 4.8). Owing to the presence of these decorative elements and to the architectonic characteristics of the building itself, the Round Hall has been suggested to be a mausoleum or “heroon” for Mithradates I and, perhaps, for the Arsakid royal family in general (Invernizzi 2001; 2004).

The Square Hall and the North-East Building are located on the eastern side of the central courtyard. The Square Hall is an imposing construction whose central square hall is characterized by four quadrilobate columns located in the middle of the room. According to the reconstructions, the walls were decorated with clay sculptures hosted within niches, forming a sort of gallery of the Arsakid ancestors (Figure 4.9).

Lastly, the North-East Building, as its name suggests, is located at the north-eastern corner of the central square. Its function is not clear but, given its spatial organization with large courtyards and porticoes that could accommodate a large number of people and its connection with buildings that are interpreted as storage facilities, it may be assumed that it was a ceremonial space or a banquet hall.

The heart of the northern complex is the Square House, a quadrangular building with a central courtyard and rectangular colonnaded rooms arranged on its four sides.



Figure 4.8 Old Nisa, male head (Mithradates I) from the Round Hall, clay (© Centro Scavi Torino).



Figure 4.9 Old Nisa, male head from the Square Hall, clay (© Centro Scavi Torino).

This building must date back to one of the first architectural phases of the fortress and its original purpose may have been to host banquets (Invernizzi 2000). Connected with this function, as well as with the ceremonies that took place in the central complex, were the numerous storage rooms located in the proximity of the Square House. That these were mainly intended for the wine, vinegar, flour and oil supplies is attested by more than 2700 ostraka found in this area. These economic documents (Diakonoff, Livshits 2001) record the delivery of goods, and especially wine, from nearby production centres and vineyards to Old Nisa (Bader 1996). In a subsequent architectural phase, the Square House underwent a change of use and was transformed into a “treasury” where sumptuous goods such as marble and metal sculptures (Invernizzi 1999; 2009), ivory rhyta (Pappalardo 2010), furniture (Manassero 2018), coins, ceramic vessels and weapons were stored. Among the most impressive finds of old Nisa are undoubtedly the 48 ivory rhyta found together with ivory furniture in room XI of the Square House (Figures 4.10–4.11). Their origin is still widely debated but, according to the current state of knowledge, a local production in Nisa cannot be excluded.¹⁷ These objects, as well as the ivory furniture they were found with, lend support to the idea that lavish banquets and celebrations of the Arsakid dynasty took place in the Square House and in the other buildings of the citadel (Invernizzi 2000; Manassero 2018).

The last architectural complex that was brought to light in recent years is located in the southern part of the site and is formed by the so-called “South-Western Building” and by the “Eastern Building” (Lippolis 2013; Lippolis, Manassero 2015). Both buildings are multifunctional edifices that housed storage rooms, workshops and, in the case of the Eastern Building, the residences or reception rooms for high-ranking officials in charge of the management of the complex.

The architectonic features and the decorative elements encountered in the excavated buildings in Old Nisa, along with most of the artistic production of the city, clearly illustrate the fruitful contacts between Greek, Iranian and Central Asian traditions. With the transformation of Parthian power from a peripheral kingdom to a supra-regional empire, a unique artistic language was developed. It made extensive use of the expressive language of Hellenism to convey a certain image of the new status of the Arsakids, now on the same level as the Hellenistic courts of the Seleukids and Graeco-Bactrian sovereigns. This spirit pervaded the art and architecture of Nisa, where the expressions of the Iranian tradition and of the Hellenistic courts adopted the formal language of Greek art, integrating it deeply into the cultural horizon of Hellenized Central Asia (Invernizzi 2001). The construction of the monumental complexes of Old Nisa might have attracted artists from Asia’s Hellenized centres to give voice to the figurative programme commissioned by the Arsakids. The groups of clay sculptures and wall paintings found in the buildings of Old Nisa are probably the work of Greek masters or artists with Greek training who were well aware of the contemporaneous stylistic trends in the artistic production of the Hellenistic world (Invernizzi 2011). The vivacity of the artistic life in Old Nisa has a parallel in Bactria where artists belonging to Graeco-Bactrian ateliers sculpted the clay statues of Ai Khanoum. Later on, the sculptural traditions developed in the 2nd century BC both in Parthia and Bactria was developed further in the dynastic art of the Kushans and in Buddhist art, which made great use of stucco and clay sculptures and decorations (Invernizzi 2001, 151–152).

The findings from Old Nisa and the other sites of the Turkmen foothills show how some relevant changes intervened in the material culture and in the local pottery



Figure 4.10 Old Nisa, ivory rhyton from the Square House (© Centro Scavi Torino).



Figure 4.11 Old Nisa, ivory rhyton from the Square House (© Centro Scavi Torino).

repertoire during the Parthian period. While the pottery of the 3rd century BC mostly inherits its shapes and characteristics from Late Iron Age pottery production, during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC the Hellenistic influence on the ceramic assemblage increases slightly. In this phase, the ceramic material is generally of good quality; it is wheel made and presents a considerable use of engobe or burnishing. An increase in the number of medium sized open shapes is apparent in contrast with the ceramic assemblages of the previous period. They are mostly bowls and plates for individual use, with parallels in the contemporaneous ceramic production of the Merv oasis (Puschnigg 2013, 347–348). This process goes hand in hand with the introduction of new characteristic shapes with Greek prototypes as well as grey-black fabrics and reddish engobes. In particular, the use of grey-black fabrics should be considered as an attempt to imitate the appearance of Greek black tableware (Gardin 1973, 127–128; Haerinck 1983, 188–190, 251) and is well attested in Margiana, Bactria and in the north-eastern provinces of Iran (Lyonnet 1997, 123–124).¹⁸ However, in spite of the innovations that can be attributed to Hellenistic influence, the ceramic complex of this area is the expression of heterogeneous traditions fusing together (Pilipko 2015a, 325–328). The reception of Hellenistic trends is much stronger in the artistic field, as shown by the masterpieces found in Old Nisa. Unlike in Bactria and Margiana, the material culture of this region remains more closely linked to the local sphere of production and to the traditions diffused along the Turkmen-Khorasan mountains.

NOTES

- 1 Many Iron Age and Parthian settlements were studied in Akhal – Garry Kyariz, Khyrly-depe, Yanik-depe, Anau – and in Etek – Kosha-depe, Kapyr-kala, Dashly oasis. See Pilipko 2015a for references.
- 2 See Vahdati 2015 for references.
- 3 Particular attention was devoted to those sites that could be dated to prehistoric phases through comparisons with materials coming from the Turkmen foothills (Kohl, Heskell 1980).
- 4 The increase of the settled areas during this phase can also be observed in neighbouring territories, such as the Serakhs oasis and the Murghab delta (Buławka 2017, 162–164).
- 5 The area of Sabzevar should be considered as the southernmost extension of the Yaz horizon since Yaz II–III related pottery has been found at Tepe Damghani (Francfort et al. 2014, 130).
- 6 For the genealogy and chronology of the Parthian rulers we refer to Assar (2005; 2006).
- 7 This alliance did not last long, and it seems that after the death of Diodotos II Euthydemus did not renew it (Coloru 2009, 173, 176).
- 8 For the discussion on the extent of the conquests of Mithradates I in Graeco-Bactria see Rtveladze 1995, 183–185; Coloru 2009, 216–219; Lerner 2015, 48–52. It is still not clear whether Merv definitively passed under Parthian control during the reign of Mithradates I (Olbrycht 2010a, 237–238) or under his successor Phraates II (Koshelenko, Bader, Gaibov 1996, 138–141); nevertheless, it can legitimately be supposed that the area had been annexed by Mithradates I.
- 9 The embassy exchanges that took place during his reign between the Parthian court and the Han Emperor Wu (141–87 BC) were recorded (Posch 1998, 355–356).
- 10 In Parthia, as well as Margiana, a persistence of ceramic shapes belonging to the Yaz II–III traditions can be detected up to the first half of the 3rd century BC and, therefore, during Seleukid domination (Callieri 1996; Gaibov 2004; Pilipko 2012). Furthermore, for Akhal and the areas south of the Kopet Dagh mountains, unlike for Margiana and Bactria, there

are considerable difficulties in isolating the ceramic complexes of the Hellenistic period due to the rarity of 3rd century BC pottery clearly displaying the influence of the Greek tradition (Pilipko 2012). In this context, it is extremely difficult to identify the settlements of the Hellenistic phase (3rd century BC) with accuracy; instead, these are often grouped with those of the Achaemenid or Parthian periods, according to the prevalent characteristics presented by their ceramic complexes.

- 11 In the western part of the Kopet Dagh and along the upper Sumbar valley were found nomadic burials that show similarities with those recognized in the desert area and along the Uzboy river (Pilipko 2015a, 173–174, 201–204).
- 12 The question of the location of the Parthian provinces mentioned by Isidore is controversial and the evidence ambiguous (Chaumont 1973; Khlopin 1977; Walser 1985). Astauene is generally identified with the district of Quchan in the upper Atrek valley, as the mediaeval name of this area, “Astova”, would seem to recall (Pilipko 1989, 23). Khlopin (1977, 143–145, fig. 1), though, proposes to locate it on the western foothills of the Kopet Dagh. The location of Parthyene within Akhal is connected to the sites of Old Nisa and New Nisa near Ashgabat (see below), as they are identified with the Parthian royal city of Parthounisa mentioned by Isidore. This identification, however, is not unanimously accepted (Pilipko 1989) and this issue has consequences on the localization of the province that, according to the different hypotheses, could be in the area of Mashad, Nishapur or Darreh Gaz (Pilipko 2015a, 338–342, fig. 314).
- 13 Invernizzi 2004, 133–137. Although this identification is generally accepted by scholars, there are no irrefutable archaeological data that can prove it (Pilipko 1989).
- 14 Mithradatkert is the toponym reported on two ostraka found in Old Nisa: n. 681 and 1693 (Diakonoff, Livshits 2001, 47 n. 479, 172 n. 2624).
- 15 The foundation date of the fortress cannot be defined with precision, but it must be placed before the mid- 2nd century BC when, according to the date reported on one of the ostraka found on the site (151/150 BC), at least part of the citadel was already economically active (Pilipko 2008, 46).
- 16 This interpretation given by Invernizzi (2001, 141–147) is not unanimously accepted in the academic world (see Pilipko 2015a, 248).
- 17 Even if the production of these objects has been connected to ateliers located in the Seleukid or Greco-Bactrian provinces (Bernard 1985, 1991), there is no archaeological proof to support this hypothesis. In our current state of knowledge it seems more appropriate to locate the production centre within Nisa, taking into consideration that Greek artists or masters with Greek training could have worked in one or more workshops on behalf of the Arsakid sovereigns (Invernizzi 2001, Pappalardo 2010). Some recent studies on the ivory furniture from the Square House seem to support this thesis (Manassero 2018). In addition, the activity of skilful artists in Nisa is evidenced by the numerous clay statues made in a Hellenized style and clearly produced *in situ*.
- 18 However, according to the current state of research, grey-black ware is not documented in the upper Atrek valley and is very scarce in the Kaakhka region.

REFERENCES

- Assar, G. R. F. 2005, “Genealogy and Coinage of the Early Parthian Rulers II. A Revised Stemma”, *Parthica* 7, 29–63.
- Assar, G. R. F. 2006, “A Revised Parthian Chronology of the Period 165–91 BC”, *Electrum* 11, 87–158.
- Bader, A. 1996, “Parthian Ostraca from Nisa: Some Historical Data”. In: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei (eds.), *La Persia e l’Asia centrale da Alessandro al X secolo*, Roma, 251–276.

- Bader, A., Gaibov, V., Koshelenko, G. 1998a, "The Seleucid Period". In: A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, M. Tosi (eds.), *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–95*, Roma, 187–188.
- Bader, A., Gaibov, V., Koshelenko, G. 1998b, "The Parthian Period". In: A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, M. Tosi (eds.), *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–95*, Roma, 189–190.
- Bendezu-Sarmiento, J., Lhuillier, J. 2011, "Iron Age in Turkmenistan: Ulug-depe in the Kopetdagh Piedmont". In: Turkmen state publishing service (ed.), *Monuments of History and Culture of Turkmenistan*, Ashgabat, 238–249.
- Bernard, P. 1985, "Les rhytons de Nisa. I. Poétesses grecques", *Journal des Savants* 1–3, 25–118.
- Bernard, P. 1991, "Les rhytons de Nisa: à quoi, à qui ont-ils servi?". In: P. Bernard, F. Grenet (eds.), *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale Préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques*, Paris, 31–38.
- Biscione, R., Vahdati, A. A. 2012, "The Iranian-Italian Archaeological Mission: Season 2012. The Identification of Cultural Areas", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 54, 355–360.
- Boucharlat, R. 2005, "Iran". In: P. Briant, R. Boucharlat (eds.), *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: Nouvelles recherches*, Paris, 221–292.
- Bruno, J. 2019, "Between the Iranian Plateau and Central Asia: The Ceramic Complex of the Upper Atrek Valley During the Achaemenid Period". In: B. Genito, G. Maresca (eds.), *Ceramics and the Archaeological Achaemenid Horizon. Near East, Iran and Central Asia*, Napoli, 109–122.
- Buławka, N. 2017, "The Yaz I–III Settlement Pattern in the Serakhs Oasis, Southern Turkmenistan", *Iran* 55(2), 143–170.
- Callieri, P. 1996, "Margiana in the Hellenistic Period: Problems of Archaeological Interpretation". In: E. Acquaro (ed.), *Alle soglie della classicità. Il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, Pisa-Roma, 569–578.
- Cattenat, A., Gardin, J.-C. 1977, "Diffusion comparée de quelques genres de poterie caractéristiques de l'époque achéménide sur le plateau iranien et en Asie centrale". In: CNRS (ed.), *Le plateau iranien e l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 225–248.
- Chamont, M.-L. 1973, "Études d'histoire parthe, II: Capitales et résidences des premiers Arsacides (III–I s.av.J.-C.)", *Syria* 50(1), 197–222.
- Cleuziou, S. 1985, "L'Âge du Fer à Tureng Tepe (Iran) et ses relations avec l'Asie centrale". In: Colloque Franco-Soviétique, CNRS (eds.), *L'Archéologie de la Bactrienne Ancienne*, Paris, 175–185.
- Coloru, O. 2009, *Da Alessandro a Menandro: il regno greco di Battriana*, Pisa.
- Córdoba, J. 2011, "Turkmen-Spanish Archaeological Mission in Geokchik Depe". In: Turkmen state publishing service (ed.), *Monuments of History and Culture of Turkmenistan*, Ashgabat, 256–263.
- Diakonoff, I. M., Livshits, V. A. 2001, *Parthian Economic Documents from Nisa. Text I*, London.
- Francfort, H.-P. 2005, "Asie centrale". In: P. Briant, R. Boucharlat (eds.), *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches*, Paris, 313–352.
- Francfort, H.-P., Vahdati, A. A., Bendezu-Sarmiento, J., Lhuillier, J., Fouache, E., Tengberg, M., Mashkour, M., Shirazi, Z. 2014, "Preliminary Report on the Soundings at Tepe Damghani Sabzevar, Spring 2008", *Iranica Antiqua* 49, 111–158.
- Gaibov, V. A. 2004, "Ranneellinisticheskaya keramika Margiany", *PIFK* 14, 600–608.
- Gardin, J.-C. 1973, "Les céramiques", In: P. Bernard (ed.), *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, I. Campagnes 1965–1968*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologiques Française en Afghanistan, tome XXI, Paris, 121–188.

- Genito, B. 2013, "Eastern Iran in the Achaemenid Period". In: D. T. Potts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, Oxford, 622–637.
- Gropp, G. 1995, *Archäologische Forschungen in Khorasan, Iran*, Wiesbaden.
- Haerincq, E. 1983, *La céramique en Iran pendant la période parthe*, Gent.
- Hansman, J., Stronach, D. 1970, "Excavations at Shahr-i Qūmis, 1967", *JRAS* 1, 29–62.
- Hansman, J., Stronach, D. 1974, "Excavations at Shahr-i Qūmis, 1971", *JRAS* 1, 8–22.
- Invernizzi, A. 1999, *Sculture di metallo da Nisa: Cultura greca e cultura iranica in Partia*, Leuven.
- Invernizzi, A. 2000, "The Square House at Old Nisa", *Parthica* 2, 13–53.
- Invernizzi, A. 2001, "Arsacid Dynastic Art", *Parthica* 3, 133–157.
- Invernizzi, A. 2004, "Thoughts on Parthian Nisa", *Parthica* 6, 133–143.
- Invernizzi, A. 2009, *Nisa Partica. Le sculture ellenistiche*, Firenze.
- Invernizzi, A. 2011, "Royal Cult in Arsakid Parthia". In: P. P. Iossif, A. S. Chankowski, C. C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods. Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship*, Leuven, 649–690.
- Invernizzi, A., Lippolis, C. (eds.). 2008, *Nisa Partica: Ricerche nel complesso monumentale arsacide 1990–2006*, Firenze.
- Jacobs, B. 2011, "Achaemenid Satrapies", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online.
- Kaim, B. 2008, "The Parthian Settlements in the Serakhs Oasis", *Parthica* 10, 129–134.
- Khlopin, I. 1977, "Die Reiseroute Isidors von Charax und die oberen Satrapien Parthiens", *Iranica Antiqua* 12, 117–165.
- Kiani, M. Y. 1982, *Parthian Sites in Hyrcania*, Berlin.
- Kohl, P. L., Heskell, D. L. 1980, "Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Darreh Gaz Plain: A Short Report", *Iran* 18, 160–172.
- Koshelenko, G., Bader, A., Gaibov, W. 1996, "Die Margiana in Hellenistischer Zeit". In: B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus*, Tübingen, 121–145.
- Koshelenko, G. A. 1977, *Rodina Parfyan*, Moskva.
- Lecomte, O. 1999, "Vehrkānā and Dehistan: Late Farming Communities of South-West Turkmenistan from the Iron Age to the Islamic Period", *Parthica* 1, 135–170.
- Lecomte, O. 2005, "The Iron Age in Northern Hyrcania", *Iranica Antiqua* 40, 461–478.
- Lerner, J. D. 2015, "Mithridates I's Conquest of Western Greek-Bactria", *PIFK* 47, 45–55.
- Lippolis, C. 2013, "Old Nisa. Excavations in the South-Western Area. Second preliminary report (2008–2012)", *Parthica* 15, 89–115.
- Lippolis, C., Manassero, N. 2015, "Storehouses and Storage Practices in Old Nisa (Turkmenistan)", *Electrum* 22, 115–142.
- Lyonnet, B. 1997, *Prospections archéologique en Bactriane orientale 2 (1974–1978), Céramique et peuplement du chalcolithique à la conquête arabe*, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française en Asie centrale, VIII, Paris.
- Manassero, N. 2018, *A banchetto con gli eroi. La mobilia in avorio dalla Casa Quadrata a Nisa Partica*, Alessandria.
- Marushchenko, A. A. 1959, "El'ken-depe (Otchët o raskopkakh 1953, 1955 i 1956 gg.)", *Trudy Instituta Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoj SSR*, V, 54–108.
- Masson, V. M. 1959, *Drevnezemledel'cheskaya kul'tura Margiany*, Moskva.
- Muradova, E. A. 1991, *Poseleniya Arkhaicheskogo Dakhistana*, Ashkhabad.
- Olbrycht, M. J. 2010a, "Mithradates I of Parthia and His Conquests up to 141 B.C.". In: M. Dzielska, E. Dabrowa, M. Salamon, S. Sprawski (eds.), *Hortus Historiae. Studies in Honour of Professor Jozef Wolski on the 100th Anniversary of His Birthday*, Kraków, 229–245.
- Olbrycht, M. J. 2010b, "The early reign of Mithradates II the Great in Parthia", *Anabasis* 1, 144–158.

- Pappalardo, E. 2010, *Nisa Partica. I rhyta ellenistici*, Firenze.
- Pilipko, V. N. 1989, "K voprosu o lokalizacii Parfavnisy", *Izv. AN TSSR. Ser. Obshchestv. Nauk* 2, 17–25.
- Pilipko, V. N. 2001, *Staraya Nisa. Osnovnye itogi arkheologicheskovo izucheniya v Sovetskij Period*, Moskva.
- Pilipko, V. N. 2008, "The Central Ensemble of the Fortress Mihrdatkirt. Layout and Chronology", *Parthica* 10, 33–51.
- Pilipko, V. N. 2012, "Remarks on the Material Culture of the Akhal Area in the Hellenistic Period", *Anabasis* 3, 109–125.
- Pilipko, V. N. 2015a, *Stanovlenie i razvitie parfyanskoj kul'tury na territorii yuzhnogo Turkmenistana*, Sankt-Peterburg.
- Pilipko, V. N. 2015b, "Arkheologicheskij Landshaft Dashlinskogo Oazisa i ego istoricheskaya interpretatsiya", *PIFK* 47, 80–98.
- Pilipko, V. N., Koshelenko, G. A. 1985, "Srednyaya Aziya v antichnuyu epokhu. Severnaya Parfiya". In: G. A. Koshelenko (ed.), *Drevnejšie gosudarstva Kavkaza i Srednej Azii*, Moskva, 209–225.
- Pollock, S., Bernbeck, R., Beckers, B., Benecke, N., Berking, J., Castro Gessner, G., Eger, J., Ögüt, B. 2015, "Archaeological Work at Monjukli Depe: A Regional Perspective", *AMIT* 47, 1–46.
- Posch, W. 1998, "Chinesische Quellen zu den Parthern". In: J. Wieserhöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, Stuttgart, 355–364.
- Priestman, S. 2013, "Sasanian Ceramics from the Gorgan Wall and Other Sites on the Gorgan Plain". In: E. W. Sauer, H. O. Rekavandi, T. J. Wilkinson, et al. 2013, *Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity. The Great Wall of Gorgan and frontier landscapes of Sasanian Iran. British Institute of Persian Studies Archaeological Monograph Series II*, Oxford, 447–534.
- Pumpelly, R. 1908, *Explorations in Turkestan: Expedition of 1904. Prehistoric Civilizations of Anau. Origins, Growth, and Influence of the Environment*, Washington.
- Puschnigg, G. 2013, "The Dynamics of Exchange and Innovation in the Oasis City of Merv". In: N. Fenn, C. Römer-Strehl (eds.), *Networks in the Hellenistic World. According to the Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, Oxford, 339–350.
- Rtveladze, E. V. 1995, "Parthia and Bactria". In: A. Invernizzi (ed.), *In the Land of the Gryphons*, Firenze, 181–190.
- Sauer, E. W., Rekavandi, H. O., Wilkinson, T. J., Nokandeh, J. 2013, *Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity. The Great Wall of Gorgan and Frontier Landscapes of Sasanian Iran. British Institute of Persian Studies Archaeological Monograph Series II*, Oxford.
- Sherwin-White, S., Kuhrt, A. 1993, *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, Berkley.
- Trinkaus, M. K. 1981, *The Partho-Sasanian Northeast Frontier. Settlement in the Damghan Plain, Iran*, Dissertation in Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Vahdati, A. A. 2015 [2018], "Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Survey in Esfarayen County, Northeastern, Iran", *AMIT* 47, 253–279.
- Venco Ricciardi, R. 1980, "Archaeological Survey in the Upper Atrek Valley (Khorassan, Iran): Preliminary Report", *Mesopotamia* 15, 51–72.
- Vogelsang, W. J. 1992, *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenid Empire: The Eastern Iranian Evidence*, Leiden.
- Walser, G. 1985, "Die Rute des Isidorus von Charax durch Iran", *AMI* 18, 145–156.

CHAPTER 5

CENTRAL ASIA AND THE STEPPE

—♦—
Sören Stark

A BRIEF CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

The following short remarks on the cultural geography of the various oasis regions and the steppe lands north of Bactria during the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic period (3rd century BCE to 1st century CE) attempt to set the spatial stage for the present chapter. One needs to bear in mind that they are necessarily brief and somewhat schematic. Also, I should indicate here that I partially draw for this geographical overview from later, better attested periods (on this method see the next section ‘Sources and methodological problems’). My main aim is to briefly flesh-out the character of the regions north of Bactria as an extensive and heterogeneous frontier closely connected with the vast Central Eurasian steppe lands.

Bactria’s closest northern neighbour, beyond the offshoots of the Hissar range to the northwest, was the historical region of Sogdiana (Lyonnet this volume),¹ subdivided into several oasis territories along the Zerafshan and Kashka-Darya rivers: Maracanda (Samarqand) along the middle course of the Zerafshan, Bukhara in the delta area of the river, Nakhshab (Qarshi) at the lower reaches and Kesh (Shahrisabz/Kitab) at the upper reaches of the Kashka-Darya. Enclosed by the Zerafshan in the north and the Kashka-Darya to the south lies an extensive desert-steppe (fittingly called *ūrta chūl* – ‘inner steppe’ – in Late Medieval times). The northern and northeastern borders of Bactria were framed by a vast high-mountain zone. Beyond we find a series of oasis-steppe regions belonging to the catchment area of the upper and middle Syr-Darya (known to the Greeks as Iaxartes and, erroneously, identified with the European Tanaïs, the Don river), called Fergana, Ilaq, and Chach during Medieval times. North of the Turkestan Range several small alluvial fans emptying into the Hunger steppe form a region known as Ustrushana during the Early Middle Ages.

Further to the northwest, beyond the Kyzyl-kum desert (where one finds important turquoise deposits) and downstream along the Oxus/Amu Darya, lay the region of Chorasmia, extending over most parts of the delta area of the Oxus/Amu Darya. This region provided an important gateway to the nomadic world of the Ustyurt plateau and the southern Urals, as well as – via the then still functioning Uzboi river – to the Caspian shores and beyond (the southern Caucasus and the northern Pontic regions). Nearby, a similar delta region is formed by the Syr-Darya further to the

northeast – a stepping-stone into the vast expanse of the Dasht-i Qipchaq. In a similar way, the plains north of the western Tianshan, watered by the Talas, the Chu, the Ili, and a multitude of smaller mountain rivers, appear tightly connected with the pastoral world of Central Eurasia.

During the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic period – as in previous and later centuries – the inhabitants of all these regions relied on complex agro-pastoral subsistence strategies, employing irrigation and rain-fed farming – the former mostly (but not only) in the lower altitude river plains, the latter mostly in the piedmonts – as well as various forms of mobile husbandry. In addition, hunting and fishing (the latter mostly in the river deltas) constituted important additional subsistence strategies. The composition of all these elements varied greatly from region to region, and even from microregion to microregion. Especially important for mobile horse breeders were the excellent summer pasture grounds in some high-mountains areas, such as above Kesh and in the northern flank of the Turkestan range. On the other hand, the delta marshlands of the Syr-Darya and the Amu-Darya, and perhaps also of the Zerafshan, attracted pastoral groups from the open Central Eurasian steppe lands, especially during the winter months – as did the agricultural produce and craft products (including prestige goods) from the river oases or regions further to the south and southwest (including, of course, Bactria). Needless to say, the procurement of products from the oasis territories by pastoral groups to the north and northeast could take both the form of peaceful trade transactions and of raids – both phenomena are amply attested throughout the history of this frontier zone.

Thus, the inhabitants of the various frontier regions north of Bactria were in contact not only with the Greeks in Bactria, but also – and probably much more intensively – with groups primarily or originally based in the vast steppe lands of Central Eurasia further to the north and northeast: in the Southern Urals, the Dasht-i Qipchaq, north of the Tianshan – up to the highlands of the Altai in southern Siberia and even to the Mongolian plateau. Not surprisingly, these contacts were also mirrored in the formation of close sociopolitical ties between both spheres: the oasis regions were repeatedly the target of nomadic conquerors, resulting in the establishment of local dynasties of steppic origin or other, less direct forms of nomadic suzerainty, including patron-client networks. In addition, there were always numerous kinship ties, such as marriage alliances, spanning both spheres. Finally, there surely was, from very early on, also a population influx from the steppes, although it seems that the scale and impact of sedentarization processes has often been exaggerated or at least perceived in simplistic ways on the part of modern historians, notably for the period under consideration in the present volume.

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

The earliest written sources indisputably referring to some of the regions north of Bactria date back to the Achaemenid period. They are continued by reports of authors writing in Greek and Latin about the same regions for the time of Alexander, the Seleukids, and the independent Greek kingdom in Bactria. Substantial Chinese-language historiographical evidence starts to become first available with events related to the political rise of the Xiongnu 匈奴 during the last decades of the 3rd century BCE (Di Cosmo 2002) and somewhat later – since the 120s BCE – for the

various ‘Western regions’ as a result of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 diplomatic mission to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (Hulsewé and Loewe 1979; Posch 1995, 53–80; Nickel and Yang this volume). However, inquiries into the history of Central Asia north of Bactria during the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic periods remain in many ways a ‘prehistoric’ enterprise: truly historiographical narratives are extremely rare, laconic, and heavily distorted by the outsider perspectives of the Graeco-Roman and Chinese literary traditions. In addition, substantial epigraphic materials from the regions north of Bactria are, for the period under consideration, practically missing² – and even for neighbouring regions, such as Bactria itself (starting with the Aramaic documents from Bactria: Naveh and Shaked 2012) or northwestern Gansu (such as the wooden slips from Xuanquan 懸泉: Yang 2015), they remain few and far between.

This has grave consequences for our historical understanding of the regions of Central Asia north and northeast of Bactria during the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic period: we know next to nothing about historical events, individual actors and their personal agency. The only notable exception to this is the two-year period of Alexander’s campaigns in Sogdiana (spring 329–spring 327 BCE),³ making it painfully clear what we are missing for the following decades and centuries. Essentially, this lack of detailed historiographical narratives plagues our understanding of the history of most of Central Asia north of Bactria all the way to the decades of the Islamic conquest of Transoxania, starting in the second half of the 7th century CE. For most of these c. 1000 years the written sources at our disposal limit us heuristically to a more ‘structural’ level (as opposed to an ‘individual’ level) of historical understanding – exemplified (and shaped) by the often highly standardized summary statements about the various ‘Western regions’ found in Chinese dynastical histories (Yang this volume).⁴ The problem that this creates for the framework of our interpretations of historiographical data – apart from the basic questions of *quellenkritik* – becomes clear if we look at much later periods in the history of the regions under consideration here: for example, one of the aspects largely missing from our written record is detailed information on the spatial and political mobility of elites, so well known in the region from the post-Mongol period – a famous (but by no means unique) example being the twisted biography of Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur (A.D. 1483–1530; Thackston 1993), a scion of Tamerlane and the founder of the Moghul dynasty, who was born in Andijan, successively ruled over Fergana, Samarqand, and Kabul, and finally died in Agra as ruler over large parts of northwestern and central India. A similar mobility of elite individuals is not at all excluded – perhaps even likely – also for earlier periods, especially during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE – yet, we know next to nothing about this. At the very least, the example of Babur may serve as a poignant reminder of the limits of our knowledge about historical events and the very actors driving them, as well as of the limited potential of concepts like ‘tribe’ or ‘migration,’ frequently employed by modern historians, to describe and explain historical developments in Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic Central Asia.

Consequently, as in other ‘prehistoric’ contexts, archaeology constitutes a major source of historical information. However, it must be remembered that archaeological data have their own limitations. While archaeological data, for example, may provide us with relatively straight-forward access to subsistence-related aspects such as dwelling, production, consumption, and exchange, they are usually much more difficult to interpret when it comes to aspects such as political or ethnic identities.

Equally problematic is in many cases their relationship with the history of events as they are known to us.

Finally, a few framing words are in order concerning numismatic evidence for the regions and periods under consideration. Given the dearth of historiographical evidence, coinages constitute a major source for our understanding of the chronological framework for some of the frontier regions – namely Sogdiana and, slightly later, Chorasmia (Вайнберг 1977; Zeimal 1983; Naymark 2016). However – again – the nature of the numismatic material in question poses a number of limitations. Apart from basic questions concerning the geographical attribution of certain coinages and their precise dating, one particularly limiting aspect is the phenomenon of long-running imitation series with imagery and legends repeated (and gradually deteriorating) over long periods of time. Thus, over a span of decades and sometimes even centuries, these coinages provide us only with a handful of rulers' names – and none at all for the beginning of the various local 'dynasties' as the initial phase of coinages in Sogdiana and Chorasmia is represented exclusively by anonymous imitations of various Greek coinages (Бирюков 2002; Наймарк 2008).

ELITE NETWORKS ACROSS CENTRAL ASIA DURING THE PRE-ACHAEMENID AND ACHAEMENID PERIOD

Many areas of the Central Eurasian steppes – with the notable exception of the Mongolian plateau – saw between the turn of the 9th to the 8th and the 7th to the 6th century BCE (at the very latest) the emergence of powerful elites, cultivating a military lifestyle materialized in a distinctive repertoire of horse gear and weapons, and expressing their worldview in a distinctive artistic language (the so-called Scytho-Siberian animal style). Little is known about why and how this phenomenon came to spread over large parts of the Eurasian continent. It has been speculated that climatic events might have played a role (van Geel et al. 2004). An important role in the formation of this elite and the subsequent spread of its 'cultural code' might have been played by the social institution of mobile warrior bands – perhaps mostly *retinues* and *jungmannschaften* under the leadership of young aristocrats.⁵ What is clear is that the earliest of a series of elite burials under monumental tumuli (so-called kurgans) with impressively rich inventories are attested in the southern Siberian region of Tuva on the border between present-day Russian and Mongolia (Грязнов 1980; Parzinger 2006, 679–692; Parzinger 2017; Caspari et al. 2018) from which the phenomenon gradually spread westwards.

Bactria and the various oasis-steppe regions to the north were in close contact with the elites in the steppes from very early on: the finding of lapis lazuli in the inventory of kurgan 1 in Shilikty-3 (Baigetobe kurgan) in the Tarbagatay mountains in present-day eastern Kazakhstan, dating between 730 and 690 BCE (Stark and Rubinson 2012, 56, 116; Panyushkina et al. 2016), points to existing connections for the time well before the Achaemenid period. Even more intensive must have been the interactions with powerful nomadic elites in nearer regions, such as the 'Land of the Seven Rivers' along the northern flank of the Tianshan, and the wider Syr-Darya delta (cf. the necropoleis of Tagisken-South and Uygarak). Nomadic groups of that period are archaeologically attested as far south as the Zerafshan valley (Мухамеджанов 1999, 36; Parzinger and Boroffka 2003, 277; Rapin 2018, 272–274).

During the Achaemenid period interactions with the nomads at the northeastern frontier of the Persian empire – often (but not always) summarily labelled by the Persians as ‘Saka’ – are attested in a wide spectrum of forms: from intermarriage, diplomacy, and gift exchange to military confrontations (Stark 2012, 111–119). On the one hand, the founder of the Persian Empire, Cyrus the Great, lost his life in a war against a nomadic group called Massagetai by Herodotos. On the other hand, we regularly hear of ‘Saka’ contingents in the service of the Achaemenid Great Kings or their satraps – which even earned them land allotments in Babylonia (Dandamayev 1992, 159–162). Occasionally, these nomadic contingents in Achaemenid service operated under the direct command of their own leaders (Stark 2012, 112). In addition they appear as allies with local Sogdian hyparchs. Particularly strong ties must have existed with elite groups in the Southern Urals, as lavishly illustrated by the many Achaemenid or Achaemenoid imports in the funeral assemblages from Fillipovka (Treister and Yablonsky 2013; Olbrycht 2015, 260–261).⁶

THE COMING OF THE GREEKS: CONSEQUENCES FOR CENTRAL ASIA

In this section I will not recount in detail the events in the course of Alexander’s conquest of Sogdiana and his brief diplomatic entendres with the ruler(s) of Chorasmia⁷ and the ‘Scythians on the Bosphorus’ (the latter perhaps situated in the Syr-Darya delta) between spring 329 and spring 328 BCE,⁸ nor will I detail the (still not very numerous) archaeological complexes directly associated with Greek rule in Sogdiana.⁹ Instead I would like to inquire into the question: what were the immediate consequences of this conquest for the broader region of Central Asia north of Bactria?

First of all, the downfall of the Achaemenid Empire brought about a period of prolonged upheaval and instability to the region. While nomadic raids were surely nothing new in a region like Sogdiana, the two years of constant and extremely bloody warfare between Alexander’s army and the Sogdian insurgents and their nomadic allies were certainly of a very different quality. And the troubles continued after Alexander had left the region: the mercenary uprisings of 327 and 323 BCE (Iliakis 2013), a revolt of natives in Bactria-Sogdiana at some point prior to 315 BCE (Mendoza 2017, 50–51), and perhaps another one around the time of Seleukos’ I conquest of the Upper Satrapies (Mendoza 2017). Pliny mentions the destruction of cities by “barbarians” in Margiana and Areia (*Nat. Hist.* VI 47–48, 93), and archaeological evidence suggests the same for the small fortress of Kurganzol (Сверчков 2013). In fact, the military expeditions of Demodamas and Patrokles might well have been countermeasures to finally stabilize the northern frontier of the nascent Hellenistic world (Wolski 1960, 113–115).

It seems that during these years nomadic ‘freebooters’ were an omnipresent feature on the sides of all war parties – “easy to convince to enter one war after the other” by the prospect of booty (*Arr. An.* 4.17.5). On the one hand, this (and other reasons) might have induced groups of nomads from the steppes to move southwards. Indeed, towards the end of the 4th century BCE a part of the pastoral population in the southern Urals seem to leave for Central Asia (Скрипкин 1990, 192–193; Olbrycht 2015, 271). As a result, some early kurgans in the Bukhara region display

close cultural ties with nomadic groups in the southern Urals and the periphery of Chorasmia, perhaps identical with the Daha known from our sources (Балахванцев 2012).

On the other hand, a considerable amount of luxuries, originating predominantly from the eastern provinces of the former Achaemenid realm, must have flowed into the Central Asian steppes. These events stand perhaps behind some of the objects, imported from the former Achaemenid Empire, but found in rich funeral assemblages postdating the Achaemenid period, such as the latest Kurgans in Pazyryk in the Altai or Kurgan 1 at Prorokhovka (Rudenko 1970; Treister and Yablonsky 2013 I, 18, 252–258). We can only speculate about the role these prestige goods might have played in initiating social changes and processes of polity formation across Central Eurasia.¹⁰

The funeral assemblages from Pazyryk are important for hinting at yet another dynamic that started at around 300 BCE and had far-reaching implications across Central Asia: finds of objects such as Chinese silk fragments or Chinese lacquer ware indicate the growing role of prestige goods from the northern Chinese plains for purposes of elite representation in the wider region.¹¹ Perhaps, the reason why nomadic groups in Central Asia were brought into closer contact with Chinese polities during the late Warring States period (c. 300–221 BCE) might be sought in the growing need for horses in China after the military reforms in the State of Zhao 趙 in 307 BCE, creating cavalry units on a large scale and possibly resulting in a flourishing horse trade with nomads in the north (Stark 2012, 127).

THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOGDIANA

While Chorasmia and the regions at the upper and lower Syr-Darya had always remained outside the sway of the Seleukid imperial project, Sogdiana seems to have been, at least temporarily, fully integrated into the Macedonian Empire of the East.¹²

The end of Graeco-Macedonian rule in Sogdiana appears less clear to us (Lyonnet this volume).¹³ A fleeting notice in Justin (Pompeius Trogus)¹⁴ mentions defensive battles fought by Diodotos I or II against northern tribes (*scythicae gentes*) named Sa(ca)raucæ and Asiani – the name of the former obviously pointing to some Saka groupings, the name of the latter clearly based on the well-known ethnonym As/Az (see the modern Ossets). As argued long ago by Czeglédý these As (Asiani) are probably largely identical with the *Kangju* 康居 mentioned in slightly later Chinese texts (see below and Yang this volume).¹⁵ Most likely they originated from the neighbouring Syr-Darya zone¹⁶ – a traditional starting point for nomadic ‘invaders’ into Transoxiana.¹⁷ The defensive battles waged by the Diodotoi are perhaps also attested in form of the first construction phase of an impressive military border along the passes of the mountains separating Bactria from Sogdiana (Dvurechenskaya 2019; Stančo this volume).¹⁸

According to the same laconic passage in Justin these *Scythicae gentes Sa(ca)raucæ et Asiani* finally succeeded to take possession of Sogdiana, although it is not clear from the text when this happened. However, numismatic data seem to shed light on this question: of crucial importance in this context is not only the dating of the beginning of silver imitation coinages in Sogdiana, but also the effective lack of Greek copper coins in Sogdiana after Diodotos I/II, leading Naymark to suggest that

Macedonian-Greek rule over Sogdiana came to an end during or right after the events that brought Euthydemos I to power in Bactria (Naymark 2014, 2; Naymark forthcoming). Presumably, this happened around 230 BCE (Coloru 2009, 176).

We know nothing more about these political changes north of Bactria than the bare fact that at around roughly the same time anonymous political authorities in three different regions of Sogdiana started to issue their own coinages, imitating various older Macedonian and Greek coin series: Antiochos coins with Boukephalos on the reverse in the Samarqand area, Alexander drachms in Kesh, and early Euthydemos tetradrachms with sitting Herakles on the reverse in the Bukhara area (Naymark forthcoming a). As these coinages are all anonymous, they tell us nothing about the origin and the character of these new coin-issuing authorities. However, it seems likely that they were founded by the As and Saka groups mentioned by Justin (Pompeius Trogus). Archaeologically these nomads are attested within kurgan cemeteries along the middle and the lower Zerafshan, at the eastern fringes of the Zerafshan delta, and in the inner Kyzylkum. For example, a recently investigated monumental kurgan with 47 satellite tumuli near Kiziltepa at the northeastern fringes of the Zerafshan delta seems to belong to those nomads who took power in Bukhara around 230 BCE (Wang 2020).¹⁹

What is clear is that these new regimes in Sogdiana posed a military threat to the Greeks in Bactria: perhaps Euthydemos I's message to Antiochos III (during the latter's siege of Bactra in 208–206 BCE) mentioning the danger of “no small multitude of nomads being close by”²⁰ refers to them. That this statement is not simply an invention of the Seleukid court or Polybios is apparent from the reinforcement of older (Dvurechenskaya 2019), and the establishment of new (Рапен, Исамиддинов, and Хасанов 2014, 98), fortifications at the border between along Bactria and Sogdiana,²¹ starting in the reign of Euthydemos I.

However, this does not mean that there were no contacts across this border. Nomads from the north seem to have served as mercenaries in the Greek army (Clarysse and Thompson 2007), and Greek silver coins continued to flow to the north, as indicated by finds like the Takhmach-tepa hoard in the Bukhara region, the deposition of which dates to around 180 BCE (Naymark in Stark et al. 2019). Even specimens of Greek-style pottery from Bactria found their way north into the Bukhara region (Stark 2016a; Lyonnet this volume).²²

Isolated elements of Hellenistic innovations can be found still further to the north in Chorasmia (Minardi 2018). There, the monumental enclosures of Kalaly-gyr I in ‘left-bank’ Chorasmia and Akchakhan-kala in ‘right-bank’ Chorasmia seem to have coexisted at least during the second century BCE (Minardi 2015, 97–103; Betts et al. 2009).²³ However, apart from a couple of ruler names presumably dating to this period,²⁴ we still know very little about the dynastic history of Chorasmia during the early Hellenistic period, as this region remained practically outside of the purview of contemporary classical authors and did not start to issue its own coinage before the last third of the 2nd century BCE (and first only imitation coins of Eukratides I). Also in the Syr-Darya delta we find isolated imports from the Greek south.²⁵

Even as far north as the northern Caspian steppes, the southern Urals and western Siberia we find prestige goods that likely originated from workshops in Bactria or the Arsakid domains – such as a pair of magnificent Hellenistic iron cuirasses found in

Early Sarmatian elite burials of Prokhorovka-1 and Berianka-5²⁶ and a whole series of Hellenistic phalerae found in elite burials between the lower Volga and the middle Irtysh (Treister 2018).

THE FORMATION OF THE XIONGNU STEPPE EMPIRE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ACROSS CENTRAL ASIA

Paleoclimatic and archaeological materials show signs of crisis for many Scythoid cultures in Eastern Eurasia during the 3rd century BCE (Шульга 2016). Finally, in the last decades of this century, socio-political processes took place in the Mongolian steppes that had fundamental repercussions for the further course of history in Central Asia and far beyond: the formation of the first ‘steppe empire’ centred around a group of tribes referred to by Chinese court historians as Xiongnu 匈奴 (Nickel and Yang this volume).

While the precise character of the Xiongnu polity is still debated, it is clear that it represents a polity of truly imperial sway – extending far beyond its original territorial or ethnic confines and embracing a variety of regions and peoples (Di Cosmo 2011). It is also clear that the formation of this polity had its origin in a severe political crisis, aggravated – if not triggered – by aggressive and expansionistic policies of the newly founded Qin 秦 Dynasty towards their northern neighbours in the steppes, leading to the replacement of traditional aristocratic regimes by the new imperial elites of the Xiongnu, constituted by their royal lineage (Luandi 攣鞮) and a few allied in-law lineages (Di Cosmo 2002). Chinese historiographical narratives describe this process as the rapid political rise of a certain Modu 冒頓, son of a Xiongnu chief, to supreme imperial power over “all the people who draw the bow”.²⁷ His career was that of a ‘charismatic leader’ – the earliest documented case in a long list of nomadic empire builders with very similar careers.

By the first half of the 2nd century BCE the imperial sway of the Xiongnu reached from the Ordos to Lake Baikal and from Manchuria into the Syr-Darya region, with its centre in the Mongolian steppe lands (Brosseder 2016). They collected tributes from the various states of the Tarim basin – at least for some time this happened through a specifically appointed official called “Commander-in-chief of the tributary slaves” (*tongpu duwei* 僮僕都尉), who resided in and around Yanqi (Qarashahr).²⁸

As a result, inter-regional elite communication within and beyond Inner Asia intensified significantly. This intensification of networks of inter-regional exchanges brought about a number of unifying cultural expressions of ‘salient affiliation’ – such as certain new mortuary practices, a broad adherence of certain elements of costume decoration (e.g. specific belt ornamentations), and a uniform style of weaponry (e.g. the compound bow with bone strengtheners) across large areas of the eastern steppes and beyond (Miller and Brosseder 2017). All this led to the formation of new far-reaching elite networks, that formed the basis of an emerging prestige good economy (Brosseder 2015).

The rise of the Xiongnu polity had political and demographic repercussions far beyond the territories directly or indirectly ruled by the Xiongnu. In particular, it set in motion a chain of political upheavals and population displacements, depicted in

Chinese court historiography as full-flung migrations. Most notably we are told that in 176 BCE a powerful nomadic group, called Yuezhi 月氏 in Chinese sources and (slightly later) ‘Tocharoi’ in Greek (Falk 2015, 48–51), then most likely located in the rich Barköl steppes north of Hami, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Xiongnu and their allies, with the Yuezhi ruler losing his life (and his skull famously being made into a drinking cup).²⁹ As a result, supposedly the majority of them – but probably only the majority of their elite households (from now on called the ‘Great Yuezhi’ – *Da Yuezhi* 大月氏) left their seats and moved into the Ili and Chu valleys north of the Tianshan, in turn driving nomadic elites previously dominating this area – called Sai 塞 (Saka) by the Chinese – southwestwards (Lin 2013, 91–92; Falk 2015, 44–46).

AGE OF MIGRATIONS? NEW NETWORKS AND NEW SOURCES ON THE POST-HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Regardless of how one reconstructs the course of these events in detail, and whether one takes the Chinese narrative of full-scale migrations at face value or understands it as a reflection of much more complicated political and ethno-genetic processes (but doubtlessly including the displacement of nomadic elites and dependent households), it is clear from our sources, that one ultimate cause of these processes was the polity formation and the subsequent dramatic territorial expansion of the Xiongnu in and beyond the eastern Eurasian steppes. However, another important factor might well have been the chaos into which Greek rule in Bactria was thrown after the murder of Eukratides I at some point around 145 BCE (and not the other way round, as is usually assumed).³⁰ It is not at all excluded that competing war fractions inside Bactria deliberately called in tribal contingents and personal warbands from their northern neighbours for support. Such a scenario is not only amply attested for later periods,³¹ but explicitly mentioned also for the roughly contemporary case of the Arsakids calling in Saka contingents against their Seleukid rivals in the early 120s BCE (see below).³² So perhaps the arrival of new nomadic groups in Bactria and the establishment of political regimes by elites of nomadic origin, even if originally triggered by the expansion of the Xiongnu and subsequent political changes in the eastern steppes (occupation of the Ili valley by the Wusun 烏孫),³³ was not the result of ‘nomadic invasions’ but of complex processes that took place much more gradually than is usually assumed.³⁴

All we know is that some twenty years after the violent death of Eukratides I, in 127 BCE, when Zhang Qian 張騫 arrived in the region, he encountered a relatively powerful group of nomads claiming Yuezhi descent,³⁵ who had taken control of the valleys of northern tributaries of the Oxus river³⁶ and exerted some sort of suzerainty over the formerly Greek dominions south of the Oxus. We are told that they (or perhaps only their leaders?) had left the steppes north of the Tianshan owing to pressure from the Wusun. But these Yuezhi were not the only nomad force around in the region. At around the same time, probably in spring 126 BCE, the Arsakid ruler Phraates II perished while fighting against ‘Saka’ marauders at the northeastern borders of his kingdom – originally hired for his war against Antiochos VII Sidetes (Olbrycht 1998, 88; Assar 2004, 79–80).³⁷ In late 122/early 121 BCE yet another Arsakid ruler, Artabanos I, died fighting against nomads in the northeast – this time

the *Tochari* – presumably the same Yuezhi which Zhang Qian had met in northern Bactria only some five years earlier. But already two years later, in 119 BCE, these Tochari/Yuezhi were defeated by the new Arsakid ruler Mithridates II – as we know from an astronomical diary from Babylon (Assar 2006, 139; Olbrycht 2010, 150–151; Falk 2015, 61–62). This must have been a decisive defeat, and as a result institutions of central government among the Yuezhi were probably considerably weakened.³⁸

From a historiographical point of view, one of the main results of the Chinese diplomatic missions to the west is the beginning of information from Chinese language sources on the ‘Western Regions’, offering important new insights into the various polities and political networks to the north of Bactria.³⁹ In the following I will give a brief overview over this information, restricting myself to the regions closest to Bactria in the north: Sogdiana, Fergana, and the lower reaches of the Amu and Syr Darya.

One first important take-away from these Chinese sources is that the Xiongnu enjoyed special political prestige in all these regions: peoples or confederacies like the Kangju (on whom see below) officially recognized Xiongnu suzerainty and Xiongnu emissaries went on what might have been more or less regular inspection tours.⁴⁰ Even the rulers of relatively remote regions (from a Xiongnu perspective) – such as the ‘lesser king’ of Yujian – probably the micro-region of Kharqana-Karmina in Sogdiana⁴¹ – seem to have paid some sort of vassalage to the Xiongnu.⁴² This political prestige of the Xiongnu imperial elites must have been still felt in the middle of the 1st century BCE as it enabled a certain Zhizhi (previously an unsuccessful pretender to the Xiongnu throne in Mongolia) to establish his own polity at the expense of the Kangju and Wusun in the Chu/Talas area and to exact tributes from Fergana and the lower Syr-Darya area in the years between c. 40 and 35 BCE.⁴³ This attempt only failed because of decisive military intervention by the Han.

Northwest of Bactria we find the state of Kangju, described by Zhang Qian as a “mobile state” (*xing guo* 行國) – apparently a reference to a nomadic ruling elite.⁴⁴ As argued above, most likely these Kangju are to be identified with the *Asiani* in our Greek and Latin sources. They were centred in the middle Syr-Darya region – their winter capital was probably located at the extensive site of Kanka some 60 kilometres southwest of present-day Tashkent,⁴⁵ while their core area might have extended eastwards into the Talas-Chu area. In the entire region we find extensive nomadic cemeteries dating to this period.⁴⁶ Traditionally the Kangju polity acknowledged some sort of sovereignty exerted by the Xiongnu (Shuji 123, 3161; Hanshu 96A, 3892)⁴⁷ – clearly a reflection of the imperial sway the Xiongnu held over much of Central Eurasia since the time of Modu.⁴⁸

The Kangju polity must have been a loose confederation rather than a strictly centralized polity: from the Hanshu report we learn that there were five “lesser kings” (Hanshu 96A, 3894: 小王), likely ruling over the oasis states of Sogdiana.⁴⁹ In addition we hear of a vice king and numerous “noblemen”⁵⁰ – all of them acting in their own interest. Data from the Xuanquan documents⁵¹ confirm this impression: one of them (II 90DXT0216(2): 877–883), dating to the year 43 BCE, clearly shows that envoys of the kings of Kangju and Suxie (Samarkand), as well as individual noblemen submitted tribute/trade commodities – in this case camels – together. Apparently, the Kangju ruler allowed his vassals as well as important tribal leaders to participate in profitable diplomatic missions to the Western Han court.⁵²

Largely beyond the purview of Western Han period reports remained the important region of Chorasmia at the lower Amu-Darya – although it sent an embassy to the Han court as early as 110 BCE (see above, n. 23). As a result, during the Western Han period information about this region from Chinese sources remains extremely scarce (Ying 2002, 342–344). Apart from the above-mentioned embassy, the only other supposed mentions of the region is the often-repeated identification of Chorasmia with a kingdom called Yujian (see for example Hulsewé and Loewe 1979, 131), mentioned in the Hanshu as one of the five small vassal states under the suzerainty of Kangju (see above, n. 50). However, this identification is highly unlikely.⁵³

Consequently, all we know about the dynastic, economic, and cultural history of Chorasmia during this period we know from coins (Вайнберг 1977), some inscriptions on silver vessels (see above), and decades of systematic archaeological investigation across the region – started by the famous ‘Khorezm Expedition’ under S. P. Tolstov, and continuing with important new findings concerning the royal ideology and early Zoroastrian iconography at the royal site of Akchakhan-kala in right-bank Khorezm.⁵⁴

By comparison a much more prominent place in the Han period reports about the regions west of the main Tianshan ranges holds the country Dayuan 大宛 – the medieval and present-day region of Fergana along the southern and northern tributaries of the upper Syr-Darya (Shiji 123, 3160; Hanshu 96a, 3894–3896). Traditionally the region formed a kind of link between the regions in the Turanian plain and those in the Tarim basin.⁵⁵

It is described as a densely populated country with a total of 70 fortified settlements. Three of them are mentioned by name: Ershi 贰师 (or simply “[Da]yuan city”), Guishan 貴山 and Yucheng 郁成.⁵⁶ Perhaps the mentioning of two capitals indicates – like among the neighbouring Kangju federation – the existence of a summer and a winter capital.⁵⁷ Apparently the country was ruled by a royal dynasty,⁵⁸ but an important role was also played by ‘nobles,’ including rulers over one of the c. 70 fortified settlements.⁵⁹

Dayuan is described in Chinese sources as rich in agricultural produce – notably its highly developed viticulture drew the attention of the Han court.⁶⁰ But the country of Dayuan was especially famous for its blood-sweating ‘heavenly horses’ (*han-xuema* 汗血馬, *tianma* 天馬), raised in the subalpine pastures of the Tianshan and Alai mountains. They must have been the same tall and strong breed that was later, in medieval times, known as Khuttalī⁶¹ or Ṭukhārī horse. Fit for carrying armour and heavily armoured riders, this breed was famed both at the Caliphal and the Tang courts.⁶² To procure these ‘heavenly horses’ Han Wudi 漢武帝 launched between 104 and 101 BCE two major military expeditions into Fergana – the cost of which “drew all under heaven into turmoil”⁶³ – all in return for a yearly tribute of just two horses (albeit surely of the highest quality), as well as the one-time delivery of 20–30 horses of the highest and some 3,000 horses of lesser quality.⁶⁴ But upon closer inspection these costs appear justified: on the one hand, access to this particular breed was indispensable in order to improve the performance of units of heavily armoured cavalry – the use of which became increasingly widespread in warfare tactics during this period (Ольбрихт 2010, 77–82). On the other hand, this breed of horse was – throughout the centuries – something of the quintessential princely gift,⁶⁵ and therefore certainly of

great value to the Han in the pursuit of their diplomatic strategies – as well as a formidable symbol of the Han Emperors' hegemonic aspirations.⁶⁶

Finally, to the northwest of Kangju and near a large lake Chinese sources briefly mention a country they call Yancai 奄蔡 (Shiji 123, 3161; Hanshu 96a, 3893) or Hesu 闐蘇⁶⁷ – most likely the lower Syr-Darya region near Lake Aral. However, almost everything we know about this area during the second half of the 1st millennium BCE comes from archaeological sources. They show that between the 5th and the 2nd centuries BCE the Chirik Rabat culture flourished along the Jana Darya and Inkar Darya branches of the Syr-Darya delta, where pastoralist groups from the Central Eurasian steppes mixed with communities of settled agro-pastoralists descending from regional 'Steppe Bronze' cultural traditions (Вайнберг и Левина 1992; Bonora 2019). This is perhaps one of the reasons for a surprising heterogeneity and diversity of socio-cultural features fused into the Chirik Rabat culture – most notably an astounding variety of different funerary traditions (monumental round and square mausolea, barrows, and pit graves). We know of a handful of large and strongly fortified sites – such as the eponymous site of Chirik Rabat – probably functioning as centres for elite activities, ceremonial centres, and refugia (but not as urban-type settlements), while the population mostly settled in small unfortified and dispersed villages, individual farmsteads, and specialized production areas next to irrigation canals and agricultural fields, with a significant proportion of the total population perhaps being semi-mobile (Болелов и Утубаев 2017; Bonora 2019). It has been argued that the carriers of the Chirik Rabat culture were (a part of) those Daha tribes mentioned in an inscription of Xerxes in Persepolis (XPh) (Вайнберг 1999, 260–264; critical: Olbrycht 1996, 156). Although today seemingly isolated, the region used to be well-connected during antiquity: On the one hand it was tightly linked with (right-bank) Chorasmia – through the once well-watered riverbeds of the Jana and the Akcha-Darya (Толстов 1962, fig. 72). On the other hand, the region was a stepping-stone into the Dashti-Qipchak (central Kazakhstan) as well as to the southern Urals. Tellingly, Chirik-Rabat ceramics – many of them used as packing materials – have been found in Early Sarmatian burials in the southern Urals (Bolelov 2013, 247).⁶⁸

Substantial socio-cultural changes took place in the region during the late 3rd and the early 2nd century BCE leading to the end of the Chirik Rabat culture and the abandonment of its sites. This is often credited to changes in the water regime of the delta (e.g. the drying up of the mid and low course of the Inkar and Jana-Darya), but there are also signs of political crisis in the region around 200 BCE that might have brought about the collapse of the artificial irrigation system (Bonora 2019, 400). During the 2nd century BCE the epicentre of settlement in the lower Syr-Darya shifted to the Kuvan-Darya region further north, where subsequently the Jeti-Asar cultural complex flourished. Early Jeti-Asar (Jeti-Azar Ib-c, dated by Levina between the 2nd century BCE and the 3rd century CE) continued to show many older Chirik Rabat features (such as ceramic traditions, building and irrigation techniques, complex agro-pastoral economic strategies, complemented by fishing and hunting), but also displayed important cultural innovations – notably the emergence of the first true cities in the region.

By the late 2nd and 1st centuries BCE the Chirik Rabat culture was already defunct, so it is logical to assume that among the Yancai mentioned in Shiji 123 and Hanshu

96a are included the carriers of the Early Jety-Asar culture. Still, we know nothing with certainty about the political organization of these communities. Nowhere in the Shiji and the Hanshu do we hear of a ‘king’ or supreme ruler of Yancai/Hesu. Perhaps the seat of its sovereign – if there was one – was in fact situated beyond Lake Aral, outside the horizon of the Early Han.⁶⁹ Towards this points the fact that Yancai apparently played some role in the early ethnogenesis of the Alans (Alemany 2000, 401–402).

‘HELLENISM’ AS AN ELEMENT IN THE CENTRAL EURASIAN PRESTIGE ECONOMY AT THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM

At the turn of the millennium we see a prestige economy of pan-Eurasian dimensions in place – stretching from Han China to the Caucasus and the northern Black Sea coast (Brosseder 2015; Miller and Brosseder 2017; Brosseder and Miller 2018). This notably included Bactria and the regions immediately north of it.

The dynamics of this exchange network are extremely complex and the flattening East–West perspective of the ‘Silk Roads’ paradigm, glossing over many of the local agents and nodes between the big agrarian states, does not help us to understand them better. Here is not the place to systematically discuss these complexities; instead, I will only touch upon the question of how the ‘Hellenistic’ heritage continued to shape elite representation in southern Central Asia after the end of Greek rule in Bactria.

But before I do so, it is important to point out with Brosseder and Millar that “what blossomed in Eurasia at the turn of the millennium were organic networks, not structured systems, of interregional exchange and interaction ... characterized by a multiplicity of socioeconomic and political hubs” through which goods, styles, and technologies were disseminated. This created at the elite level a “matrix of distinct local cultures that [were] interconnected through their differential engagements with components of a ‘global’ vocabulary of culture.” These components, regularly drawn from far-distant cultures, were selected and used by regional elites to express power and prestige, resulting in “global projections of prestige” (Brosseder and Miller 2018, 164–166).

The globalized nature of prestige assemblages of exotic goods, styles, and technologies in elite burials can be observed all across Central Eurasia (Brosseder 2011; Brosseder 2015). The exotica from the lavishly furnished elite burials found at Kok-tepa near Samarqand (Рапен et al. 2014) and Tillya-tepe near Shiberghan (Sarianidi 1985), demonstrate that this is also true for Bactria and the regions north of it. In both cases – as in other contemporary elite assemblages – it is mostly body and costume ornaments as well as feasting accoutrements that relate to these “global projections of prestige” (Brosseder and Miller 2018, 166).

‘Hellenism’ clearly was one of the components of this vocabulary. This is especially true for Bactria – be it in objects, motifs⁷⁰ or style.⁷¹ The Yuezhi or early Kushan princes even seem to have drunk wine *à la grecque* (Francfort 2014, 1560–1562), underlining the connection between signalling prestige, conspicuous consumption, and feasting. These choices were not ethnic markers – curiously, the individual who wore most of the ‘Greek-style’ adornment among the six excavated elite individuals

buried at Tillya-tepe, was likely a ‘foreigner’ from the steppes outside of Bactria (Rubinson 2008). Instead, iconographies of Hellenistic origin were increasingly connected with the social memory of Greek rule (Morris in this volume) – until, in late antique Bactria/Tokharistan, they finally seem to develop into a celebration of the history of this particular region and its kings of old (Stark and Morris forthcoming).

It is therefore not surprising that this ‘Hellenism’ had a particularly strong presence in the self-representation of elites of nomadic origin in Bactria. However, we can discern it also in Chorasmia (Minardi 2018) and Sogdiana – where a particularly poignant reminder is provided by the iconographic borrowings from the famous Alexander battle on one of the belt plaques from Orlat (Mode 2006). In Sogdiana local dynasts of nomadic origin, such as a certain Ashtat in Nakhshab (Наймарк forthcoming), a ruler named Zh- in Kesh (Naymark forthcoming b), and a certain Hyrcodes (likely based in the Kharqana-Kermina area to the east of Bukhara⁷² – see Наймарк forthcoming), started new coin series which not only returned to a highly naturalistic style of portraiture, but also (in the case of the Hyrcodes and the ruler of Kesh) to actually legible Greek legends (Veksina 2012; Naymark 2016). Apparently, even to the north of Bactria local dynasts associated Hellenistic references in both image and writing with princely status and legitimate rule.

As indicated above, this ‘Hellenism’ continued to shape elite culture in southern Central Asia also during the following centuries (Stark and Morris forthcoming). However, starting around the middle the 1st century we observe a series of profound political changes in the wider region, such as the formation of the Kushan empire under Kujula Kadphises since ca. 30 CE (Cribb 2018), and the initiation of a new era in Chorasmia around the middle of the 1st century or slightly earlier (Lurje 2018) – perhaps by a new dynasty allied with the Arsakid great-kings (Olbrycht 2013, 79–80). Finally, towards the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century CE we observe a massive demographic decline in the Zerafshan valley, leaving Nakhshab the only viable urban centre in the region of Sogdiana (Naymark 2016, 63; Stark et al. 2019, 248–49; Lyonnet 2020, 14). All this resulted in new political networks across the regions to the north of Bactria – which are, however, already beyond the scope of this chapter.

NOTES

- 1 This mountain range seems to have constituted the border between the two regions only since the Seleukid or the early Graeco-Bactrian period.
- 2 The numerically most important corpus of inscriptions (mostly ostraka and inscriptions on ceramic and metal vessels) dating between the 3rd century BCE and the 1st/2nd century CE comes from Chorasmia (Лившиц 2009, 108).
- 3 For a comprehensive recent discussion of these events see Rapin 2018.
- 4 But there are exceptions, mostly in the biography chapters – e.g. the description of the Han campaign against the Xiongnu chanyu Zhizhi 郅支 in 36 BCE in the biography of Chen Tang 陳湯 (Hanshu 70) – note Duyvendak’s suggestion that the unusually detailed description of the final battle might have been based on a historical painting; Duyvendak 1939.
- 5 For evidence for this in Scytho-Sarmatian society see Ivantchik 2005, 183–189, 223. On the connection of youth and retinue see also the important observations by Bremmer (Bremmer 1982 with older literature).

- 6 M. Treister recently suggested that the woman interred in grave 4 of kurgan 4/2006 at Filippovka (southern Urals) was an Achaemenid princess (Treister and Yablonsky 2013, 315).
- 7 On this see the recent analysis by Ртвеладзе 2016.
- 8 See in detail Holt 1988 and more recently Rapin 2018.
- 9 On this see the chapter of Lyonnet below in this volume.
- 10 See Paul 2003 on this aspect for the post-Mongol period. For the early Hellenistic period such social changes can be observed in the southern Urals: Treister and Yablonsky 2013, 321.
- 11 Note however the possible use of silver originating from a source in China or Mongolia on Achaemenid-style throne legs found in and near the ‘royal kurgan’ (No. 1) at Filippovka, dating prior to the last quarter of the 4th century (Куриных et al. 2013, 196).
- 12 See in detail the previous chapter by Strootman in this volume.
- 13 For older views see, for example, Bopearachchi 1991; Rapin and Isamiddinov 1994, 557–559; Lyonnet 1998; Rapin 2007, 26–47; Lerner 2010, 72.
- 14 Justin, Prologue 41 (ed. Arnaud-Lindet 2003).
- 15 Czeplédy 1983, 45–53. According to Czeplédy the Chinese term *Kangju* 康居 stems from the name of a territory or region (namely the Syr-Darya zone – see below), while *As(iani)* refers to a group of people. On this still enigmatic polity see also the important discussions in Кляшторный 1964, 155–179; Вайнберг 1999, 266–289.
- 16 On archaeological data for this see Заднепровский 1994; and Алимов and Богомолов 2000. As suggested already by Markwart, the form *Kangju* 康居 (Late Han *k'ang kio* < *kia*, MC *k'âŋ kjuwo* – see Schuessler 2009) might reflect the name of a certain region called *Kangha-* in Yt. 5.54, Yt. 5.57, and Yt. 19.4, f (Markwart 1938, 188) – most likely the middle and lower Syr-Darya regions (Пьянков 2013, 318). Ptolemy seems to know its inhabitants as *Καχάγαι Σκύθαι* (Ptolem. 6.14.1). According to a curious notice in Ibn Khurdādhbih, in the 9th century CE the local name for the middle Syr-Darya was still *kankar* (Ibn Khurdādhbih 178 – perhaps to be amended to *kankaz* < **kang-as*?). Still today a tributary of the Ahangaran river is called *Kamchyk* – i.e. ‘little Kang’ (Максудов и Хатамова 2016, 47).
- 17 See the example of the well-documented invasion of Qazāq tribesmen into Mā warā' al-nahr in 1723 (Чехович 1954).
- 18 On this border see also below and the contributions by Stančo and Lyonnet in this volume. Note however, that Dvurechenskaya dates the earliest phase of the Uzundara fortress not later than Antiochos I. Stančo considers a dating to the time of the Diodotai.
- 19 The burial chamber below the main tumulus was thoroughly plundered and yielded no diagnostic finds. However, under one of the excavated satellite tumuli a ‘podboi’ burial of a young male with arrow and belt (a retainer of the deceased below the main kurgan?) on a reed mat was found; a C14 date from the reed mat strongly suggests a dating to the second half of the 3rd century BCE – i.e. around the time of the beginning of the Euthydemos I imitations in the Bukhara region.
- 20 Polyb. 11.34.5.
- 21 See also above.
- 22 Recently, B. Lyonnet connected finds of grey ware and stamped decoration that strongly resemble the Bactrian ceramic assemblage of the time of Eukratides I at Afrasiab with Greek colonists escaping the supposed “nomadic onslaught” (Lyonnet 2018, 434). This is problematic (see below). Instead one wonders if we are dealing here with the well-known phenomenon of deported craftsmen.
- 23 Recently E. Rtveldze argued that there might have been a political division between ‘right-bank’ and ‘left-bank’ Chorasmia already during the time of Alexander (Ртвеладзе 2016). Is it possible that the two countries *Huanqian* 驩潛 (clearly a transcription for Khwarezm: Pelliot 1938, 147–148) and *Dayi* 大益 (probably a transcription for Dahanu):

- Yü 2013, 19), mentioned side by side in Shiji 123, 3173 as having sent envoys to the Han court in 110 BCE, denote ‘right-bank’ and ‘left-bank’ Chorasmia respectively? On the connection between (especially ‘left-bank’) Chorasmia and the Dahan see Лившиц и Мамбетуллаев 1986, 40 and Балаханцев 2012. On the environmental and cultural-historical differences between ‘left-bank’ and ‘right-bank’ Chorasmia see Ягодин 2013, 17 (‘left-bank’ Chorasmia appears more closely connected with the nomadic world of the Ustyurt plateau, the Iranian plateau and Transcaucasia; ‘right-bank’ Chorasmia appears somewhat more closely connected with Sogdiana and Bactria. On the nomadic culture in the Ustyurt plateau see Ягодин 1978; Olkhovskiy 2000; Blau and Yagodin 2005; Мамбетуллаев 2008; on the connections with Chorasmia see Yagodin 2010, 53–58.
- 24 The Isakova 1 inscription (in early Chorasmian) mentions a certain “King Amuržam, son of the King Warđān”. Inscription 2 (also in early Chorasmian), mentions a certain “sovereign Wardak” – see Livshits 2003. While the “kings” (MLK’) of Isakova-1 are likely to be the supreme rulers of Chorasmia, this is less clear for the “sovereign” (MRY’) mentioned in Isakova-2.
 - 25 See for example an *alabastron* found at Chirik-Rabad with the inscription Α | ΚΑΣΙ – likely referring to “one (mine) of cinnamon” (Иванчик и Лурье 2013, 291–292).
 - 26 There is no consensus about the precise origin of these cuirasses and the reason for them ending up in the steppes of the southern Urals – see Симоненко 2010, 129–131; Дедюлькин, Каюмов, и Мещеряков 2019.
 - 27 Quotation from a letter, sent by Modu to the Han Emperor Wendi (179–157 BCE), preserved in Shiji 110, 2896, and other texts (translation by Di Cosmo 2002, 196).
 - 28 Hanshu 96a, 3872. This office seems to anticipate aspects of the later offices of a *Tudun* under the Türks and a *Darughachi* under the Mongols.
 - 29 I am following here the scenario as reconstructed by Lin 2013. For the traditional view which places the Yuezhi originally in the present-day Gansu province and suggests at least two major defeats of the Yuezhi by the Xiongnu see Falk 2015, 37–53.
 - 30 We know very little with certainty about the actual circumstances under which Greek rule over Bactria came to a close. The popular assumption is that the migration of Saka tribes into Bactria was one of the reasons for the end of Greek rule north of the Hindukush. However, it needs to be stressed that archaeological data from Ai Khanoum hint at internal strife as well as a post-Greek occupation phase (see in detail and most recently Mairs 2013 and Martinez-Sève 2018). A major disruption of urban life is suggested by the abandonment of copper coinage after the death of Eukratides I (Cribb 2005, 212). But there were also many continuities – see Francfort 2014.
 - 31 See, for example, the lord of Khuttalān calling in the Türgesh-Türks against the Arabs in 738 CE – Stark 2016b.
 - 32 Justin 42.1.2: *Scythae in auxilium Parthorum adversus Antiochum, Syriae regem, mercede sollicitati*.
 - 33 One should note here that the often-repeated precise date of 130 BCE for this ‘event’ is the result of a very elaborate argumentation by Yü 1998, but not directly mentioned by any source.
 - 34 See in detail and fully taking into account the archaeological evidence from burial grounds: Stark forthcoming
 - 35 It is true that Shuji 123, 3158 calls the Yuezhi chief in northern Bactria explicitly a “crown prince” (*taizi* 太子) of the former Yuezhi ruler, slain by the Xiongnu some 50 years earlier. However, perhaps this should not be understood literally (as all translators and commentators have done so far): Curiously, some eight years later, in 119 BCE, an astronomical diary from Babylon also calls the leader of the Guti (clearly the Tochari/Yuezhi of Justin 42.2.2) “crown prince” (DUMU.LUGAL – see Assar 2006, 139). In light of this remarkable parallel one wonders if the “crown prince” in both the Chinese and the Akkadian text is but a

- calque for the title of the Yuezhi ruler in northern Bactria – perhaps the much-discussed title *yabghu* (although this title was also transcribed in Chinese as *xihou* (匈奴). As pointed out by E. de la Vaissière, this title was originally used by the Wusun and Yuezhi, perhaps as that of a high-ranking general, while its etymology remains essentially unknown (Sims-Williams and de la Vaissière 2007). This would explain why the Yuezhi chief in Bactria showed no interest in avenging his father’s death. Supposedly these Yuezhi were able to field some 100,000–200,000 archers (Shiji 123, 3161) – evidently a stark exaggeration on the part of Zhang Qian or his informants (in order to further the interest of Wudi in the establishment of diplomatic relationships?).
- 36 These valleys were also in later periods home to a number of ethnic groups of nomadic origin (Кармышева 1976). Especially the upper reaches of the Vakhsh and the Surkhan-Darya (the medieval regions of Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān) were famous for their horses (see Bosworth 1963, 113 and below). On nomadic burial grounds in these areas associated with nomadic groups dating to the centuries around the turn of our era see (Мандельштам 1966; Мандельштам 1975; Горбунова 1994; Central Asia Archaeological Team, Northwest University and Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan 2018)
 - 37 These Saka finally ended up establishing their own domains in the region of the Helmand basin, which received its current name from them (Sīstān < Sakastan) – see Daffinà 1967; Baratin 2005.
 - 38 One undated tally from Xuanquan (II 90DXT0114(3): 273) mentions an “assistant envoy from the king of the Da Yuezhi” 大月氏王副使者. This tally was found in layer 3 of unit 114 at site II in Xuanquan, together with 611 more tallies, 72 of them dating between the reign of emperor Zhaodi (87–74 BCE) and the end of the site. Presently, it is impossible to know if this is a Yuezhi or an early Kushan king – see Hao and Zhang 2009, 207.
 - 39 See in detail Yu 2013. Most of the relevant information is preserved in the Shiji 123 (English translation by Watson 1961) and Hanshu 96B (English translation by Hulsewé and Loewe 1979). For the relationship between the two chapters see Posch 1995.
 - 40 Shiji 123, 3173: “When a Xiongnu 匈奴envoy, carrying a token of credence from the chanyu 單于, were sent abroad, all the states on route would provide a relay service of escorts and food, and did not dare to detain or harm the envoy.” (English translation by Yü 2013, 2).
 - 41 On this identification see below, n. 53.
 - 42 Hanshu 94a, 3790. See Di Cosmo 2013, 32–33.
 - 43 It was clearly the charisma enjoyed by this Xiongnu prince which induced the Kangju king to enter a marriage alliance with him: “The king of Kangju 康居 esteemed Zhizhi 郅支 very much and wanted to coerce the various states by relying on Zhizhi’s 郅支 authority” (Hanshu 70, 3009). Contemporary interactions between Kangju and Xiongnu elites are also indicated by several warrior burials found in the Arys valley along the Middle Syr-Darya (one of the core areas of the Kangju federation), which display costume elements (belt) and weaponry characteristic from the 2nd and 1st century BCE Xiongnu complexes in Mongolia (Подушкин 2015).
 - 44 This notion is reinforced by the reference to a summer residence (called Beitian 卑田) and a winter residence (called Leyuenidi 樂越匿) of the Kangju ruler (Hanshu 96A, 3891).
 - 45 Буряков 2011, 20. The strongly fortified core of the site – the ‘citadel’ and ‘shakhristan 1’ (6.5 hectares) – seem to have existed since the 3rd century BCE; ‘shakhristan 2’ (c. 45 hectares) is now also dated to this early period (Буряков 2011, 17–19). The outermost fortification– the wall around ‘shakhristan 3’ enclosing a territory of c. 160 hectares and housing ceramic and metallurgic workshops – seems to date to the 1st century CE (Буряков 2011, 20–21, 33). Note that some 700 years later the Western Türks also had their winter capital in Chach. Perhaps the present-day name of the site is actually derived from that

- of ‘Kangju’ (Late Han *kʰaŋ-kia* after Schuessler 2009, 322, 332). Note also the location of important iron, silver, and turquoise mines in the nearby Chatkal and Kurama ranges, apparently exploited since the early centuries CE (if not before).
- 46 Poduškin 2013 ; Kavardan, Bujakov 1991
- 47 According to Zhang Qian’s report in Shuji 123, 3161 Kangju also owed allegiance to the Yuezhi in the south, but this detail (lacking in the Hanshu report) might be the result of information received at the Yuezhi residence and appears dubious.
- 48 But this did, apparently, not prevent the Kangju – together with other, unnamed peoples of the ‘Western Regions’ – to send envoys and tribute missions to the Han court as early as 134 BCE (Yü 2013, 7), that is several years before the arrival of Zhang Qian in the region.
- 49 The seats of these five “lesser kings” are called Suxie 蘇, Fumo 附墨, Yuni 罽匿, Ji 罽, and Yujian 奧鞬. The precise location of some these kingdoms remains debated. However, at least Suxie is very likely to be identified with the Samarkand region. On Yujian 奧鞬 see below n. 53). See in detail Bi 2012.
- 50 Chin. *guiren* 貴人 – perhaps powerful tribal leaders within the Kangju confederation. Hanshu 94b, 3801 seems to call them ‘yabghus’ (*xihou* 翺侯). However, the use of this title among Kangju elites is dubious and probably owed to Wusun informants to the Han court (as this title was ubiquitous among the Wusun elites).
- 51 See in detail Bi 2012. A total of 16 documents within the Xuanquan corpus mention envoys from Kangju; 11 of them are precisely dated, namely between 52 BCE and the last years of Chengdi 成帝 (33–7 BCE).
- 52 That Kangju and its dependencies had a particularly strong interest in trading with the Han is clear from a memorandum, sent by a protector-general to the court of Emperor Cheng (23–7 BCE) (Hanshu 96a, 3893: “[Kangju] wants to trade. Being amicable is a rhetorical pretense.” Samarkand had sent a tribute mission to the Han court as early as 110 BCE (Shiji 123, 3173). The notice in Shiji 123, 3174 that the inhabitants of “the states from Dayuan west to Anxi ... are skillful at commerce and will haggle over a fraction of a cent” does not name but certainly includes the cities of Sogdiana (La Vaissière 2005, 26–28).
- 53 This identification is solely based on the Xiyu zhuan of the Xin Tangshu, stating that the country Huoxun 火尋 (Khwarezm) “is the old territory of the city of Yujian (and its) lesser king (under) Kangju” (Xin Tangshu 221b, 6247). However, this equation is most probably nothing more than a learned speculation by the Song period editors of the Xin Tangshu, who wrote more than 1000 years after the end of the Western Han and were demonstrably wrong with several similar equations of Han period localities in the same chapter. Against this equation speaks not only that Chorasmia does not readily fit the description as a ‘small kingdom’ but also – and more importantly – the fact that the Western Han knew Chorasmia already under the name *Huanqian* 驩潛 (Pelliot 1938). Indeed, the designation as a ‘small kingdom’ fits much better with one of the small Sogdian principalities in the Zerafshan and the Kashka-Darya micro-regions. Consequently, I am following here the identification suggested by Yü Taishan (e.g. Yü 2015, 126), who suggests to identify the ‘small kingdom’ of Yujian with the principality of Kharqana-Karmina to the east of Bukhara. Apparently, the center of this small principality was the present-day archaeological site of Kuzimon-tepa to the north of the Zerafshan, which was founded in the 3rd century BCE and seems to have flourished (judging from the ceramic records of three limited test trenches) between around the 2nd/1st century BCE and the 3rd–4th centuries CE (Адылов 1987, 88–91; Мирзаахмедов et al. 2016, 229–230). It is probably also the place, where the Hyrcodes coin series were struck – see Наймарк forthcoming.
- 54 For Chorasmian coinages of the period see Вайнберг 1977. For general overviews of archaeological sources see Khozhaniyazov 2005; Болелов и Ртвеладзе 2013; Minardi 2015. For recent finds concerning royal ideology and early Zoroastrian at Akchankhan-kala see Betts et al. 2015 and Sinisi et al. 2018.

- 55 Dayuan's connections with the world southeast of the Tianshan – up to the Chinese plains – is nicely confirmed by the fact that the leaders of Dayuan knew of the riches of China, and that Chinese goods were already available in abundance long before the arrival of Zhang Qian.
- 56 The location of these cities remains disputed. Plausible candidates for the city of Ershi, which was the seat of the ruler during the time of the Han expedition to Dayuan (see below), are the major sites of Eski Akhsi (medieval Akhsiket) in the Namangan micro-region, or Mingtepa near Markhamat in southeastern Fergana. The city of Guishan 貴山 – mentioned as the capital of Dayuan in Hanshu 96a, 3894 – is likely to be located at the archaeological site of Kasan (Mugtepa) in northern Fergana, while the city of Yu must be sought somewhere at the eastern borders of Fergana, i.e. one the area of Osh or Uzgend – see in detail Заднепровский и Матбабаев 1991; Заднепровский 2000; Анарбаев 2010; Zhu 朱 et al. 2017).
- 57 Заднепровский 2000, 195 suggests Guishan (Mugtepa) to be a summer capital.
- 58 We hear of a certain Mugua/Wugua/Wugu (母寡/毋寡/毋鼓, (Late Han mā-kua/mua-kua/mua-ka), who was killed by his nobles during the siege of the capital by the Han army. After a brief interregnum by a Han protégé he was followed by his brother Chanfeng 蟬封 (Shuji 123, 3179).
- 59 The latter are also called 'king' in Chinese sources – such as the 'King of the city of Yu' (郁成王) in eastern Fergana (Shiji 123, 3178).
- 60 Shiji 123, 3160, 3173; Hanshu 96a, 3895. The grapes from Dayuan were so highly prized by the Han that their seeds were brought to be grown in the imperial summer palaces (Shiji 123, 3174).
- 61 After the region Khuttal south of the Alai range.
- 62 For Khuttalī horses at the Tang court see Schafer 1963, 64; their enormous value is nicely illustrated by a story in al-Ṭabarī about the three sons of the deceased Caliph Abd a-Malik quarrelling about the only Ṭukhārī horse in his stables (al-Ṭabarī II 1735). Hence this breed was the subject of legends and considered of divine origin – see Беленицкий 1948.
- 63 Shiji 123, 3176: 天下騷動. The expeditionary army during the second campaign numbered 60,000 soldiers and was supported by 100,000 cattle, 30,000 horses, and several 10,000 donkeys, camels, and mules.
- 64 Shiji 123, 3179; Hanshu 96a, 3895.
- 65 See for example the story related in Nizāmī 'Arūzī's *Čahār maqāla* of the prince of Chaghāniyān rewarding the poet Farrukhī Sīstānī with Khuttalī colts (Browne 1921, 44).
- 66 Despite the dramatic losses (only some 10,000 of the original 60,000 soldiers returned home) this was also an important display of the growing military power of Han, showing that they were capable to intervene directly in regions beyond the Tianshan, which considerably increased their political prestige in the 'Western regions' (Shiji 123, 3178–3179) – at the expense of Xiongnu supremacy in the wider region. The fact that the Xiongnu did not intervene is explained by internal political strife and natural disasters, plaguing the Xiongnu between 105 and 101 BCE (Shuji 110, 2915). On the motifs for Han Wudi's expeditions to Dayuan see in detail Gao 2009.
- 67 This name appears only in Hanshu 70, 3009 mentioning that chanyu Zhizhi sent messengers to collect tributes there (see above). The connection with Yancai is due to a Tang commentator (Yü 1998, 119).
- 68 It should also be noted that there are remarkable similarities (settlement and subsistence patterns, architectural features, ceramic, and small find inventories) that link the Chirik Rabat complex with the Bashtepa settlement cluster, just on the opposite (southern) end of the Kyzylkum desert).
- 69 As suggested by Yü 1998, 119.

- 70 See for instance the dolphin earrings so popular among females of regional nomadic elites in pre- and early Kushan period Bactria (Rubinson 2019).
71 See for example the exquisite belt plaque from Sakhsonokhur (see most recently Francfort 2014, 1553). Perhaps its original owner was somehow linked to the monumental kurgan in the Adyr zone just above the present-day village?
72 Likely the ‘lesser kingdom’ of Yujian – see above n. 53.

REFERENCES

- Alemany, A. 2000. *Sources on the Alans. A Critical Compilation*. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Achte Abteilung, Uralic Studies 5. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Arnaud-Lindet, M.-P. 2003. Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée. Texte établi et traduit (<http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/index.html>)
- Assar, G. R. F. 2004. History and Coinage of Elymais During 150/149–122/121 BC, *Name-ye Iran-e Bastan* 4/2, pp. 27–91. *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 4: 27–91.
- . 2006. A Revised Parthian Chronology of the Period 165–91 BC, in E. Dąbrowa (ed.) *Greek and Hellenistic Studies*: 87–158. Electrum 11. Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.
- Baratin, C. 2005. Les villes du sud-ouest de l’Afghanistan. Le long de l’itinéraire d’Herāt à Kandahār, in O. Bopearachchi and M. F. Boussac (eds.) *Afghanistan. Ancien carrefour entre l’est et l’ouest*: 173–86. Indicopleustoi 3. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Betts, A. V. G., V. N. Yagodin, S.W. Helms, G. Khozhaniyazov, S. Amirov, and M. Negus-Cleary. 2009. Karakalpak-Australian Excavations in Ancient Chorasmia, 2001–2005: Interim Report on the Fortifications of Kazakl’i-Yatkan and Regional Survey. *Iran* 47: 33–55.
- Betts, A. V. G., M. Bonnat, F. Kidd, F. Grenet, St. Khashimov, Gh. Khodzhanijazov, and M. Minardi 2015. Des divinités Avestiques sur les peintures murales d’Akchakhan-kala, Ouzbékistan. *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 2015(3): 1369–1396.
- Bi, B. 2012. Kaogu xin faxian suojian Kangju yu Sute 考古新發現所見康居與粟特, in D. Zhang (ed.) *Gansu sheng di er jie jian du xue guoji xueshu yan tao hui lunwen ji* 甘肅省第二屆簡牘學國際學術研討會論文集: 99–109. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Blau, S. and V. Yagodin. 2005. AMS Radiocarbon Dates of Kurgans Located on the Ust’-yurt Plateau, Uzbekistan. *Radiocarbon* 47: 235–241.
- Bolelov, S. B. 2013. Mittelasiatische Keramik in den Denkmälern der Nomaden des südlichen Uralvorlandes, in M. Treister and L. Yablonsky (eds.) *Einflüsse der achämenidischen Kultur im südlichen Uralvorland* (5.-3. Jh. v. Chr.). Band 1: 238–49. Ancient Toreutics and Jewellery in Eastern Europe 5. Wien: Phoibos-Verlag.
- Bonora, G. L. 2019. Inner Syr Darya Delta. Archaeological Sites During the Second Half of the 1st Millenium BCE: An Analysis of the Settlement Pattern, in C. Baumer and M. Novák (eds.) *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids. Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries (Proceedings of the First International Congress on Central Asian Archaeology held at the University of Bern, 4–6 February 2016)*: 387–402. Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 13. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- Bopearachchi, O. 1991. The Euthydemus Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence. *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2: 1–22.
- Bosworth, C. E. 1963. *The Ghaznavids. Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran*, 994–1040. Edinburgh University Publications. History, Philosophy & Economics 17. Edinburgh: University Press.

- Bremmer, J. 1982. The Suodales of Poplios Valesios. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 47: 133–47.
- Brosseder, U. 2011. Belt Plaques as an Indicator of East-West Relations in the Eurasian Steppe at the Turn of the Millennia, in U. Brosseder and B.K. Miller (eds.) *Xiongnu Archaeology: Multidisciplinary Perspectives of the First Steppe Empire in Inner Asia*: 349–424. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology 5. Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn.
- Brosseder, U. 2015. A Study on the Complexity and Dynamics of Interaction and Exchange in Late Antique Eurasia, in J. Bemmann and M. Schmauder (eds.) *Complexity of Interaction Along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the First Millennium CE*: 199–332. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology 7. Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn.
- . 2016. Xiongnu Empire, in J. M. MacKenzie, N. Dalziel, M.W. Charney, and N. Doumanis (eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, 4: 2285–90. Malden/Oxford/Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Brosseder, U. and B. K. Miller. 2018. Global Networks and Local Agents in the Iron Age Eurasian Steppe, in N. Boivin and M. D. Frachetti (eds.) *Globalization in Prehistory: Contact, Exchange, and the 'People Without History'*: 162–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Browne, E. G. 1921. *Revised Translation of the Chahār Maqāla* ('Four Discourses') of Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī of Samarqand. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial 11/2. London: Luzac.
- Caspari, G., T. Sadykov, J. Blochin. and I. Hajdas. 2018. Tunnug 1 (Arzhan 0) – An early Scythian kurgan in Tuva Republic, Russia *Archaeological Research in Asia* 15: 82–87.
- Central Asia Archaeological Team, Northwest University & Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. 2018. The 2017 Excavation to the Rabat Cemetery in Boysun City, Uzbekistan (乌兹别克斯坦拜松市拉巴特墓地 2017 年发掘简报). *Wenwu* 文物 7: 4–30.
- Clarysse, W., and D. J. Thompson. 2007. Two Greek Texts on Skin from Hellenistic Bactria. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 159: 273–79.
- Coloru, O. 2009. *Da Alessandro a Menandro. Il regno greco di Battriana*. Studi Ellenistici 21. Pisa: F. Serra.
- Cribb, J. 2005. The Greek Kingdom of Bactria, its Coinage and its Collapse, in O. Bopearachchi and M. F. Boussac (eds.) *Afghanistan. Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*: 207–25. Indicopleustoi 3. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Czeglédy, K. 1983. From East to West: The Age of Nomadic Migrations in Eurasia. *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3: 25–150.
- Daffinà, P. 1967. *L'immigrazione dei Sakā nella Drangiana*. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia Reports and Memoirs 9. Roma: IsMEO.
- Dandamayev, M. A. 1992. *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*. Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6. Costa Mesa, CA/New York: Mazda Publishers in association with Bibliotheca Persica.
- Di Cosmo, N. 2002. *Ancient China and Its Enemies. The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Di Cosmo, N. 2011. Ethnogenesis, Coevolution and Political Morphology of the Earliest Steppe Empire: The Xiongnu Question Revisited, in U. Brosseder and B. K. Miller (eds.) *Xiongnu Archaeology: Multidisciplinary Perspectives of the First Steppe Empire in Inner Asia*: 35–48. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology 5. Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn.

- . 2013. Aristocratic Elites in the Xiongnu Empire as Seen from Historical and Archeological Evidence, in J. Paul (ed.) *Nomad Aristocrats in a World of Empires*: 23–53. Nomaden Und Sesshafte 17. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- Duyvendak, J. J. L. 1939. An Illustrated Battle-Account in the History of the Former Han Dynasty. T'oung Pao 34: 249–64.
- Dvurechenskaya, N. D. 2019. The Hellenistic Fortress of Uzundara, in C. Baumer and M. Novák (eds.) *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids. Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries (Proceedings of the First International Congress on Central Asian Archaeology held at the University of Bern, 4–6 February 2016)*: 153–62. Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 13. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- Falk, H. (ed.) 2015. *Kushan Histories. Literary Sources and Selected Papers from a Symposium at Berlin, December 5 to 7, 2013*. Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 23. Bremen: Hemen Verlag.
- Francfort, H. P. 2014. Les nomades installés dans la Bactriane (Ile s. av. J.-C.–Ier s. ap. J.-C.). Nouvelles découvertes. *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 2013(4): 1543–76.
- Gao 高, R.荣. 2009. Lun Han Wudi 'Tu zhi Xiongnu' zhanlue yu zhengfa Dayuan 论汉武帝“图制匈奴”战略与征伐大宛. *Xiyu Yanjiu* 西域研究 2: 1–8.
- Cribb, J. 2018. *Kujula Kadphises and His Title Kushan Yavuga*. Sino-Platonic Papers 280. Philadelphia: Dept. of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Pennsylvania.
- Hanshu* 漢書 by Ban Gu 班固, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975.
- Hao, S., and D. Zhang. 2009. *Xuanquan hanjian yanjiu* 懸泉漢簡研究. Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe.
- Holt, F. L. 1988. *Alexander the Great and Bactria. The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia*. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplementum 104. Leiden/New York: Brill.
- Hulsewé, A. F. P., and M. Loewe. 1979. *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage (125 B.C.–A.D. 23)*. An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty. Sinica Leidensia 14. Leiden: Brill.
- Ibn Khurdādhbih, Abū'l-Qāsim 'Ubaydallah 1889. *Kitāb al-masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, ed./tr.: M. J. de Goeje as Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 6. Leiden: Brill.
- Iliakis, M. 2013. Greek Mercenary Revolts in Bactria: A Re-Appraisal. *Historia – Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 62: 182–95.
- Ivantchik, A. 2005. *Am Vorabend der Kolonisation. Das nördliche Schwarzmeergebiet des 8. - 7. Jhs v. Chr. in der klassischen Literaturtradition: Mündliche Überlieferung, Literatur und Geschichte*. Pontus Septentrionalis 3. Moskau/Berlin: Palaeograph Press.
- Khozhanizayov, G. 2006. *The Military Architecture of Ancient Chorasmia (6th century B.C.–4th century A.D.)*. Persika 7. Paris: de Boccard.
- La Vaissière, É. de. 2005. *Sogdian Traders. A History*. *Handbook of Oriental Studies = Handbuch Der Orientalistik*, Sect. 8. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Lerner, J.D. 2010. Revising the Chronologies of the Hellenistic Colonies of Samarkand-Marakanda (Afrasiab II–III) and Aī Khanoum (northeastern Afghanistan). *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia* 1: 58–79.
- Lin, M. 2013. Da Yuezhi ren de yuanshi guxiang — jian lun xiyu sanshiliu guozhi xingcheng 大月氏人的原始故乡 — 兼论西域三十六国之形成. *Xiyu Yanjiu* 西域研究 2013(2): 90–104.
- Livshits, V. A. 2003. Three Silver Bowls from the Isakova Burial Ground no. 1 with Khwarezmian and Partian Inscriptions. *Ancient Civilisations from Siberia to Scythia* 9: 147–72.

- Lyonnet, B. 1998. Les Grecs, les Nomades et l'indépendance de la Sogdiane, d'après l'occupation comparée d'Aī Khanoum et de Marakanda au cours des derniers siècles avant notre ère. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12: 141–59.
- Lyonnet, Bertille. 2018. Antique Samarkand or Afrasiab II and III. Differentiation, Chronology and Interpretation. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24: 420–39.
- Mairs, R. 2013. Waiting for the Barbarians: The 'Fall' of Greek Bactria. *Parthica* 15: 9–30.
- Markwart, J. 1938. *Wehrot und Arang. Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*. Leiden: Brill.
- Martinez-Sève, L. 2018. Ai Khanoum After 145 BC. The Post-Palatial Occupation. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24: 354–419.
- Mendoza, M. 2017. Stasanor of Soloi and the Government of Bactria During the Wars of the Diadochi. *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia* 8: 44–70.
- Miller, B.K., and U. Brosseder. 2017. Global Dynamics in Local Processes of Iron Age Inner Asia, in T. Hodos (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*: 470–87. London/New York: Routledge.
- Minardi, M. 2015. *Ancient Chorasmia. A polity between the semi-nomadic and sedentary cultural areas of Central Asia. Cultural interactions and local developments from the sixth century BC to the first century AD*. Acta Iranica 56. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2018. The Oxus Route Toward the South. Persian Legacy and Hellenistic Innovations in Central Asia. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24: 87–154.
- Mode, M. 2006. Heroic Fights and Dying Heroes: The Orlat Battle Plaque and the Roots of Sogdian Art, in M. Comparetti, P. Raffetta, and G. Scarcia (eds.) *Ērān ud Anērān: Studies Presented to Boris Il'ič Maršak on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*: 419–54. Venice: Libreria Editrice Cafoscara.
- Naveh, J., and S. Shaked. 2012. *The Khalili Collection. The Aramaic Documents from Bactria (fourth century B.C.E.)*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part 1: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran. Volume 5: The Aramaic Versions of the Achaemenid Inscriptions, etc. Texts 2. London: The Khalili Family Trust.
- Naymark, A. 2014. Seleucid Coinage from Samarqand? *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 221: 16–20.
- . 2016. The Coinage of Nakhshab During the first–fourth Centuries CE. Towards a New Systematization of Sogdian Coinages and the Political History of Sogd during Antiquity. *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 7(2012): 55–77.
- . forthcoming a. The Beginning of the Coinage in Bukharan Soghd: Early Imitations of Euthydemus' Tetradrachms. *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia*
- . forthcoming b. Coins of Kesh ruler Zh (?) with legend ΦΣΕΙΓΑ ΧΑΡΙΣ. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*.
- Olbrycht, M. J. 1996. Die Beziehungen der Steppennomaden Mittelasiens zu den hellenistischen Staaten (bis zum Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.), in B. Funck (ed.) *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters (Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.-14. März 1994 in Berlin)*: 57–76. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.
- . 1998. *Parthia et Ulteriores Gentes. Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen dem arsakidischen Iran und den Nomaden der eurasischen Steppen*. München: Tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft.
- . 2010. The Early Reign of Mithradates II the Great in Parthia. *Anabasis* 1 (Orientis Splendor. Studies in Memory of Józef Wolski on his 100th anniversary of his birthday): 144–58.
- . 2013. *Imperium Parthicum. Kryzys i odbudowa państwa Arsakidów w pierwszej połowie I wieku po Chr.* Notos. Scripta Antiqua et Byzantina 10. Kraków: Historia Iagellonica.
- . 2015. Persia Beyond the Imperial Frontiers. The Nomads of the South Ural Region versus the Near East. *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia* 6: 257–75.

- Olkhovskiy, V. S. 2000. Ancient Sanctuaries of the Aral and Caspian Regions: A Reconstruction of Their History, in J. Davis-Kimball, E. M. Murphy, L. Koryakova, and L. T. Yablonsky (eds.) *Kurgans, Ritual Sites, and Settlements: Eurasian Bronze and Iron Age*: 33–42. British Archaeological Reports International Series 890. Oxford: Archeopress.
- Panyushkina, I., I. Slyusarenko, R. Sala, J. M. Deom, and A. T. Toleubayev. 2016. Calendar Age of the Baigetobe Kurgan from the Iron Age Saka Cemetery in Shilikty Valley, Kazakhstan. *Radiocarbon* 58: 1–11.
- Parzinger, H. 2006. *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens. Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter*. Historische Bibliothek Der Gerda Henkel Stiftung. München: Beck.
- Parzinger, H. 2017. Burial Mounds of Scythian Elites in the Eurasian Steppe: New Discoveries. *Journal of the British Academy* 5: 331–355.
- Parzinger, H., and N. Boroffka. 2003. *Das Zinn der Bronzezeit in Mittelasien 1: Die siedlungsarchäologischen Forschungen im Umfeld der Zinnlagerstätten*. Archäologie in Iran und Turan 5. Mainz: Zabern.
- Paul, J. 2003. The State and the Military – A Nomadic Perspective. *Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte* 12 (=Mitteilungen des SFB “Differenz und Integration” 5: Militär und Staatlichkeit): 25–68.
- Pelliot, P. 1938. Le nom du 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 dans les textes chinois. *T’oung Pao* 34: 146–52.
- Poduškin, A. 2013. Der Staat der Kangju aus Sicht der Archäologie, in T. Stöllner and Z. Samašev (ed.) *Unbekanntes Kazachstan. Archäologie im Herzen Asiens. Katalog der Ausstellung des Deutschen Bergbau-Museums Bochum vom 26. Januar bis zum 30. Juni 2013. Band II*: 793–809. Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum.
- Posch, W. 1995. *Baktrien zwischen Griechen und Kuschan. Untersuchungen zu kulturellen und historischen Problemen einer Übergangsphase (mit einem textkritischen Exkurs zum Shiji 123)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Rapin, C. 2007. Nomads and the Shaping of Central Asia from the Early Iron Age to the Kushan Period, in J. Cribb and G. Herrmann (ed.) *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*: 29–72. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 133. Oxford.
- Rapin, C. 2018. On the Way to Roxane 2. Satraps and Hyparchs Between Bactra and Zariaspa-Maracanda, in J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka (eds.) *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC). Proceedings of the Conference held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014). Dedicated to the memory of Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi*: 257–98. Archäologie in Iran und Turan 17 / Mémoires de La Délégation Archéologique Française En Afghanistan 35. Berlin: Reimer.
- Rapin, C., and M. Isamiddinov. 1994. Fortifications hellénistiques de Samarcande (Samarkand-Afrasiab). *Topoi* 4: 547–65.
- Rubinson, K. S. 2008. Tillya Tepe: Aspects of Gender and Cultural Identity, in K. M. Linduff, K. S. Rubinson, 51–63 Lanham et al., and V. 1980 “The Treasure of the Golden Mound” Sarianidi *Archaeology* 33(3), 31–41 (ed.) *Are All Warriors Male? Gender Roles on the Ancient Eurasian Steppe*: 51–63. Gender and Archaeology Series 17. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- . 2019. Why Wear Dolphins? Greek Imagery Among the Pastoralists Along the Ancient Oxus, in S. A. Lullo and L. V. Wallace (eds.) *The Art and Archaeology of Bodily Adornment. Studies from Central and East Asian Mortuary Contexts*: 95–112. London/New York: Routledge.
- Rudenko, S. I. 1970. *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen* (trans. Thompson, M. W.). Oakland: University of California Press.
- Sarianidi, V. I. 1985. *The Golden Hoard of Bactria. From the Tillya-Tepe Excavations in Northern Afghanistan*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Schafer, E. H. 1963. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T’ang Exotics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Shiji* 史記 by Sim Qian 司馬遷, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
- Schuessler, A. 2009. *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese. A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa*. ABC Chinese Dictionary Series. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Sims-Williams, N., and É. de la Vaissière. 2007. Jabguya. i. Origin and Early History. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* XIV: 314–17.
- Sinisi, F., Gh. Khozhaniyazov, and A. Betts. 2018. Royal Fires in the Ancient Iranian World. The Evidence from Akchakhan-Kala, Chorasmia. *Parthica* 20: 9–30.
- Stark, S. 2012. Nomads and Networks: Elites and Their Connections to the Outside World, in S. Stark and K. S. Robinson (eds.) *Nomads and Networks. The Ancient Art and Culture of Kazakhstan (Exhibition Catalogue)*: 107–38. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- . 2016a. 'Hellenism' at the Fringes. On the Relationship between Bactria and Western Sogdiana (Bukhara oasis), in А.Э. Бердимуратов (ed.) *История и археология Турана 3: П освященный юбилею Джамалиддина Камаловича Мирзаахмедова*, 3: 134–50. Самарканд: Институт археологии АН РУз.
- . 2016b. Türgesh Khaganate, in J.M. MacKenzie, N. Dalziel, M. W. Charney, and N. Doumanis (eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, 4: 2122–27. Malden/Oxford/Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- . forthcoming, Age of Migrations? Fresh Archaeological Perspectives on the 'Yuezhi' in Bactria, in Bracey, R. and Cribb, J. (eds.) *The Kushan World*. Routledge Worlds. London/ New York: Routledge
- Stark, S., F. Kidd, D. Mirzaakhmedov, Z. Silvia, S. Mirzaakhmedov, and M. Evers. 2019. Bashtepa 2016: Preliminary Report of the First Season of Excavations (with an Appendix by Aleksandr Naymark) *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 48: 219–64.
- Stark, S. and K. S. Robinson (ed.). 2012. *Nomads and Networks. The Ancient Art and Culture of Kazakhstan (Exhibition Catalogue)*. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Stark, S. and L. Morris. forthcoming. Notions and Topoi of the 'West' in Central Asia during Antiquity and Late Antiquity, in M. Canepa (ed.) *Proceedings of the Symposium 'Ancient Iranian Cultures of Luxury and the Creation of an Afro-Eurasian Political Culture'*, Getty Villa, March 6 2019. Malibu: Getty Publications.
- al-Tabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr 1879–1901, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-'l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. as *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*. Leiden: Brill.
- Thackston, W. M. (tr.) 1993. *The Baburnama. Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor. Translated, Edited, and Annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston*. New York/Oxford: Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C./Oxford University Press.
- Treister, M., and L. Yablonsky (ed.). 2013. *Einflüsse der achämenidischen Kultur im südlichen Uralvorland (5. - 3. Jh. v. Chr.)*. 2 Bände. Ancient Toreutics and Jewellery in Eastern Europe. Wien: Phoibos-Verlag.
- Treister, M. 2018. Hellenistic Phaleræ from the Burials of the Nomads of Asian Sarmatia. *Art of the Orient* 7: 46–62.
- van Geel, B., N. A. Bokovenko, N. D. Burova, K. V. Chugunov, V. A. Dergachev, V. G. Direksen, M. Kulkova, A. Nagler, H. Parzinger, J. van der Plicht, S. S. Vasiliev, and G. I. Zaitseva. 2004. The Sun, Climate Change and the Expansion of the Scythian Culture after 850 BC, in E. M. Scott, A.K. Alekseev, and G. Zaitseva (eds.) *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia*: 151–58. NATO Science Series IV: Earth and Environmental Sciences 42. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Veksina, M. 2012. Zur Datierung der neuen Weihinschrift aus dem Oxos-Tempel. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 181: 108–16.
- Wang, Sh. 2020. *Pastoralists at the Crossroads: Late Iron Age kurgan burials in the periphery of the Bukhara Oasis* (PhD thesis ISAW, New York University)
- Watson, B. 1961. *Records of the Grand Historian of China. Translated from the Shiji of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien. Volume II*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Wolski, J. 1960. Les Iraniens et le royaume gréco- bactrien. *Klio* 38: 110–21.
- Xin Tangshu 新唐書 by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi 宋祁, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975.
- Yagodin, V.N. 2010. Strangers at the Gates. Nomads of the Aralo-Caspian Region on the Great Silk Road. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 42: 53–58.
- Yang, J. 2015. Transportation, Boarding, Lodging, and Trade along the Early Silk Road: A Preliminary Study of the Xuanquan Manuscripts. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 135: 421–32.
- Yü, T. 1998. *A Study of Saka History*. Sino-Platonic Papers 80. Philadelphia: Dept. of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Pennsylvania.
- 2013. *A History of the Relationship Between the Western & Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Northern & Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions*. 2nd ed. Sino-Platonic Papers 131. Philadelphia: Dept. of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Pennsylvania.
- Zeimal, E.V. 1983. The Political History of Transoxania. In E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 3/1: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods: 232–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zhu 朱, Y.岩石, T.涛 Liu 刘, 艾 L. 力江, & S.岁利 He 何. 2017. Wuzibiekistan Anjiyan zhou Mingtiepei chengzhi kaogu kantan yu fajue 乌兹别克斯坦安集延州明铁佩城址考古勘探与发掘. *Kaogu* 考古 2017(9): 22–38.
- Адылов, Ш. Т. 1987. Становление и развитие городской культуры Бухарского Согда по материалам стратиграфических исследований (IV в. до н.э. - VIII в. н.э.). Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук. Самарканд.
- Анарбаев, А. А. 2010. Еще раз о локализации столичных городов Ферганы (Давань - Дайюань) и некоторые спорные вопросы, связанные с ними. *Археология Узбекистана* 1: 65–72.
- Абдуллаев, К. 1975. Археологическое изучение городища Канка (1969–1972). *История материальной культуры Узбекистана* 12: 128–54.
- Алимов, К. А. и Г. И. Богомолов. 2000. К вопросу об этнокультурных контактах кочевников Бухары и Чача. *История материальной культуры Узбекистана* 31: 164–77.
- Балахванцев, А. С. 2012. Дахи Средней Азии в эпоху Александра Македонского: Данные на рративной традиции. *Восток (Oriens)* 1: 29–36.
- Беленицкий, А. М. 1948. Хуттальская лошадь в легенде и историческом предании. *Советская этнография* 1948/4: 162–67.
- Бирюков, Д. В. 2002. Обличенные властью и лишенные имени анонимный период древнехорезмийской монетной чекани. *Нумизматика Центральной Азии* 6: 7–21.
- Болелов, С. Б. и Э. В. Ртвеладзе. 2013. Древнехорезмийское государство. Социально-экономический аспект, in Э. В. Ртвеладзе и Д. А. Алимова (ed.), *Хорезм в истории государственности Узбекистана*: 72–85. Ташкент: Узбекистан файласуфлари миллий жамияти.
- Болелов, С. Б. и Ж. Р. Утубаев. 2017. Поселение гончаров Бабиш-Мулла 7 в низовьях Сырдарьи (раскопки 2015 года). *Краткие Сообщения Института Археологии* 248: 20–35.
- Буряков, Ю. Ф. 2011. Канка и Шахрухия. Древние города Чача и Илака на великом шелковом пути. Ташкент: Yangi Nashr.
- Вайнберг, Б. И. 1977. *Монеты древнего Хорезма*. Москва: Наука.
- 1999. *Этнография Турана в древности. VII в. до н.э. – VIII в. н.э.* Москва: Восточная Литература.
- Вайнберг, Б. И. и Л. М. Левина. 1992. *Чирикрабатская культура*. Низовья Сырдарьи в Древности 1. Москва: Институт этнографии им. Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая.
- Горбунова, Н. Г. 1994. Скотоводы Бактрии и Согда и сарматы, in А.С. Скрипкин (ed.) *Проблемы истории и культуры сарматов: Тезисы докладов международной конференции*

- ии 14–16 сентября 1994 года Волгоград: 58–60. Волгоград: Издательство Волгоградского государственного университета.
- Грязнов, М. П. 1980. *Аржан. Царский курган раннескифского времени*. Ленинград: Наука.
- Дедюлькин, А. В., И. Ф. Каюмов, и Д. В. Мещеряков. 2019. Эллинистические железные кирасы из Южного Приуралья. *Stratum plus. Археология и культурная антропология* 2019(3): 51–88.
- Заднепровский, Ю. А. 1994. Юго-Восточная экспансия сарматов: Pro и contra, in А. С. Скрипкин (ed.) *Проблемы истории и культуры сарматов: Тезисы докладов международной конференции 14–16 сентября 1994 года* Волгоград: 54–58. Волгоград: Издательство Волгоградского государственного университета.
- 2000. О столичных центрах Давани (древней Ферганы), in Ю. Е. Березкин (ed.) *Взаимодействие культур и цивилизаций. Сборник статей в честь юбилея В. М. Массона: 194–97*. Санкт-Петербург: Институт истории материальной культуры Российской академии наук.
- Заднепровский, Ю. А. и Б. Х. Матбабаев. 1991. Городище Мархамат (некоторые итоги изучения). *История материальной культуры Узбекистана* 25: 62–73.
- Иванчик, А. и П. Б. Лурье. 2013. Две надписи из Чирик-Рабата, in С. Р. Тохтасьев и П. Б. Лурье (ed.) *Commentationes iranicae. Сборник статей к 90-летию В. А. Лившица*: 286–94. Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История.
- Кармышева, Б. Х. 1976. *Очерки этнической истории южных районов Таджикистана и Узбекистана (по этнографическим данным)*. Москва: Наука.
- Кляшторный, С. Г. 1964. *Древнетюркские рунические памятники как источник по истории Средней Азии*. Москва: Наука.
- Куринских, О. И., Д. В. Мещеряков, И. Г. Равич, Л. Н. Соловьева, М. Ю. Трейстер, А. В. Чугаев, и Л. Т. Яблонский. 2013. Детали парадного трона ахеменидского типа из Филипповки. *Вестник Древней Истории* 285: 180–203.
- Лившиц, В. А. 2009. Памятники хорезмийской письменности. *Вестник Древней Истории* 3: 108–13.
- Лившиц, В. А. и М. М. Мамбетуллаев. 1986. Острак из Хумбуз-тепе, in Г. Ф. Гирс, Е. А. Давидович, и М. Н. О. Османов (ed.) *Памятники истории и литературы востока. Период феодализма. Статьи и сообщения*: 34–45. Москва: Наука.
- Максудов, Ф. и М. Хатамова. 2016. Историческая топонимика бассейна Сырдарьи, in *Proceedings of International Scientific Conference “The Social History and Anthropogenic Landscape of the Syr Darya River Basin: Exploring an Environmental Archive”*, Tashkent, 18–19 April 2016: 46–7. Ташкент: Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan et al.
- Мамбетуллаев, М. М. 2008. Кочевники приаралья и их этнокультурные связи с Хорезмом, in Ш. Р. Пидаев (ed.) *Культура номадов Центральной Азии. Материалы Международной конференции, Самарканд 22–24 ноября 2007 г.*: 125–31. Самарканд: МИЦАИ.
- Мандельштам, А. М. 1966. *Кочевники на пути в Индию*. Труды Таджикской археологической экспедиции 5/Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР 136. Москва: Наука.
- Мирзаахмедов, Д. К., С. Штарк, Б. М. Абдуллаев, М. Кенигсдорфер, С. Мирзаахмедов, and А. Искандерова. 2016. Исследования памятников восточной окраины Кампир-дувала в Бухарском Согде в 2013–2014 гг.” *Археологические исследования в Узбекистане* 10: 217–232.
- 1975. *Памятники кочевников кушанского времени в Северной Бактрии*. Труды таджикской археологической экспедиции 7. Москва: Наука.
- Мухамеджанов, А. Р. 1999. *Городу Бухаре – 2500 лет*. Ташкент: Фан.
- Наймарк, А. И. 2008. О причинах появления подражаний эллинистическим монетам в Согдиане. *Вестник древней истории* 2008(1): 55–70.

- forthcoming. Монеты Нахшабского князя Аштата, in А. Х. Атаходжаев, А. Искандерова, и А. И. Наймарк (ed.) *История и археология Турана 4*. Самарканд/Ташкент: Институт археологии АН РУз.
- Ольбрихт, М. Я. 2010. К вопросу о происхождении конницы катафрактов в Иране и Средней Азии, in И. В. Ерофеева, Б. Т. Жанаев, и Л. Е. Масанова (eds.) *Роль кочевников в развитии мирового военного искусства. Научные чтения памяти Н. Э. Масанова*: 66–85. Алматы: Издательство LEM.
- Подушкин, А. Н. 2015. Сюнну в Южном Казахстане. Археологический и исторический контексты, in Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 内蒙古自治区文物考古研究所编 & Nei Menggu bowuyuan 内蒙古博物院 (eds.) *Zhongguo bei fang ji Menggu, Beiji'er, Xiboliya diqu gudai wenhua 中国北方及蒙古, 贝加尔, 西伯利亚地区古代文化 / Древние культуры северного Китая, Монголии и байкальской Сибири*: 507–14. Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe.
- Пьянков, И. В. 2013. *Средняя Азия и Евразийская степь в древности*. Санкт-Петербург: Петербургское лингвистическое общество.
- Рапен, К., М. Исамиддинов. и М. Хасанов. 2014. «Аристократическая» гробница кочевников на городище Коктепе близ Самарканда, in А.-П. Франкфорт (ed.) *Археология и история Центральной Азии в трудах французских ученых. Том II*: 70–116. Самарканд: МИЦАИ.
- Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 2016. Посольства к Александру Македонскому в Бактры и Мараканду царей левобережного и правобережного Хорезма Фарасмана и Фратаферна. *Stratum plus. Археология и культурная антропология* 2016(3): 343–49.
- Сверчков, Л. М. 2013. *Курганол — крепость Александра на юге Узбекистана*. Tashkent: SMI-ASIA.
- Симоненко, А. В. 2010. *Сарматские всадники Северного Причерноморья*. Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История.
- Скрипкин, А. С. 1990. *Азиатская Сарматия. Проблемы хронологии и ее исторический аспект*. Саратов: Издательство Саратовского Университета.
- Толстов, С. П. 1962. *По древним дельтам Окса и Яксарты*. Москва: Издательство восточной литературы.
- Чехович, О. Д. 1954. К истории Узбекистана в XVIII в. *Труды Института востоковедения АН УССР* 3: 42–83.
- Шульга, П. И. 2016. Этнокультурная ситуация на востоке скифского мира в III в. до н. э. *Stratum Plus. Археология и культурная антропология* 2016(3): 87–98.
- Ягодин, В. Н. 1978. Памятники кочевых племен древности и средневековья, in С. К. Камалов (ed.) *Древняя и средневековая культура Юго-Восточного Устюрта*: 79–198. Ташкент: Фан.
- 2013. Низовья Амударьи в эпоху распада первобытнообщинного строя и возникновения первых государственных образований, in Э. В. Ртвеладзе и Д. А. Алимова (ed.) *Хорезм в истории государственности Узбекистана*: 14–30. Ташкент: Узбекистан файласуфлари миллий жамияти.

CHAPTER 6

CHINA AND BACTRIA DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR WU IN WRITTEN TRADITION AND IN ARCHAEOLOGY



Lukas Nickel

The late 4th century BC initiated a dramatic shift in the significance of Central Asia. The region changed from a hinterland of the Achaemenid empire into a node of Eurasian cultural interaction for centuries to come. Bactria and the Indo-Greek kingdoms, often viewed merely as the far-eastern end of the Greek-dominated world, in fact stood at the centre of a novel and much larger communication process that involved Europe, Egypt and the Near East to the west, Sogdiana and the peoples of the steppe belt to the north, and the cultures of the Indian subcontinent to the south.

Intriguingly, the East does not seem to play a part in this map of intense interaction. Even if between late 4th and the mid-2nd century BC, the period in which Greek activity in Central Asia developed and culminated, East Asia underwent a political concentration process highly comparable to what we know from the regions mentioned above – a process that culminated in the creation of the Chinese empire in the late 3rd century BC – and even if the Chinese polities expanded their territory and political sphere of influence dramatically and became both producers of and a market for an array of trade goods, so far we know very little about the interaction East Asia may have had with Hellenistic Central Asia. This paper is going to argue that interaction between Bactria and the East indeed took place, but that limitations of the archaeological and literary sources available still keep us oblivious of the extent and workings of the process.

Modern scientific archaeology in sites of the Hellenistic period in what is now Afghanistan has so far been limited, and its patchy results do not yet suggest an engagement with Chinese culture on a visible scale. No Chinese coins, lacquers, jades, ceramics or bronze objects have been unearthed, and there is little indication of Chinese artistic motifs or technologies being adopted in Bactria before the collapse of Greek power in about 145 BC. Even for the following century, when Silk Road trade began to emerge, archaeological traces of contacts with China remain scarce. Only from the years around the beginning of the Christian era onwards do finds become more numerous, such as some remains of lacquer vessels in the Begram treasure that have been dated to the late 1st century BC and the following decades (Zhang Liangren 2011, compare the slightly later dating in Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 2001) and the Chinese bronze mirrors in Tillya Tepe of the late 1st century AD

(Sarianidi 1980, 130 and fig.19). To date, archaeology in Central Asia has provided hardly any indication that its inhabitants communicated with the Chinese during the period in question.

The situation is comparable in the Greek, Roman and Indian written tradition. In his inscriptions, the Mauryan king, Aśoka (269–232 BC), in northern India prided himself on contacts with the major Asian and European states and with the embassies he had sent to courts as far away as Alexandria in Egypt, but he made no reference to the emerging Chinese empire in the East (for the inscriptions see Rougemont 2012, Falk 2006, and Salomon 1998, 133–141). Greek and Roman historians, in their accounts of the Hellenistic East, show little awareness of the leading culture of East Asia as well. Besides references to enigmatic peoples called Seres (identified by some authors as the Chinese) and Phryni located east of Bactria in Apollodorus of Artemita's history of the Parthian empire (1st century BC, quoted in Strabo 11.11.1 (Jones 1917–1932)) and in the texts of a few later authors, the Western written tradition contains little to suggest that China was within the horizon of Greek Bactria.

The lack of information in the transmitted literature of the West and in archaeology from Bactria proper leaves us in the dark regarding possible interaction with China. This requires us to turn to China to see if traces in Chinese historical or archaeological sources indicate communication between the Central Asian states of the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic period and China.

In China, again, the transmitted literature contains hardly any evidence for contact with Central Asia before the decline of Greek civilisation north of the Hindukush. The results of excavations, on the other hand, do suggest some degree of contact between China and the Hellenistic world during the later 3rd century BC. After the first emperor, Qin Shi Huangdi (259–210 BC), had brought all the Chinese states under his rule in 221 BC and established the first empire of East Asia, he adopted practices and art forms that were without precedence in China, but that seem to follow Hellenistic ideas. His artisans began copying western Asian silver bowls with their characteristic lobed decoration, called *phiale* in the Greek context, to produce small exotic-looking boxes for high-ranking patrons. The faithful rendering of the foreign design demonstrates that precious tableware from an earlier Achaemenid or contemporary Hellenistic background must have been available in China at the time (Nickel 2012). Another indication of contact is the sudden appearance of monumental and realistic sculpture, an art medium that had been little known in China prior to the late 3rd century BC. During the reign of the first emperor, thousands of life-size terracotta sculptures were placed in his tomb, and giant bronze figures were cast and put in front of the palace gates. A brief reference in the *Shiji* (Sima 1959), the first dynastic history written about a century after the event, even ties the creation of the bronzes to foreign-looking figures found in the far west of China, the region closest to the thriving Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. It is reasonable to assume that the sudden surge of sculpture-making under the Qin dynasty was the result of contacts with the population of contemporary Hellenistic Central Asia (Barnard 2004, Nickel 2013). Other innovations, such as the emergence of public and monumental imperial inscriptions in stone and the adoption of Greek casting technologies, further strengthen the possibility that Qin China took some inspiration from the arts that flourished in Hellenistic Bactria and Sogdiana during the 3rd century BC. This first encounter, although fruitful and distinctly recognisable in the material record of the

time, was brief and appears to have left little trace in the Chinese tradition written down during the following centuries.

The first explicit mention of Central Asia in Chinese historiography relates to the early 120s BC, in chapters included in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian, compiled by Sima Qian until about 90 BC), and in the *Hanshu* (The Book of the [Former] Han Dynasty, compiled by Ban Biao, Ban Gu and Ban Zhao between 36 and 110 AD) (Ban 1962). Both give an account of the travels of Zhang Qian (died 113 BC), an emissary sent by the Han Emperor Wu (165–87 BC) to the West in search of allies against the Xiongnu, the archenemy of the Chinese at the time, and describe subsequent attempts by the Han court to gain access to the regions beyond the Pamir.

This record constitutes the earliest written testimony of China becoming aware of civilized states to its west. Many scholars read it as a reliable historical document and employ it to fill the glaring gaps in the Western historic transmission on Central Asia, while others have challenged its validity and the accuracy of its contents. This paper will attempt to outline the character of the *Shiji* Chapter 123 and draw a sketch of the events during the last decades of the 2nd century BC from the perspective of this text. It will then utilize the results of archaeology to evaluate and contextualise the transmitted information. Using both archaeology and a critical reading of the contents of the transmission it is possible to get a better understanding of the state of Chinese interaction with Central Asia during the 2nd century BC.

THE MEMOIRS OF DAYUAN

The contents of the Chinese tradition regarding Central Asia have been discussed extensively by various scholars and will be the focus of another contribution to this volume (Yang, this volume). For the purpose of the current study, it is necessary to summarize the contents of Chapter 123 of the *Shiji* entitled the “Memoirs of Dayuan”.

In the years around 138 BC Zhang Qian set out in search for the Yuezhi, a nomadic group that had migrated westwards from its homeland in the Gansu corridor and the Tarim basin following attacks by the Xiongnu. After being captured by the Xiongnu and detained for ten years, Zhang managed to reach Dayuan (Ferghana) and the new Yuezhi territory to the north of the Oxus river in what is now southern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. When he found the Yuezhi unwilling to return to the east and to join the Chinese battle against the Xiongnu, he continued to Bactria before returning to China. The only precise date provided in the transmission refers to his arrival in Chang'an in late 126 or early 125 BC. Back at the court he presented a report that was to have a decisive impact on Chinese foreign policy for the following decades. It contained information on the countries he had visited, mainly Dayuan/Ferghana, the Yuezhi state on the Oxus bank, and Daxia/Bactria, as well as neighbouring states the envoy had heard about.

To evaluate the significance of the transmitted information, we have to keep some issues in mind. Firstly, we need to acknowledge that what we have at hand today is not the accounts written by Zhang Qian and later envoys. Instead, Chapter 123 in the *Shiji* contains only a brief excerpt of the original submissions. Several phrases refer to an original account, and we may assume that the reports by the ambassadors were more detailed and extensive than what has been transmitted. Hulsewé and

others have further demonstrated that the extant version of the text is problematic and partly corrupted (Hulsewé 1975).

A second point to note is that the author of the text in the *Shiji*, although seemingly giving a historically accurate rapport, is pursuing a specific agenda. Far from applauding the achievements of emissaries and generals, the author describes the attempts to establish relations with, or even to subjugate countries, that were thousands of miles away as projects of vanity. In the opinion of the historian, many ambassadors were persons from inappropriate social backgrounds who often did not loyally execute the imperial instructions and embezzled the funds granted to their missions. Armies raised are described as consisting mainly of the scum of society, “young hooligans from the provinces” (郡国恶少年, Sima 1959, 3174) and convicted criminals, and a general leading the military expeditions as having received his rank not as a reward for merit, but because of family ties to an imperial consort. Emperor Wu himself is presented in the text as a gullible man who was willing to believe “all sorts of worthless men” who “hurried forward with wild tales” about the riches to be found in the West (Watson 1961, 276, Sima 1959, 3171), or a man driven by ambition and eager to impress the foreigners. Rigorously the author of the text details the failures of missions, the squandered gold and loss in human life, the unwillingness of Central Asian countries to submit to Chinese wishes, and the contempt with which “ambassadors” were treated in distant cities that soon got tired of the influx of Chinese merchandise. Even with regard to Zhang Qian, the writer cannot keep himself from detailing that the former proved incapable as a military officer in a regular campaign and subsequently lost the rank and title that had been bestowed on him after returning from his first mission. The historian hints that Zhang’s project to form an alliance with the nomadic Wu Sun, a scheme that allowed Zhang Qian to conduct a second mission to Central Asia in 115 BC, was driven simply by his desire to regain social standing and official position. Again, the mission failed to achieve its primary purpose. Although the transmitted report is presented in the manner of an objective historiography, it is obvious that its author was vehemently critical of the Central Asian campaigns of the Han court.

A complex issue is the controversy around the date of composition. Chapter 123 in the *Shiji* and long sections of Chapters 61 and 96 in the *Hanshu* are of nearly identical wording. Although traditional scholarship took the *Hanshu* version as a copy of the former, A. F. P. Hulsewé and Michael Loewe and others collected arguments that point towards the *Hanshu* text as the authoritative one. Hulsewé and Loewe argued that during the 2nd century AD some chapters of the *Shiji* were lost and replaced by comparable parts of the *Hanshu* and of an earlier and now lost text (Hulsewé 1979, 19–39 and 1975 *passim*). Walter Posch and François Thierry rejected these conclusions, pointing to passages that were more complete and correct in the *Shiji* and less detailed and misunderstood by the *Hanshu* authors (Posch 1995, 67–80; Thierry 2005, 427–434). While there is good reason to assume that the *Shiji* version predates the *Hanshu* version, the debate around its actual age and its reliability that began more than a century ago is still ongoing and requires us to exercise some caution. The strong criticism of the Central Asian adventures of Emperor Wu throughout the chapter, at least, makes this author hesitate ascribing the authorship to Sima Qian. Even though the *Shiji* was not necessarily openly distributed and accessible, it is hard

to imagine that an official of the court would have offended so openly the reigning emperor and some of the most powerful persons of his time.

Finally, there are some points in the text that are inconsistent with our current knowledge. The repeated assertion that the courts of Central Asia got tired of the overprovision of Chinese ambassadorial gifts and merchandise stands in stark contrast with the lack of archaeological finds from the area as described above. Another passage claiming that the peoples living between Ferghana and Parthia, a vast stretch of land that should include Bactrian and Sogdian cities, were incapable of casting coins and vessels until Han immigrants taught them to (Sima 1959, 3174) does not agree with what is known of metallurgy in the Oxus region. Furthermore, even though disorganised, Bactria is described in the Chinese text as a land with a large settled population living in houses inside cities. There is no hint of recent cataclysmic events or of the catastrophes suggested by the Graeco-Roman sources (summarised in Mairs 2014, 150–153) and most strongly by the results of the excavations in Ai Khanoum, to date the only Hellenistic city in modern-day Afghanistan that underwent extensive scientific excavation. The city was destroyed during a series of events in the years after 150 BC and soon abandoned, a situation several scholars connected with the Yuezhi conquest (for the discussion see Posch 1995, 88–100). While Mairs has listed convincing arguments for inner-Bactrian conflict alongside nomadic intervention as possible causes for the destruction of the city, and reasonably proposes some degree of “socioeconomic, political, and administrative continuity” from the period of Graeco-Bactrian rule well into the 1st century AD (Mairs 2014, 170–174), we still must assume that the stark decline of Greek power around the middle of the century had left noticeable traces in the cityscapes and had been burned into local memory. Zhang Qian who arrived just two decades after the events and is said to have spent about a year in Bactria, besides referring to the subjugation by the Yuezhi, does not mention anything about events of this nature. This is surprising because in regard to the Yuezhi, Wusun and Xiongnu, he explains the current state of affairs using long and detailed historical narratives. The author of the text in the *Shiji* appears to be perfectly unaware of the drama in recent Bactrian history.

The chapter “Memoirs of Dayuan” in the *Shiji* is the earliest surviving narrative on Chinese engagement with Central Asia. With good reason, generations of scholars treated it as a crucial source. Following the points raised above, however, we need to be aware that the chapter is to some extent corrupted, incomplete, ideologically twisted, and of uncertain authorship. We cannot take it at face value, or unhesitatingly read it as a contemporary and historically accurate document. In order to evaluate the evidence for interaction between China and Central Asia during the late 2nd century BC, we need to read the text against the grain and compare it with the archaeological remains of the period in question.

EMPEROR WU OF HAN AND BACTRIA ACCORDING TO THE SHIJI

Although the term Daxia in Chinese sources is vague and its equation with the Bactria known from Greek sources has been rightly questioned (for the terminology see Leriche 2009, 158–159 and Thierry 2005, 450), for reasons of convenience this paper will stick to the widely accepted translations of loconymes as Daxia = Bactria, Dayuan = Ferghana, and Anxi = Parthia. According to the story line set out in the

Shiji the Chinese gained regular access to Bactria from about 128 BC, two decades after Greek influence had begun to wane. At the time of Zhang's mission, the Yuezhi had defeated Bactria and occupied its parts north of the Oxus, but not yet the areas south of the river. Although weakened, Bactria as a political and cultural entity was still in existence.

A first point to note is that among all the countries Zhang Qian had visited, it was Bactria that attracted Emperor Wu the most. Once Zhang had returned to China and reported his impressions, the emperor set out to commission a considerable number of expeditions to the area. These included some proceeding via the known northern route through the Tarim basin and Ferghana, while others took a southern route through the Sichuan basin and what is now Yunnan. Embassies left in staggering frequency: "In the course of one year anywhere from five to six to over ten parties would be sent out" (Sima 1959, 3170, Watson 1961, 275). Elsewhere in the chapter, Emperor Wu is said to have asked Zhang Qian "about Daxia and its group (of western states)" frequently. The same phrase, stressing Bactria's prominence by taking it *pars pro toto* for all the states of Central Asia, turns up again a few lines later (Sima 1959, 3168–69). After 111 BC, when Han influence had been consolidated in the south, Emperor Wu set up five commanderies with military garrisons in the south-west of China "so that a route could be opened to Daxia" (Watson 1961, 275, Sima 1959, 3170). Even Shendu in northern India is not listed as a destination in its own right, but mentioned just as a country *en route* to Bactria. There can be no doubt that Bactria was seen by the emperor as the key state in the West.

A second point regards what is missing in the *Shiji* entry on Bactria. The country is described there as follows:

Daxia lies more than 2000 li southwest of Dayuan/Ferghana, south of the Gui/Oxus river. Its customs are the ones of sedentary people. There are fortified cities and solid dwellings, and the customs resemble the ones of Dayuan. There is no supreme chief, but the fortified cities appoint minor chiefs constantly. Its soldiers are weak and afraid of fighting. They excel in trade. When the Great Yuezhi migrated west, they attacked and conquered it, and subjugated all of Daxia. The population of Daxia is large and counts perhaps one or more millions. Its capital is called City of Lanshi. In its markets all kinds of things are traded. To the southeast lies the country of Shendu/India.

(Sima 1959, 3164, translated after Thierry 2005, 517,
compare Watson 1961, 269)

The writer of the transmitted text provides only a brief outline of the country in question. During Zhang Qian's visit around 128 BC, Bactria was characterized by large cities and a settled population that pursued agriculture. The report compares its customs to the ones of Ferghana, the mountain valley connecting the Tarim basin and Central Asia proper that had been part of the Graeco-Bactrian state and where, as Dani and Bernard suggested, Alexander had founded the easternmost city of his empire, Alexandria Eschate (Dani and Bernard 1994, 71, and Bernard 1994, 100).

What is striking is that the transmitted text leaves the reader largely in the dark regarding why Bactria should stir the interest of the Chinese. It merely mentions walled cities with a settled population of traders, an occupation of low status in

traditional China. It describes a politically disorganised country with a small army consisting of timid soldiers. What we read here does not tally with what we would expect a Chinese visitor of the 2nd century BC to note, an expectation Otto Franke put eloquently as early as 1930: “die Gesandtschaft ... hatte neue Welten entdeckt, Welten, die bis dahin unfassbar gewesen waren und die nun das verblüffte Staunen der Zeitgenossen daheim erregten” (Franke 1930, 337–338). The paragraph on Bactria contains nothing that might have inspired awe among contemporary Chinese people. There is no mention of a range of features that should have caught the eye of the first Chinese ambassador visiting the area, such as the monumental architecture with its Greek carved columns, colourful paintings and intricate mosaics, the stadiums, temples, theatres and gymnasia, the abundance of sculpture in religious and public places, the high level of education, or the technologically advanced irrigation that helped exploit the extraordinarily fertile soil (Gentelle 1978). The transmitted text further fails to mention the coinage and writing system (both are mentioned in relation to Anxi/Parthia only) and the wine made of grapes (referred to only in the paragraph on Dayuan/Ferghana). The brief phrase mentioning trade in “all kinds of things” does not do justice to the vast array of merchandise from Europe, Persia and India that Zhang Qian would have found on the markets. Although the Greek presence was already in decline when Zhang Qian visited Bactria, we must assume that parts of the Hellenistic urban culture that had grown there since the late 4th century BC continued to exist and must have been encountered by the envoy. The main reasons the chapter provides for Chinese attention in Central Asia, the search for allies in the battle against the Xiongnu and access to the superior “blood-sweating” horses, do not apply to Bactria. Such horses were raised in Ferghana and on Wusun territory. The sad condition of the Bactrian state and its troops outlined in the text, make a military alliance counterintuitive. The transmitted version of the text does not reveal what it was about Bactria that made it worthwhile to send multiple missions annually. Emperor Wu seems to have had other knowledge that made Bactria the main focus of his extraordinary zeal. Clearly, we are missing crucial information.

One indication that the Han Emperor Wu had rather precise knowledge of Central Asian civilizations is included in the report of another failed attempt to establish diplomatic ties and trade with Dayuan/Ferghana in the year 105 BC (Sima 1959, 3174, Watson 1961, 280). Emperor Wu is said to have sent a party with a thousand pieces of gold and (the sculpture of) “a golden horse” in order to purchase the superior horses raised in the region. When the locals refused, the envoys angrily smashed the horse. The incident led to the assassination of the ambassadors and the first Chinese military expedition against Ferghana.

While payment in gold is unproblematic, the horse sculpture is surprising. We need to note that for the inhabitants of the Hellenistic east, sculpture was different from any other art form. The sheer amount and artistic sophistication of sculpture displayed in Hellenistic cities was perhaps the most visible marker of identity of the Hellenistic population, bearing in mind the fact that at the time, sculpture was rarely publicly displayed in India, the northern steppes, or China. Numerous fragments and well preserved examples found among the ruins of Ai Khanoum confirm that local sculptors worked extensively and pursued the same quest for realism and expression of emotion and ethos (Boardman 1993, 17–19) as their contemporaries in Greece. The omnipresence of sculpture in clay, stone, bronze and other materials must have

caught the eye of any alien visitor to the Hellenistic cities in Central Asia, and much more so the one of an envoy whose task it was to observe. Sending a gold sculpture to a country that had been until recently, for all we know, part of the Graeco-Bactrian empire, thus becomes a meaningful action.

One needs to ask why a Chinese ruler would think that a sculpture could convince the people of Dayuan, an area comparable in customs to Bactria, to part with their most prized possessions? Was it to show that China was able to compete with Central Asia in the arts that were regarded most highly there? Did the gift of a gold sculpture, in the eyes of the emperor, command the Ferghana elite to respect the Chinese as equals? If so, his action would entail an understanding of the cultures in question that goes far beyond of what we can read out of the *Shiji*. The question at hand is were there other sources of information the emperor could rely on?

To explain Emperor Wu's interest in Central Asia, the information presented in the *Shiji* does not suffice. However, even if not quoting it, the author of the chapter implies the presence of a range of sources of knowledge. More details about Bactria may have been conveyed through the original ambassadorial reports or oral communication between the emperor and his envoys. The *Shiji* tells us that after Zhang Qian's death in 114 BC embassies to the West, sometimes consisting of several hundred participants, became so frequent that they would "spot each other on the road" (Sima 1959, 3170, Watson 1961, 275). Later, the author of the chapter complains that once missions had returned, even "assistant envoys and soldiers who had followed the mission competed with each other in submitting reports to the throne" (Sima 1959, 3171). If we believe the "Memoirs", there must have been an outright stream of eyewitness accounts informing the emperor on the states in the West.

We further need to consider a second source that has so far been noted only rarely: the foreigners who came to China as part of return missions in the late 2nd century BC. Chapter 123 of the *Shiji* refers to "the coming and going" of ambassadors from foreign countries of the northwest and specifically mentions envoys from "Daxia and its group" (Watson 1961, 274, Sima 1959, 3169) arriving in 115 BC, and missions from Anxi/Parthia and from obscure polities west and east of Ferghana in the years before 104 BC (Watson 1961, 278, Sima 1959, 3171), indicating that Western envoys became a common sight after Zhang Qian's mission.

The emperor held the foreign visitors in high regard. The *Shiji* reports that these persons were rewarded with gifts and lavish feasts and entertained with acrobatic performances in a Western fashion. They were invited to inspect the achievements of Chinese civilisation, such as granaries, treasuries and palaces where the emperor tried to impress the envoys with imported grapevines in his newly established vineyards. He took them along even on his inspection tours of the empire (Watson 1961, 278–279). These persons – enjoying such intimate contact with the emperor – may have been more eloquent and better informed sources of information than a court historian. Although the text does not reveal the ethnicity of the visitors and we have no way of proving that they included Greeks, we should expect that these persons were well acquainted with the Hellenistic culture that had dominated Central Asia for the preceding centuries.

Even if the author of the "Memoirs of Dayuan" avoids providing detailed information on Bactria, the text implies that in the years following Zhang Qian's return, thousands of Chinese travellers frequented the roads between Chang'an and Central

Asia, and members of the missions as well as foreign envoys had close access to the emperor. Emperor Wu and persons at his court had ample opportunity to learn about Central Asia. What the Chinese heard from their ambassadors and the foreign envoys we can only guess, but it was sufficient to entice them to venture beyond the Pamir Mountains and seek access to Bactria. According to the few precise dates included in the “Memoirs”, this period of extensive exchange began in 126 BC and lasted for at least two decades.

EMPEROR WU OF HAN AND BACTRIA IN HAN MATERIAL CULTURE

The intense encounter with Central Asia in the late 2nd century BC as described in the *Shiji* should have left, one would assume, broad traces in contemporary Chinese material culture. Envoys should have brought back official gifts and samples of merchandise, and foreign missions would have presented official presents and luxury goods. However, with one notable exception detailed below, excavations so far have failed bringing to light any explicitly Hellenistic or Central Asian objects. On the other hand, there is evidence that Chinese craftsmen were aware of and engaged with Central and Western Asian art.

One indication is the sudden re-emergence of monumental sculpture in the public sphere. A few years after the return of Zhang Qian the emperor ordered the erection of a monumental tomb for the famous general Huo Qubing (140 BC–117 BC) close to the construction site of his own mausoleum. On top and around the tomb mound, craftsmen placed 16 large granite sculptures of animals and human figures. Such an embellishment of tomb surfaces had never been done before. Wu erected more granite figures in the imperial Shanglin park (Segalen 1923, vol. 1.; Howard et al. 2003, 82–83). See Figure 6.1.

The move to display sculpture publicly is out of line with earlier Han practice and may have been inspired by the knowledge of Central Asian arts gained recently. In terms of artistic execution the exceptional granite figures do not come close to Hellenistic sculpture, a point that might be explained by the hardness of the unfamiliar material (Zhu Yi 2014) and a lack of appropriate tools. Craftsmen handling other materials that were easier to work achieved different results. A highly realistic horse made of gilt bronze with a height of 62 centimetres, a sculpture possibly resembling the one presented to the king of Dayuan mentioned above, is much more comparable to Hellenistic sculptural arts. It was found in a pit belonging to the tomb of Emperor Wu known as the Maoling (Xianyang diqu wenguanhui and Maoling bowuguan 1982, 2; Li and Erickson 1998, 128–129) and likely was an imperial treasure displayed at his court. The sudden emphasis on sculpture under Emperor Wu appears to fit the information in the “Memoirs” that the emperor sponsored the training of western-style acrobatics and established vineyards to grow wine from imported seeds. Given the prominence awarded to sculpture in the visual environment of Hellenistic cities, the widespread use of sculpture at Wu’s court may reflect the new fashion for Western culture described in the text. See Figure 6.2.

A second indicator of a possible engagement with Western art is a new type of luxury household utensil: the censer with mountain-shaped lid. Such prestige objects called *boshanlu* in modern terminology became wide-spread during the reign of



Figure 6.1 Sculpture of an ox, length c. 2.60 m, granite, from tomb of Huo Qubing (died 117 BC), Maoling Museum, Shaanxi. Photo Lukas Nickel.



Figure 6.2 Sculpture of a horse, height 62 cm, gilt bronze, from a side pit of the tomb of Emperor Wu (died 87 BC), Maoling Museum, Shaanxi.

Emperor Wu. The vessels normally have a bowl above a narrow stem that is covered by a high conical lid fashioned in the shape of a mountain. Many of the vessels are worked in bronze with a gold and silver inlay and openwork decoration. The most intricately designed examples known so far come from the tombs of prince Liu Sheng (died 113 BC), a cousin of Emperor Wu, and his wife Dou Wan (died between 113 and 104 BC, *Zhongguo* and *Hebei* 1980, vol. 1, 63–66 and 255–258).

We do not know if the Chinese burned incense, myrrh or local substances (Erickson 1992, 15), but it is clear that the practice of burning fragrant substances emerged during the late 3rd century BC. The earliest clearly identifiable censer came to light from a tomb in Shangwang in the Shandong province dating to this period, and large numbers of ceramic censers with low openwork lids are known from contexts of the early 2nd century BC (Linbo shi bowuguan 1997, 30, Rawson 2006, 75). The censers with the peculiar mountain-shaped lids, however, appear for the first time during the reign of Emperor Wu. The earliest known mountain censer, an elegant high-stemmed piece made of gold and silver-plated bronze and dated by an inscription to 137 BC, was recovered from a side pit of the Maoling (*Xianyang diqu wenguanhui* and *Maoling bowuguan* 1982, 2–3; Michaelson 1999, 49 and fig. 18). See Figure 6.3.

It has been suggested that the shape of the mountain censers derived from Near Eastern prototypes (Rawson 2006, 78–81). Indeed, in Assyria, Achaemenid Persia, Egypt and Greece the burning of fragrances had been practised much earlier than in China and the shapes of the incense burners in some cases resemble the novel mountain censers. Assyrian and Achaemenid examples of censers have narrow stems rising from



Figure 6.3 Incense burner with mountain-shaped lid, height 58 cm, bronze with gold and silver inlay, with an inscription dated to 137 BC, from a side pit of the tomb of Emperor Wu (died 87 BC), Maoling Museum, Shaanxi.

a fluted foot. In several famous examples the bowl holding the fuel supports a high lid with a conical, sometimes stepped profile (Rawson 2006, figs. 6–8). A Hellenistic censer of the 3rd century BC found in Tarentum in Italy has a high domed lid decorated with the pointed leaf of an artichoke that could easily be misunderstood as a mountain, as is the case for the domed lid of a Greek bronze censer of the mid-6th to mid-5th century BC (Stone 2004, 80–85 and figs. 20 and 28). Chinese craftsmen may have modelled their *boshanlu* after such censers, reinterpreting the lid as a mountain. Since several early mountain censers feature a decoration with steppe-style animal motifs, it is likely that the Western object type had reached China via nomadic intermediaries (Bunker 2002, 33–34 and fig. 50, Rawson 2006, 80–81; Kost 2017, 375).

Glass vessels are another novel group of artefacts that may suggest a Western origin. Actual Roman imports have been preserved only from contexts of the 1st century AD (see the glass cup fragments from tomb 2 in Ganquan, Jiangsu, dating to AD 67, see Borrell 2010, 127–128 and fig. 1, and Gan Fuxi 2009, 89). But from the mid-Western Han period (206 BC–AD 9) onwards, however, craftsmen in southern China began producing vessels from exotic material for the domestic and export market. The shapes they employed do not readily accord with the canon of local vessel shapes (see the glass bowl from tomb 70 in Wenchangta, Guangxi province, Sun 2017, 198) and may have been modelled after now-lost imports. To our current knowledge the new glass making industry in the south began just after the reign of Emperor Wu, and it may provide evidence for an emerging commercial maritime trade across south-east Asia to India (Borrell 2010). It has also been argued that the elegant jade stem cups that became fashionable during Emperor Wu's reign and have been found in several royal tombs were modelled after imported glass goblets, as the appearance of jade came close to that of the exotic material glass (Sun 2017, no. 115, 199).

The most explicit evidence for knowledge and adaptation of Greek-derived objects in China during Emperor Wu's reign comes from a group of coins. For about a century academics have discussed an intriguing group of saucer-shaped lead and bronze coins that have been found in various hoards, mostly in the Gansu corridor and in the Wei river valley in the vicinity of the early Han capital Chang'an. Smaller numbers have come to light in other regions (Cribb 1978, 77; Whaley 2009, 419, Tao Min 2016). The weight of the coins varies but with a diameter of about 5.5 centimetre their size is largely uniform. While the front features a motif in high relief that is difficult to discern, the reverse shows square punch marks and a circular row of raised characters that resemble Greek letters. While there have been attempts to see the characters as indigenous Chinese symbols of the 28 constellations (Jiang and Zhao 2016) or Brāhmī script (Whaley 2009), most scholars agree that the engraving is a corrupt copy of an inscription in Greek letters for which Maenchen-Helfen (1952, 2) coined the term “Barbarous Greek”. Francois Thierry (2005, 307) estimated the total amount of bronze and lead coins with Greek-derived inscription known so far to about 300 pieces and points out the existence of two distinct variants of the text. In shape and size the objects match gold ingots weighing 250 grams each that are known from Han period royal tombs, a fact that led Cribb (1978, 77) to assume that the lead coins were low-cost copies of the gold ingots. The relief on the front and the ‘foreign’ inscriptions, however, do appear only on the lead and bronze examples, making it unlikely that the coins were simply fakes of the undecorated gold ingots (Thierry 2017, 105). See Figures 6.4 and 6.5.



Figure 6.4 Coin with Greek letters, diameter 5.5 cm, lead alloy, late 2nd century BC, from Kangjiagou, Lingtai, Gansu, Museum of Lingtai county.



Figure 6.5 Hoard of coins with Greek letters, lead alloy, late 2nd century BC, from Kangjiagou, Lingtai, Gansu, Museum of Lingtai county.

The coins bear the earliest evidence of Greek letters in China. Since several of the hoards have a deposit date in the East-Han-Period (AD 23–220) many scholars have assumed that the coins were made during this period (most recently Lu 2017). Maenchen-Helfen (1952) suggested Parthian coins of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD as the prototypes for the Chinese casts while Cribb (1978, 77) argued for Indo-Scythian or early Kushan models from northern India of the 1st century AD.

Recent discoveries, however, indicate an earlier date for the coins with “Barbarous Greek” inscriptions. Twenty-six such lead coins were found in 2015 in a tomb in Yangzhou, Jiangsu province, that was probably closed in the early part of the 1st

century BC (Tao Min 2016). One find of 1990 in Changxingzhen near Baoji, about 70 kilometres west of Chang'an, even ties the type of coins to the decades under discussion. One round lead coin with Greek letters was found together with four other lead coins, three square and one oval-shaped, inside a hoard of *banliang* bronze coins of a type datable to after 175 BC (Zhang Liying 1994, 90). Since the issue of *banliang* coins was discontinued in 118 BC, the hoard was likely deposited during this time frame. Some scholars proposed that the three types of lead coins from Changxingzhen correspond to a series of “white metal” coins Emperor Wu reportedly had issued in 119 BC (Zhang Liying 1994, Wang Yuxun 1994, Alram 2001). The identification of the lead coins with the issue of “white metal” coins between 119 and 115 BC is difficult to substantiate conclusively (Thierry 2017, 104–105) but if correct, it would date the coins with Greek letters precisely into the years after Zhang Qian’s return in 126 BC, the period which according to the *Shiji* sees the most intense contact with Central Asia. In any case, the Changxingzhen find makes it clear that coins with Greek letters had reached China and were already available to Chinese copyists in the 2nd century BC. Even if Cribb’s comment that the large number of known coins “suggest[s] that they were probably imitating a widely recognised and used object” (Cribb 1978, 78) may be going too far as no such object has yet come to light, without doubt it indicates that the foreign-looking inscription had some significance for the local users.

In contrast to the situation in modern-day Afghanistan, archaeology in China has developed strongly over the last decades. Alongside extensive above-ground remains, thousands of tombs have been excavated and published, providing a good impression of material culture during the economically extremely prosperous reign of Emperor Wu. Even if new discoveries constantly expand our understanding of the period, we are by now well informed about a range of vessels, utensils, ornaments, materials and technologies that the Chinese employed at this time.

The archaeological record illustrates clearly that the Chinese during the reign of Emperor Wu engaged extensively with nomadic art. Horse gear, weapons and personal adornments of the elite were strongly influenced by luxuries known from their northern neighbours (Bunker 2002, Kost 2017).

The surprising aspect in the context of the current inquiry is that the evidence for the existence of objects from contemporary Hellenistic Asia, or of the impact such objects may have had on Chinese artistic production, remains limited. The number of instances listed here stand in contrast to the story line presented in the chapter “Memoirs of Dayuan”, with its tale of multiple annual missions consisting of dozens or hundreds of people following in each other’s footsteps on the road to Bactria, and of groups of foreigners being hosted and entertained by the court. Each mission, one would expect, should have brought to China diplomatic presents such as luxury utensils, curiosities, rare animals or fine-breed horses, and should have included acrobats, craftsmen or individuals able to grow exotic plants or to tend animals unfamiliar to the Chinese. According to the *Shiji*, not just luxury items, but also trade goods of mediocre quality have reached China as the envoys “looked for opportunities to buy goods at a cheap price in the foreign countries and make a profit on their return to China” (Watson 1961, 277, Sima 1959, 3171). The missions were trade enterprises as much as they were diplomatic efforts. The sudden and massive stream of objects, skills and knowledge implied by the text, should have brought a range of samples of

foreign art works to China, and should have inspired the imperial workshops and enhanced local crafts. So far, Hellenistic or generally Central Asian elements are discernible in Chinese art of the late 2nd century BC, but currently the number of instances is limited in comparison to the scale of exchange the text suggests for the years following the return of Zhang Qian from Central Asia in 126 BC.

We may, of course, speculate that the most precious possessions, which likely included the official presents brought to China, were placed in the tomb chambers of Wu and his immediate family, and of later emperors. None of the tomb chambers of the Han emperors have been scientifically excavated to date, but investigations of the tombs of lower-ranking members of the imperial family revealed that such underground structures were extremely large and packed with luxuries and everyday utensils. It is imaginable that the Greek, Indian or Central Asian products we would expect to find in China were so exclusive that they remain hidden inside the imperial mausolea.

While the tomb of Emperor Wu remains unopened, it is thus worth scrutinizing the tomb of the socially most high-ranking person of the time known so far. This tomb belonged to Liu Fei (169–128), an elder brother of Emperor Wu. It was excavated on Mt Dayunshan in present-day Jiangsu province between 2009 and 2012. Among the countless treasures of Chinese made artefacts archaeologists found two large silver bowls (Nanjing Bowuyuan and Xuyi county Wenguanxin ju 2013, 42 and fig. 72). The lobed decoration resembling the one of Achaemenid or Hellenistic *phialae* and the technology used for their production make it clear that these two bowls are of Central or Western Asian origin. To date these two objects are the only explicit imports of prestige goods from the regions beyond the Pamir found in a tomb of Emperor Wu's reign. They finally seem to lend support to the idea of Hellenistic luxuries being brought into China at the time. See Figure 6.6.

This staggering find requires us to make two observations that are relevant for the question of this paper. First, the discovery offers support for the argument that possession of foreign luxuries may have been limited to the innermost circle of the imperial family, and that the lack of Hellenistic objects in the current archaeological record may result from the fact that, besides of the tomb of Liu Fei, no other similarly high-ranking tombs have been opened. One wonders what Hellenistic luxuries were buried in the tombs of Emperor Wu and his consorts.

The second observation shows that we need to step out of the perspective of the *Shiji* in order to gain a clearer view of the emergence of contact with the West. The “Memoirs of Dayuan” purport that Chinese exchange with Central Asian states began with the missions of Zhang Qian, a notion that has been widely adopted by modern scholars. Liu Fei, however, had died more than two years *before* Zhang Qian returned from Bactria. Even if we consider a mourning period, the tomb should have been closed before the events detailed in the “Memoirs of Dayuan” took place. The extraordinary treasures the tomb contained likely were possessions assembled over a long period of time. The two *phialae* among Liu Fei's grave goods are evidence that Western precious objects had found their way to and were already highly valued in China before the first recorded contact.

The survey of archaeological material from China gives some insight into the question of contacts with Central Asia. The increase in the use of public sculpture and the evidence for knowledge of Greek letters fit the time frame indicated in the “Memoirs

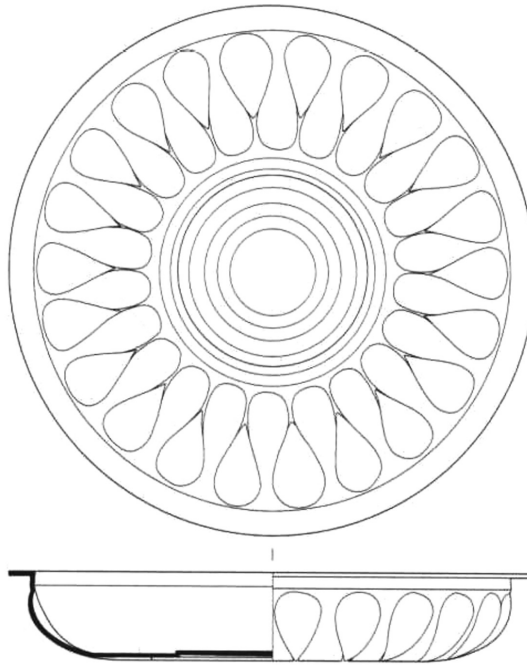


Figure 6.6 Bowl with lobed decoration, diameter 38 cm, silver, found in the tomb of Liu Fei (died 128 BC), Dayunshan, Jiangsu. Drawing adapted from Nanjing Bowuyuan 2013, fig. 72–5.

of Dayuan”, but looking at the excavated material in general, we cannot readily detect a sudden and obvious increase of artistic influence from Central Asia that would match the course of events described in the *Shiji*. Instead, there is good evidence that Chinese artisans engaged with the arts of Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic Central Asia over a longer period of time. Besides the indication of Chinese engagement with Hellenistic art during the late 3rd century BC mentioned in the introduction to this text, the earliest extant mountain censer that may reflect a western Asian or European shape comes with a date of 137 BC, and the earliest known luxury objects unquestionably imported from Central or Western Asia were in Chinese possession before 128 BC. Even if we still lack comparable indications of exchange from archaeology in Afghanistan, the Chinese archaeological evidence suggests that contact between China and the Hellenistic east existed throughout the 2nd century BC and before.

CONCLUSION

Interaction between Hellenistic Bactria and its successors on the one side and China on the other remains difficult to trace. Central Asian archaeology so far has provided little indication of an influx of Chinese objects, and the extant Western written sources say next to nothing about the eastern neighbours of the Bactrians. Chinese sources highlight a brief episode of intense interaction taking place during the last

decades of the 2nd century BC, but remain silent on the period when Hellenistic culture in Central Asia was at its height during the preceding two centuries. The results of archaeological excavations in China to some extent support the story line given in the *Shiji* about the intensification of contacts during the reign of Emperor Wu, but further suggest that exchange with Central Asia had begun as early as the 3rd century BC and continued through the Han period.

The current discussion offers a new perspective on the contents of the chapter 123 in the *Shiji*. The “Memoirs of Dayuan” were written mainly to elaborate the characters of Emperor Wu, Zhang Qian, and some of their contemporaries, and to explain the actions of the political leaders of China’s immediate neighbours such as the Xiongnu, Wusun and Yuezhi. The text itself details that Emperor Wu keenly sought access to Bactria, and implies that plenty of information on Central Asia was available to members of the Chinese imperial court. The author of the text, be it Sima Qian or a court historiographer of the following decades, likely had access to this wealth of knowledge, but chose to include only the gist of it. In contrast to Emperor Wu, the writer clearly had no interest whatsoever in politics, history and culture of Bactria and the other states beyond the Pamir. Much of the information he provides alongside the portrayal of the main figures may convey historic facts, but the chapter does not give a complete or exhaustive picture of the interaction between China and Central Asia that actually took place, or of the knowledge of Bactria that the Chinese would have had. Interaction was going on independently of the reporting that survived, and it remains the task of archaeology to uncover its traces.

LITERATURE

- Michael Alam, “Lead Ingots with Barbarous Greek Inscription”, in Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner (eds.), *Monks and Merchants – Silk Road Treasures in Northwest China*, New York, NY, Harry N. Abrams Inc., 2001, 37.
- Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 (Documents of the Han Dynasty), Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Richard Barnard, “Alexander in China?”, in Yang Xiaoneng (ed.), *New Perspectives on China’s Past. Chinese Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, New Haven, CT/London, Yale University Press, 2004, 329–343.
- Paul Bernard, “The Greek Kingdoms of Central Asia”, in Janos Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, vol. 2, The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*, Paris, France, Unesco Publishing, 1994, 99–130.
- John Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Brigitte Borrell, “Trade and Glass Vessels Along the Maritime Silk Road”, in Bettina Zorn and Alexandra Hilgner (eds.), *Glass Along the Silk Road from 200 BC to AD 1000*, Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 2010, 127–142.
- Emma C. Bunker, *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2002.
- Joe Cribb, “Chinese Lead Ingots with Barbarous Greek Inscriptions”, *Coin Hoards*, vol. IV (1978), 76–78.
- A.H. Dani and Paul Bernard, “Alexander and his Successors in Central Asia”, in Janos Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, vol. 2, The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*, Paris, France, Unesco Publishing, 1994, 67–97.

- Susan N. Erickson, “Boshanlu–Mountain Censors of the Western Han Period: A Typological and Iconological Analysis”, *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 45 (1992), 6–28.
- Harry Falk, *Asokan Sites and Artefacts: A Source-Book with Bibliography*, Mainz, von Zabern, 2006.
- Otto Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1930–1952.
- Gan Fuxi, “The Silk Road and Ancient Chinese Glass”, in Gan Fuxi (ed.), *Ancient Glass Along the Silk Road*, Singapore, World Scientific, 2009, 41–108.
- Pierre Gentelle, *Etude géographique d’Ai Khanoum et de son irrigation depuis les temps antiques*, Paris, Éditions du CNRS, 1978.
- Angela Falco Howard, Li Song, Wu Hung, Yang Hong, *Chinese Sculpture*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2003.
- A. F. P. Hulswé, “The Problem of the Authenticity of Shih-chi Chapter 123, the Memoir on Ta Yüan”, *T’oung Pao*, vol. 61 (1975), 83–147.
- A. F. P. Hulswé, *China in Central Asia: the early stage: 125 B.C–A.D. 23*, with an introduction by M. A. N. Loewe, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1979.
- Baoliang Jiang 姜宝莲 and Zhao Qiang 赵强, “Yangzhou Han mu chutu ‘longwen qianbing’ chutan” (扬州汉墓出土“龙纹铅饼”初探 First Exploration of the ‘Lead Ingots with Dragon Ornament’ Found in the Yangzhou Han Tomb), *Zhongguo Wenwu Bao*, 12 December 2016, 5.
- Horace Leonard Jones (transl.), *The Geography of Strabo*, Loeb Classical Library, 8 volumes, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1917–1932.
- Catrin Kost, “Heightened Receptivity: Steppe Objects and Steppe Influences in Royal Tombs”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 137/2, 2017, 349–381.
- Pierre Leriche, “Das Baktrien der 1000 Städte”, in Svend Hansen, Alfried Wiczorek and Michael Tellenbach (eds.), *Alexander der Grosse und die Öffnung der Welt – Asiens Kulturen im Wandel*, Mannheim, Schnell und Steiner, 2009, 155–167.
- Li Jian and Susan N. Erickson, *Eternal China: Splendors from the First Dynasties*, Dayton, OH, Dayton Art Inst., 1998.
- Linbo shi bowuguan and Qi gucheng bowuguan, *Linzi Shangwang Mudi* 临淄商王墓地 (The graveyard in Shangwang, Linzi), Jinan, Qilu shudian, 1997.
- Nanjing Bowuyuan and Xuyi county Wenguanxin ju, “Jiangsu Xuyi xian Dayunshan Xihan Jiangduwangling yihao mu”, (江苏盱眙县大云山西汉江都王陵一号墓 Tomb no 1 of the Mausoleum of the King of Jiangdu of West Han in Dayunshan, Xuyi, Jiangsu), *Kaogu*, 2013/10, 3–68.
- Pengliang Lu, “Five Disks with Greek Script”, *Sun* (2017), 194.
- Otto Maenchen-Helfen, “A Parthian Coin-Legend on a Chinese Bronze”, *Asia Major*, vol. 3 (1952), 1–6.
- Rachel Mairs, *The Hellenistic Far East : Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2014.
- Carol Michaelson, *Gilded Dragons, Buried Treasures from China’s Golden Ages*, London, UK, British Museum Press, 1999.
- Lukas Nickel, “The Nanyue Silver Box”, *Arts of Asia*, vol. 42 (3) (2012), 98–107.
- Lukas Nickel, “The First Emperor and Sculpture in China”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 76 (2013), 413–47.
- Michèle Pirazzoli-t-Serstevens, “Les laques chinois de Begram. Un réexamen de leur identification et de leur datation”, *Topoi*, vol. 11(1) (2001), 473–484.
- Walter Posch, *Baktrien zwischen Griechen und Kuschan. Untersuchungen zu kulturellen und historischen Problemen einer Übergangsphase mit einem textkritischen Exkurs zum Shiji 123*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995.
- Jessica Rawson, “The Chinese Hill Censer, Boshanlu – A Note on its Origins, Influences and Meanings”, *Arts Asiaticques*, vol. 61 (2006), 75–86.

- Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China, Translated from the Shi chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, vol. 2, *The Age of Emperor Wu 140 to circa 100 BC*, New York/London, Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Georges Rougemont, *Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*, vol. 1, *Inscriptions in Non-Iranian Languages, (Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II)*, London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2012.
- Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Victor Sarianidi, "The Treasure of Golden Hill", *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 84(2) (1980), 125-131.
- Victor Segalen, *Mission archéologique en Chine (1914)*, vol. 1., Paris, France, P. Geuthner, 1923.
- Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Historian), Beijing, Zhonghua Press, 1959.
- Elizabeth Rosen Stone, "A Buddhist Incense Burner from Gandhara", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 39 (2004), 69-99.
- Zixin Jason Sun, *Age of Empires – Art of the Qin and Han Dynasties*, New Haven, CT/London, Yale University Press, 2017.
- Tao Min 陶敏, "Yangzhou Han mu shou xian waiguozi mingwen de longwen qianbin" 揚州漢墓 現外國字銘 的 紋鉛餅 (Lead ingots with dragon ornament and foreign letters inscription discovered for the first time in a Han tomb from Yangzhou), Zhongguo Jiangsu Network, 4 November 2016, <https://kknews.cc/culture/v9meqey.html>
- François Thierry, "Yuezhi et Kouchans, Pièges et dangers des sources chinoises", in Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (éds.), *Afghanistan, Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, Turnhout, Indocopleustoi/Brepols, 2005, 421-539.
- François Thierry, *Les monnaies de la Chine ancienne : des origines à la fin de l'empire*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2017.
- Wang Yuxun 王裕翼, "Baijin sanpin shixi" ("白金三品" 试析 "Tentative Analysis of the Baijin Sanpin"), *Kaogu yu Wenwu*, 5, 1994, 93-97.
- Mark A. Whaley, "A Middle Indo-Aryan Inscription from China", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 62/4 (2009), 413-460.
- Xianyang Diqu Wenguanhui and Maoling Bowuguan, "Shaanxi Maoling yihao wumingzhong yi hao congzangkeng de fajue" (陕西茂陵一号无名冢从葬坑的发掘 Excavation of side pit no 1 of the Anonymous Tomb No 1 in Maoling, Shaanxi), *Wenwu*, vol. 9 (1982), 1-17.
- Liangren Zhang, "Chinese Lacquerwares from Begram – Date and Provenance", *International Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 8(1) (2011), 1-24.
- Zhang Liying 张立英, "Tan dui 'baijin sanpin' de renshi" (谈对“白金三品”的认识 Discussion of the 'Baijin Sanpin'), *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 5, 1994, 90-92.
- Zhu Yi 朱翌, "Lun Huo Qubing mu Shijiao jiaosu de caizhi" (Discussing the material of the sculptures at Huo Qubing's tomb, 论霍去病墓石雕雕塑的材质), *Dazhong Wenyi*, 大众文艺, 2014, no 8, 91.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所 and Hebei she wenwu guanlichu 河北省文物管理处, *Mancheng Hanmu fajue baogao* (满城汉墓发掘报告 Excavation of the Han Tombs at Man-ch'eng), Beijing, Wenwu chubanshe, 1980.

PART II

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CHAPTER 7

THE QUEST FOR BACTRA

Scholarship on the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom from its
origins to the end of colonialism



Omar Coloru

WHEN IT ALL BEGAN

Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738), an eminent Prussian sinologist and Professor of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the Academy of Sciences of St Petersburg since 1725, published a monograph entitled *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*. This book officially inaugurated studies on the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.¹ The aim of Bayer was to provide a study on this Hellenistic monarchy by combining the numismatic analysis of the only two Graeco-Bactrian coins known at that time with the scanty evidence surviving in the works of Classical authors. Such a methodology had already been adopted by other contemporary scholars in their monographs dealing with little-known Hellenistic kingdoms.² The interest of Bayer in the history of the Greek kingdom of Bactria had already manifested a few years earlier as shown by his correspondence with Ignaz Kögler (1680–1746), a German Jesuit missionary in Beijing who enjoyed an excellent reputation as a learned man and was highly influential at the Qing court. In a letter sent to Kögler and dated between the end of 1732 and the beginning of 1733, Bayer put forward the hypothesis that the Indians adopted the Greek calendar in the period following the campaign of Alexander the Great, especially when India was under the rule of the Bactrian Greeks (Bayer 1735, 189–190).

It is no coincidence that the first work on Hellenistic Bactria was published in the Russian Empire. While European powers had increasingly deserted the Silk Road network for the new maritime routes leading to India and the Americas, Russia never gave up on its plan of territorial expansion in Central Asia in order to reach South Asia overland (see further Gorshenina and Rapin, this volume). In 1552, Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible (1530–1584) conquered the khanate of Kazan and in 1556 it was the turn of Astrakhan, but at the same time the tsar combined this expansionist policy with intense diplomatic activity with the help of English merchants from the Muscovy Company, who acted as ambassadors of Russia in the khanates of Central Asia.³ Russia's expansion into Central Asia found new vigour during the reign of Peter the Great (1672–1725). The Azov campaigns (1695–1696) against the Ottomans and the war against Persia (1722–1723) strengthened Russian positions on the Caspian Sea. With a view to improving and securing trade networks between the Russian Empire and the Central Asian khanates, Peter the Great promoted several missions in order

to gather more knowledge on the geography and the resources of Central Asia. One of the consequences of this policy was that of arousing the interest of European intellectuals in this area. In his history of Russia under Peter the Great, Voltaire (1765, especially 38, 56, 62) supported the view that the Russian expansion had not only started a new era in European history, but had also introduced a new vision of the past where neglected populations of the steppe world such as the Scythians finally obtained their rightful place in human history. At any rate, Russian expansion in Central Asia would not by itself justify the birth of modern studies on the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom if we did not take into account an additional factor. In fact, the commitment of Peter the Great in turning his country into a modern European State led to the formation in Russian society of antiquarians and collectors of Graeco-Roman antiquities. The tsar invited many foreign scholars to move to Russia in order to bring with them their sets of knowledge. By 1714, he had created a cabinet of curiosities on the European model gathering the most diverse objects that he or his agents were able to find. Ten years later, in 1724, Peter also founded the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg. When Bayer, together with the other members of the Academy, held their first meeting on 13th November 1725, there was no Russian attending, and the language of communication was Latin (Calinge 2015, 51).

In the *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, Bayer focused his attention on a tetradrachm⁴ of Eukratides I and on a bronze of Menander whose legend was nevertheless almost completely erased. Therefore, Bayer was misled and assigned that coin to Diodotos I, because the same king was mentioned along with Eukratides in Justin's *Epitome of the Philippic Histories*. Before being transferred to the collection of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, the tetradrachm of Eukratides I belonged to Jacob Daniel Bruce (1669–1735). Born to a Scottish family who had settled in Moscow since 1649, Bruce was one of the most talented statesmen in the service of Peter the Great and was also a reputed naturalist. The provenance of the tetradrachm was uncertain, possibly from the region of Kazan or maybe from Astrakhan, a city that had long since become an important trade centre for people coming from Central Asia, Persia, and Armenia. At the time, Graeco-Bactrian antiquities were practically unknown in Europe so that Bruce himself nourished serious doubts as to the authenticity of the specimen in his possession.

In line with the intellectual trends of his time, Bayer sought to highlight the civilising role of the Bactrian Greeks in Central Asia and India: he thought that Indian mathematics was deeply influenced by Greek mathematics or that they shared a common origin, as well as music and the calendar. In addition, he supposed that the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom would have eased trade networks between India and Central Asia. Despite this Hellenocentric view of the past, Bayer (1738, 77) was the first to make the distinction between Greek kings who reigned only in Bactria and those whose authority was limited to India and that only later were classified as Indo-Greeks. In fact, by basing his theory on the passage mentioning Apollodotos I and Menander I in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (47) and the prologue to Book 41 of the *Philippic Histories* by Trogus, Bayer supposed that the areas of influence of these two kings were limited to Indian territories. This idea aroused strong criticism among scholars, especially after the discovery of the first bilingual coins (Greek-Indian), as it was erroneously thought that the Kharoṣṭhī script, then unknown in Europe, transcribed a “Bactrian language”, not Prākṛit.⁵ Bayer's *Historia* also included two

appendices: the first one, composed by Christoph Theodosius Walther (1699–1741), a Danish missionary to Tranquebar (modern Tharangambadi, Tamil Nadu), dealt with the Indian system of time reckoning, while the second was an essay on the astronomical solar year of the Indians by the famous Swiss mathematician Leonhard Euler (1707–1783).⁶ Assuming that the monograms on the coins pointed to some form of dating, Bayer also tried to establish a chronological sequence of the Graeco-Bactrian kings but this system led him to wrong conclusions.

Chronology of the Graeco-Bactrian kings known to Bayer in 1738.

255 BC Diodotos
243 Diodotos II
220 Euthydemos
195 Menander
181 Eukratides I
146 Eukratides II

Bayer died in that same year, 1738, but his monograph had a good reception among European intellectuals and was quoted as an authoritative reference both in works devoted to ancient history and essays that focused on different matters.⁷ In his celebrated masterpiece *De l'Esprit des lois*, the French *philosophe* Montesquieu (1689–1755) devoted a long section on the importance of commerce and its relations with politics, also sketching a historical overview on trade in different civilizations. In this particular context, Montesquieu (1748, livre XXI, Ch. IX) quotes Bayer for the theory according to which the Greeks of Bactria explored the Indian coast and the course of the Ganges, thus providing geographical data later employed by Roman traders in their trade exchanges with India.

In the years following the death of Bayer, interest in Hellenistic Central Asia and India grew stronger and several studies on this subject began to appear both in the form of scholarly articles and monographs. In 1759, the French orientalist Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800) devoted an essay to the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom by Central Asian nomads (De Guignes 1759). For his historical reconstruction he had also resorted to Chinese sources, on the basis of which he put forward the hypothesis that Bactria had fallen in 125 BC. Also in France, the numismatist Joseph Pellerin (1684–1782) published a tetradrachm of Eukratides and a gold stater of Euthydemos, the first known gold issue of a Graeco-Bactrian ruler.⁸ A tetradrachm of Heliokles I was published for the first time in 1788, however it was not possible to find a precise historical-geographical collocation for this specimen as this ruler was never mentioned in ancient sources. As a consequence, the tetradrachm was considered the product of a Syrian mint.⁹ It was only in 1799 that the French numismatist Théodore-Edme Mionnet (1770–1842) established that Heliokles I belonged with the Greek kings of Bactria.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, the number of Graeco-Bactrian coins in European collections of the 18th century was still rather small, and historians had to rely on accidental discoveries made during the still-occasional expeditions to Central Asia. In his *Doctrina Numorum Veturum*, the numismatist Joseph Eckhel (1737–1798) complained about the rarity of these coins, and with good reason as the Bactrian section of his catalogue only included the specimens already published by

Bayer and Pellerin.¹¹ At least until the 1820s, the coins described in these first studies were the only ones known in Europe.

HELLENISTIC BACTRIA IN THE SHADOW OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM

Ancient Bactria and India revealed by travellers, adventurers, officers and statesmen

The 19th century experienced a sudden increase in studies on the ancient history of Central Asia. This trend was triggered both by British colonisation of the Indian subcontinent, and by renewed interest in Afghanistan, whose control would become cause for rivalry between Russia and Great Britain in what Kipling later called the *Great Game*. In the eyes of the European powers, the history of Bactria and Northwest India under the Greeks provided a useful precedent for justifying their expansionist goals, as Alexander, the Seleukids, and then the Bactrian Greeks would have brought the benefits of Western civilisation to those remote lands relieving the local populations from their state of underdevelopment. Moreover, in the wake of the modernisation programme undertaken by Peter the Great, Russia was eager to show itself as the beacon of civilization in Western Central Asia while criticizing British imperialism as being responsible for the political instability in this region (Coloru 2009, 40–52).

St Petersburg was thus once again the place of publication of new specimens of Graeco-Bactrian coins. In 1822, Heinrich Karl Ernst Köhler (1765–1838), a German antiquarian who had moved to Russia like many other scholars of his time and worked at the Hermitage, wrote a *Mémoire sur les médailles grecques de la Bactriane* in which he studied five new coins of Eukratides (he thought they were minted by the first king of his name, but actually they were issued by Eukratides II),¹² three of Euthydemos – together with six barbaric imitations – one of Heliokles I, and a tetradrachm struck by Antimachos I, another ruler whose existence was not recorded in the extant Classical sources. As it had been for Bayer's *Historia*, numismatics once again played a major role in the advancement of the discipline. The following year, Köhler published a *Supplément à la suite des médailles des rois de la Bactriane*, where he described a tetradrachm of Demetrios I, the son of Euthydemos I whose exploits as a young prince against the Seleukid king Antiochos III had been handed down by Polybios in a surviving section of Book 11 of his *Histories*. Köhler's work represents an important step in the study of Hellenistic Central Asia not only for the publication of new data, but also because it provides us with an overview of the European collections of Graeco-Bactrian coins at the beginning of the 19th century. In fact, we learn that most of the specimens published by Köhler came from Bukhara which by then had become an important centre for the trade of Graeco-Bactrian coins, and for this reason was labelled by the orientalist Eugène Jacquet (1836, 126) as the “depository of the ancient history of Bactria”. Considering the political situation of Central Asia in that period, it is no wonder that most of the collectors of these coins were Russians. Köhler mentions two noblemen from Moscow, Prince Mikhail Golytzin and Prince Mikhail Barataev, an anonymous collector from St Petersburg, J. de Blaramberg of Odessa, Director of the Kerch Museum, and finally Baron Igor Kazimirovich von Meyendorff (1794–1863). The latter was the author of a popular

narrative of his journey from Orenburg to Bukhara undertaken in 1820 and owner of the tetradrachm of Demetrius I described by Köhler. According to Meyendorff (1826, 214), ancient coins were often found in the ruins that still stood in his days along the Amu Darya, adding that the people of Bukhara had only recently begun to sell coins to the Russians instead of melting them as they used to do in the past. Köhler's list of collectors also included Englishmen, especially the numismatist and etruscologist James Millingen (1774–1845) and Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844), the famous orientalist and ambassador, author of the Treaty of Gulistan (1813) which established the cession of most of the Caucasian and Transcaucasian possessions of Persia to the Russian Empire. Ouseley had come into possession of a small specimen wrongly attributed to Euthydemus (actually it was Eukratides I) that he found during his diplomatic mission to Persia.

The flow of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins into European collections was made possible thanks to individuals who, for various reasons, travelled to Afghanistan and India. Scholars could hardly keep up with the new discoveries in Bactrian and Indo-Greek numismatics that continuously modified the chronological sequence and the hypothetical genealogy of the rulers. From the Italian *abbé* Domenico Sestini (1750–1832) we know that a certain Mr Stuart, an Englishman residing in Naples, was in possession of a number of Graeco-Bactrian coins that he had purchased in the East during his travels and had showed to Sestini himself in Florence in 1830 (Sestini 1831, 112). In 1822, the British officer James Tod (1782–1835) discovered the first Indo-Greek coins, two bronze issues of Apollodotos I and Menander. The latter was actually Menander II, but the royal epithet DIKAIOS in the worn coin legend was mistakenly read as NIKAT(oros).¹³ Tod had resided in India since 1800, the year in which he enlisted as a cadet in the Bengal Army. He reached the peak of his career when he was appointed Political Agent of Rajasthan (1817) and returned to England in 1823. During his residence in India, he was able to collect many coins and other antiquities for his personal collection. The two bronzes were found in the area along the course of the Yamuna: more precisely the bronze of Apollodotos came from Baitasor while the Menander was found between Mathura and Agra. He presented his discovery before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1825.¹⁴ Tod also drew attention to the legend on the reverse of these coins which was in Kharoṣṭhī script – undeciphered at that time – and remarked on certain similarities with the Pahlavi script used in Sasanian inscriptions. However, Tod devoted a more in-depth analysis of all the antiquities he had brought back from India in a ponderous work entitled *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, published in two volumes in London between 1829 and 1832.

Alexander Burnes (1805–1841), formerly in the service of the British army as an interpreter from Hindi and Persian, then assistant to the Political Agent of Cutch, made a series of explorations between India and Persia (1831–1833) to gather intelligence for the British government. Burnes crossed Afghanistan from south to north visiting Peshawar, Kabul, and Balkh. In the summer of 1832, he was one of the first Europeans to reach Bukhara, where he gained the favour of Koosh Begee, the grand vizier of the Emir of Bukhara Nasrullah Khan (r. 1826–1860). Nonetheless, Burnes took advantage of these travels in order to obtain as much data as possible on the history and geography of the places he visited. Having been granted permission to move freely in Bukhara, Burnes acquired many ancient coins in the local bazar and

visited the nearby site of Khojuoban. Thanks to Burnes, more Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins (especially issues of Euthydemus and Apollodotus) became available for historians to study. The result of this travel experience was a three-volume work entitled *Travels into Bokhara*, published in 1834.

In the same year 1834, the French numismatist Desiré-Raoul Rochette (1790–1854) published two tetradrachms formerly in the possession of a collector of St Petersburg and then passed to the Royal cabinet in Paris.¹⁵ These two coins brought back from oblivion another ruler, Agathocles. On the basis of stylistic analysis, Raoul Rochette rightly assigned the coins of Agathocles to Bactria even though he identified Agathocles with the homonymous Seleukid satrap of Parthia known from the lost *Parthian History* by Arrian (*FGrHist* 156 f 30–31). A considerable number of new specimens found their way to Europe thanks to Dr Johann Martin Honigberger (1795–1869), who is far better renowned for being the founder of homeopathy than for his antiquarian interests. Honigberger travelled extensively to the East and served as court doctor to Ranjit Singh (1799–1849), maharaja of the Sikh kingdom of Punjab. In 1835, his extensive collection of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, mainly purchased from areas between Bukhara and Kabul, was published by Raoul Rochette (1835a, 513–528; 1835b, 577–596). In the words of Raoul Rochette (1835a, 514), the Honigberger collection was a “numismatic treasure whose importance surpasses by far the whole of the acquisitions made in recent times by the English travellers and scholars” (“*un trésor numismatique dont l’importance surpasse de beaucoup l’ensemble des acquisitions faites dans les derniers temps par les soins des voyageurs et des savants anglais*”).

Actually, the Honigberger collection included both previously studied specimens as well as new issues, the most remarkable of which was that of king Hermaios, who for the first time made his entry in the list of Greek sovereigns of India known until then. Dr Honigberger was not the only European in the service of Ranjit Singh interested in Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, but we must add three officers in the army of the maharaja: the French Jean-François Allard, Claude-Auguste Court, and Jean-Baptiste Ventura (an Italian Jew labelled as French for his former service in the Napoleonic army).¹⁶ As of 1827, these men explored some archaeological sites in the Punjab, with the main purpose of reconstructing the itinerary of Alexander the Great in India. At the same time, they had started collecting ancient coins which they acquired from local traders or discovered in the archaeological sites they had visited. In January 1830, for instance, Ventura decided to undertake the exploration of a number of ruins between the Indus and the Jhelum. Forced into inactivity because of bad health conditions, he nevertheless sent his men to carry out his plans, and they returned with a considerable number of coins. Apparently, Ventura wrote some brief notes on the location of the discovery, but the notes were unfortunately lost. Given the difficulty of contacts with France, the officers managed to send the reports of their excavations to the orientalist James Prinsep (1799–1840) in Calcutta, who edited the reports in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* of which he had been director since 1832. In September 1834, Allard went to Paris bringing with him the impressive collection of Ventura which included 328 Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins: this collection passed into the royal cabinet of King Louis Philippe. Well before the arrival of Allard in Europe, the British newspapers in Calcutta had already contributed to the enhancement of the fame and public curiosity around the Ventura

collection. Allard and his Indian wife Banu Pan Dei together with his sons, were welcomed into the most exclusive *salons* of Paris, and many reportages in Europe were devoted to the visit of the French general and his exotic family and retinue. He became popular to the point of clouding the figure of Ventura, and the latter's collection was wrongly attributed to Allard.

As for the collection of general Claude-Auguste Court, Raoul Rochette (1838) published a preliminary selection of 28 specimens without any illustrations, because M. Meifredy, a relative of General Allard and trustee of a large part of the Court collection, allegedly feared a devaluation of those coins after having unsuccessfully tried to sell it to King Louis Philippe. As a matter of fact, it was an excuse to justify the fact that the transaction had failed because of the exorbitant price demanded by Meifredy. The Court collection was quite summarily published by Adrien Prévost de Longpérier (1816–1882) in 1839 (Longpérier 1839). It seems that after his return to France, General Court had expressed his intention to prepare a comprehensive study of the coins he owned, but he never succeeded. In 1869, he tried to sell his collection to Tsar Alexander II through the intermediation of the Russian consulate in Paris, but to no avail. The odyssey of the coins continued after Court's death in 1880 when they were dispersed, despite a testamentary clause obliging his heirs to sell the collection *en bloc* precisely to prevent such a fate. According to recent estimates, it seems that 233 coins from the collection of Sir Alexander Cunningham now in the British Museum were originally part of the Court collection.¹⁷

The British adventurer Charles Masson (1800–1853) made a great contribution to studies on pre-Islamic Central Asia and India. His real name was James Lewis, but he had taken on the false identity of Charles Masson after deserting from the English regiment stationed at Agra on 4th July 1827. For three years, he explored Afghanistan and what is now Pakistan visiting Kabul, Kandahar, and Peshawar in particular. He kept travelling under the false identity of an American traveller from Kentucky and arrived in the port of Bushire in Persia. There he entered into contact with the British authorities present in the town at that time and impressed them both with his linguistic skills and his deep knowledge of the areas he had visited, to the point that he was asked to write a report for the East India Company. In addition, he managed to get funds for antiquarian research in Afghanistan thanks to John Campbell (1799–1870), British envoy to Persia. In 1832, Masson began the exploration of the Buddhist caves of Bamiyan, while in 1833 he undertook an archaeological investigation in Begram, that in his opinion stood on the site of Alexandria in the Caucasus, the colony founded by Alexander the Great during his Indian campaign. In 1834 the false identity of Masson was unmasked by Claude Martin Wade (1794–1861), the Agent to the Governor-General for the Affairs of the Punjab and North-West Frontier. In the end, Masson escaped the death penalty because of his contribution to the study of Afghan archaeology and, above all, for his deep knowledge of the geopolitical situation of Afghanistan. Therefore, in 1835, the death penalty was turned into the obligation to serve as correspondent from Kabul and to provide information about the country. However, Masson resigned from office in 1838 and resumed his journeys and adventures during the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838–1842). At the end of the war, in 1842, Masson moved to England where he lived on a modest pension from the East India Company and devoted himself to the composition of a *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, the*

Panjab, & Kalât (1844), where he exposed the result of his years of research and exploration in the East.

Masson and the French officers at the court of Ranjit Singh provided an invaluable wealth of fresh data on the archaeology and history of pre-Islamic Afghanistan and Northwest India. New Indo-Greek rulers such as Antialkidas, Lysias, Philoxenos, Amyntas, and Arkhebios emerged from the mists of time. Moreover, the considerable amount of bilingual coins in their possession allowed James Prinsep to achieve extraordinary results in the field of numismatics and epigraphy of this area. In fact, in 1838 Prinsep was able to decipher the Kharoṣṭhī script, and showed that it was used to write Prākṛit (Prinsep 1838).¹⁸ In the same year, 1838, although a month after the publication of Prinsep's discovery, the Norwegian orientalist Christian Lassen (1800–1876) published an essay (Lassen 1838) devoted to Bactria from the Hellenistic age to the first centuries of our era. In this study, Lassen focused his attention on the Kharoṣṭhī script reaching some of the same conclusions independently from Prinsep. The following year, Karl Ludwig Grotefend (1807–1874), a German orientalist and son of Georg Friedrich (1775–1853), the scholar who had contributed to the deciphering of the cuneiform script, published a catalogue of the Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, and Indo-Parthian coinage known in his times, *Die Münzen der griechischen, parthischen und indoskythischen Könige von Baktrien und den Ländern am Indus*.

Historical and archaeological data emerging from the explorations in Afghanistan and India provided the core material for *Ariana Antiqua* by Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860). Published in 1841 and dedicated to the memory of James Prinsep, who died only a year before, the book focused on the study of Afghan antiquities and provided a detailed account of the progress of the discipline, covering the period from Bayer's monograph on Bactria until the archaeological surveys of the French officers in the service of the Sikh kingdom of Punjab, and the travels undertaken by Burnes and Masson. In addition, Wilson offered the reader an interesting survey of the collections of Indian antiquities owned by British officers in India and deplored the dispersion of some of them and the consequent loss for the scholars interested in the history of the country. Masson's antiquarian researches and his own collection hold a special place in Wilson's work: in fact, Masson's study on the ancient Buddhist stupas of Afghanistan forms the whole second chapter of *Ariana Antiqua*. On the other hand, Wilson criticizes the lack of interest of his compatriots in Oriental numismatics compared to the strong engagement demonstrated by their French and other European neighbours.¹⁹ In the light of the contributions provided by English travellers, such a criticism might seem exaggerated. However, it is quite telling that the British Museum did not show interest in Hindu and Buddhist antiquities before the 1870s (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 226).

Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893), officer in the Bengal Engineers, developed a passion for archaeology thanks to his acquaintance with James Prinsep as well as the explorations of General Ventura. Since 1837, he had conducted archaeological excavations at several Indian sites and discovered the exact location of the ancient city of Taxila, thanks to a critical analysis of the Classical and Chinese sources. He had a deep interest in the Buddhist period and in places tied to the memory of the historical Buddha: in 1851 he excavated the stupa of Sanchi (3rd century BC) while in 1873 he discovered the stupa of Bharhut (3rd-2nd century BC). In line with his interest in

Buddhism, Cunningham was also the author of the first collection of the edicts of Aśoka (Cunningham 1877), but he also made a relevant contribution to the historical geography of India (Cunningham 1871). Thanks to his intensive scholarly activity, Cunningham became a respected figure in the field of Indian archaeology so that he was appointed director of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1861 until its dissolution in 1865. In 1870, the Archaeological Survey of India was re-established by the Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo (1822–1872), and Cunningham was called back to India in order to resume his service as director, an office which he held until 1885. During his lifetime, Cunningham also collected many ancient coins including Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek issues.

It was between London and Paris that the most important discovery in Bactrian numismatics of the century occurred. On 18th July 1867, the Cabinet des médailles in Paris increased its collection with an extraordinary 20-stater gold medallion issued by Eukratides I. The specimen, nicknamed *Eukratidion*, is an exquisite piece of art representing the helmeted bust of the king on the obverse, while the Dioscuri on horseback stand out on the reverse. The *Eukratidion* is also a “numismatic monster”, because at 169.2 grams it is the largest denomination ever minted in antiquity. Since the beginning, the details of its acquisition have been kept under a shroud of secrecy (Bopearachchi and Flandrin 2005, 19–33). The curator Anatole Chabouillet made rather vague statements about its provenance saying that it came from Merv in Turkmenistan or from Persia. According to Alexander Cunningham, the *Eukratidion* was discovered in Bukhara and brought to London by a certain Agha Zabulon Bokhari, who refused the sum of 700 pounds offered by the British Museum for acquiring the medallion. The story became even more intricate when the British numismatist Hyde Clarke stated that the Imperial library in Paris had acquired the *Eukratidion* for 30,000 francs from a phantasmal Mr Svoboda from Baghdad. In July 1879, an unsigned article in the *American Journal of Numismatics* added new and fictional elements to the story. According to the anonymous author, the medallion was discovered in Bukhara by seven peasants. Immediately, a quarrel broke out over the possession of such an unexpected treasure and five of them died by stabbing. The two survivors agreed to sell the medallion and share the profit. As a result, one of them managed to reach London looking for a possible buyer. It was there that the man from Bukhara sold the *Eukratidion* to another mysterious French specialist, who in turn sold it to Napoleon III for 30,000 francs. The latter would eventually donate the medallion to the Cabinet des Médailles. Actually, all these controversial stories, deeply soaked with Orientalism, were fabricated in order to cover the sale of the *Eukratidion* organised by General Charles Richard Fox (1796–1873). A keen collector of coins and member of the Royal Numismatic Society, General Fox owned an important collection of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins that he had received as a gift from his friend Alexander Burnes

In 1840, my late lamented friend the distinguished *Burnes*, gave me the whole of his Bactrian coins; then very rare, some of which are still extremely so.

(Fox 1856, 6)

Those coins were part of the collection the British traveller had brought to England after the end of his mission to Bukhara. Thus, the *Eukratidion* was first discovered by

Burnes in Bukhara. As the British Museum refused to acquire the medallion, General Fox made an agreement with the French coin dealer Gaston Feuardant in order to sell it directly to the Cabinet des médailles for 30,000 francs. In exchange, General Fox would receive from Feuardant 20% of the sale price.

Bactria and the end of European colonialism

Since Bayer's times the history of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom had mostly been a numismatic history. A few archaeological explorations had been carried out during the 19th century, but they were not systematic. It was from the 1900s that scholarship on ancient Bactria and India really began to benefit from the archaeological campaigns undertaken by various European countries. Between 1912 and 1934, Sir John Marshall (1876–1958) led an extensive programme of excavations at Sirkap, one of the mounds where once ancient Taxila once stood (Marshall 1951; Marshall 1960). The grid plan pattern of Sirkap induced Marshall to identify the site with the Indo-Greek refoundation of the city. However, such interpretation should not be taken at face value as it was affected by Marshall's formation in Greek archaeology and the colonialist bias that a regular urban plan should exclusively betray a Greek origin.²⁰ On the other hand, Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943) was particularly active in the Swat valley (Olivieri 2015), where he attempted to discover the exact location of the Indian Aornos, as several scholars before him had.²¹ The British Government was interested in the area because of its wealth in timber and provided assistance to Stein in organizing his surveys. During his exploration of Swat in 1926, Stein mistakenly identified Aornos with Mount Pir-Sar. He also planned three more surveys in Swat in 1928, 1931, and 1933, but all of them had to be aborted: the first two because of political unrest in the area and the incapability of the British Government to assure him a safe visit, while the 1933 mission never began because he fell from his horse. Nevertheless, during the preparation of these expeditions he provided many useful insights on the archaeological potential of a number of sites in Swat such as Barikot, Kabbal, Amluk-dara, and Tokar-dara (Olivieri 2015, 63). Eventually, Stein could resume his plan in 1941 at the age of 79 when he became the first European traveller to explore Indus Kohistan (Stein 1942).

Knowledge on ancient Bactria received considerable impetus from the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA), created in 1922 by the eminent Indianist Alfred Foucher (1865–1952).²² In the hope of discovering the ruins of Hellenistic Bactra, Foucher directed the excavations on the Arg, the fortified citadel of Balkh, from 1924 to 1925. Unfortunately, no traces of the Greek presence were found. This led the French scholar to despair of ever finding material traces of the Hellenistic Bactra and spoke of a “mirage bactrien”. It was under Foucher's successor, Joseph Hackin (1886–1941) that the DAFA made an extraordinary discovery in the site of Begram between 1937 and 1940. In fact, the French archaeologists discovered a huge treasure that lay scattered in two rooms of the Kushan-era palace. The so-called Begram treasure consisted of hundreds of precious objects from the 1st century BC to the first three centuries of our era: fine pottery, bronze statuettes and glassware from Syria and Egypt, but also Indian pieces of furniture in ivory and jewels from China provided an outstanding picture of the trade exchanges between the Mediterranean and the East.²³ The archaeological campaigns in Afghanistan were

able to resume after the end of the Second World War. The search for Hellenistic Bactra continued in 1947 with the new director of the DAFA Daniel Schlumberger (1904–1972). The survey at Balkh in the Bala Hissar (“Upper City”) area led to the discovery of a potsherd bearing the portrait of a Hellenistic king, which is the first testimony of the Greek presence at Balkh. However, the excavations in another sector of the town, the mound called Tepe Zargaran (the “Jeweler’s Hill”), did not bring any useful results. It was only a few years ago that the remains of Graeco-Bactrian columns and pillars – reemployed during the Kushan age – were discovered in the same area in which Schlumberger’s surveys had looked for evidence of Greek occupation (Bernard, Jarrige, and Besenval 2002).

In the decade following the Indian independence of 1947, two milestones on Graeco-Bactrian studies were published. In 1951, William Woodthorpe Tarn (1869–1957) published the second and augmented edition of *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Since its first edition in 1938, this book characterized itself as the first real history of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom since Bayer’s times. In Tarn’s view, Bactria was still confined to the domain of oriental studies while it was an integrant part of the Hellenistic world. Tarn joined an outstanding erudition with an enjoyable style, even though his approach was too Hellenocentric and his historical reconstruction was often highly speculative to say the least.²⁴ In 1957, the Indian scholar Awad Kishore Narain (1925–2013) wrote *The Indo-Greeks*, which can be considered as the anticolonial answer to Tarn’s book. His approach can be resumed by his statement on Graeco-Bactrian history:

Their history is part of the history of India and not of the Hellenistic States; they came, they saw, but India conquered.

(Narain 1957, 11)

By doing so Narain was only repeating the same approach as Tarn from an Indian perspective. Unlike Tarn, however, Narain’s expertise in numismatics and the use of evidence neglected by Tarn allowed him to provide more solid insights to his historical reconstruction. In addition, Narain (2003) published a revised version of his monograph in the light of the evidence which became available since 1957. Despite the respect due to these works as important steps in the discipline, they both have had their day. Between 1961 and 1963 king Mohamed Zahir Shah of Afghanistan learned from local inhabitants the discovery of imposing Corinthian capitals in the site Ai Khanoum (“Lady Moon”). The king informed Schlumberger and the DAFA began working on the site in 1964. The settlement gradually emerging from the ground would start a new phase in the studies on the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and society.

NOTES

- 1 Bayer had already dealt with Oriental history; in particular he wrote a study on Osroene and Edessa (Bayer 1734). On the history of studies on the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom see Coloru (2009); Holt (2012). See also Gorshenina and Rapin, this volume.
- 2 See Noris (1689) on the history of the cities of the Near East and the kingdom of Commagene, or those on the Parthian kingdom by Foy Vaillant (1728) and Longuerue (1732). Foy Vaillant, in particular, devoted some pages to the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom

- and its relations with the Parthians, relying exclusively on available literary sources, because he did not know anything about the discovery of the first Graeco-Bactrian coins.
- 3 The *Muscovy Company*, created in 1551 from a former *Company of Merchant Adventurers*, was an important diplomatic tool for Anglo-Russian relations. Its first ambassador was Anthony Jenkinson († 1611), who recorded his travels in Persia and Central Asia in a book (see Morgan and Coote 1886). Still in the early 19th century, Jenkinson was considered the only western traveller to have left a sufficiently detailed description of the regions between the Caspian Sea and the lake of Aral. On Jenkinson, see Gorshenina (2003, 26, 138–139).
 - 4 Browne (2003, 212) argued that Bayer's coin of Eukratides was actually a drachm, but the analysis by Holt (2010, 289–290) confirmed it was a tetradrachm.
 - 5 This was for instance the remark made by Schlegel (1828, 325–326).
 - 6 For the appendixes by Walther (*Christophori Theodosii Waltherii missionari regii Danici Doctrina temporum Indica*) and Euler (*Leonardi Euleri De Indorum anno solari astronomico*) see Bayer (1738, 191–200 and 201–213). On the scientific cooperation between Bayer and Euler see Calinge (2015, 218).
 - 7 See Coloru (2009, 36–40); Mairs (2014).
 - 8 See Pellerin (1762, 130–131), plate XV and Pellerin (1778, 95). On the basis of his epigraphical and typological analysis, Pellerin (1762, 131) was doubtful about Bayer's attribution of the coin of Menander to Diodotos I.
 - 9 The coin of Heliokles belonged to the huge collection of Abraham-Joseph Michelet d'Ennery (1709–1786), treasurer of Metz, and was published by Gosselin-Campion (1788). The coin is no. 253 of the catalogue. See also Coloru (2009, 38); Holt (2012, 31–32).
 - 10 Mionnet (1799, 65–66) justified his attribution to Bactria on the basis of the coin's appearance.
 - 11 In the Bactrian section of Eckhel (1794, 556–562), the author (557) observed that “rarissimi sunt numi omnes regum Bactrianæ.”
 - 12 See Holt (2012, 32).
 - 13 Neither Menander I nor Menander II took on the epithet *Nikator*. The same mistake was repeated by Raoul-Rochette (1834, 331).
 - 14 Tod's paper was read on 18th June 1825 and published the following year (Tod, 1826).
 - 15 Raoul-Rochette (1834, 332–344). For additional bibliography see Coloru (2009, 44), and Holt (2012, 38–39).
 - 16 The lives of the French officers serving in the Sikh Kingdom have been thoroughly investigated by Lafont (1992).
 - 17 For a preliminary account, see Errington (1995).
 - 18 For the history of the deciphering of the Kharoṣṭhī script, see Salomon (1998, 210–215). Prinsep was also able to read the names of Antiochos II, Ptolemy II, Magas of Cyrene, Antigonos II Gonatas of Macedonia, and Alexander of Epiros in the Girnar copy of the edict of Aśoka, a discovery that shed new light on the political relations between India and the Hellenistic monarchies.
 - 19 See Wilson (1841, 27), “The indifference thus manifested in England is not, however, shared by our neighbours.”
 - 20 On the dating of Sirkap, see the useful remarks by Mairs (2009, 135–143).
 - 21 Alexander Cunningham identified Aornos with the site of Ranigat, but it has been established that the Indian Aornos matches with Mount Ilam in Swat (Olivieri 2015, 59; Coloru-Olivieri 2019, 93–106).
 - 22 For history and bibliography on the DAFA see Olivier-Utard (2003), and Coloru (2009, 52, 54–55).
 - 23 See e.g. Hackin (1939), Ghirshman (1946), and Hackin (1954).
 - 24 For a detailed analysis on Tarn's Hellenocentric approach and the criticism of his contemporaries, see Holt (2012, 69–88).

REFERENCES

- Bayer, Th. (1734) *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena ex nummis illustratae*, Petropoli: Ex Typographia Academiae.
- . (1735) Ex epistola T. S. Bayeri ad R. P. Koeglerum Tribunalis Mathematici Praesidem S. I. Missionarium, *Miscellanea berlinensia ad incrementum scientiarum*, t. iv, pars iii, 189–190.
- . (1738) *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, Petropoli: Ex Typogr. Acad. Scient.
- Bernard, P., Jarrige, F., & Besenval, R. (2002) Carnet de route en images d'un voyage sur les sites archéologiques de la Bactriane afghane (Mai 2002), *CRAI*, novembre-décembre, 1385–1428.
- Bopearachchi, O., & Flandrin, Ph. (2005) *Le portrait d'Alexandre le Grand. Histoire d'une découverte pour l'humanité*, Paris: Éditions du rocher.
- Browne, G. M. (2003) Bayer's coin of Eukratides, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 145, 212.
- Calinge, R. S. (2015) *Leonhard Euler: Mathematical Genius in the Enlightenment*, Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Coloru, O. (2009) *Da Alessandro a Menandro. Il regno greco di Battriana*, Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra.
- Coloru, O., & Olivieri, L. M. (2019) Mount Aornos and the Operations of the Macedonian Army in Swat. Sources and Archaeological Data, *Pakistan Heritage*, 11, 93–106.
- Cunningham, A. (1871) *The Ancient Geography of India, vol. I, The Buddhist Period including the Campaigns of Alexander, and the Travels of Hwen-Thsang*, London: Trübner and Co.
- . (1877) *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, I, Inscriptions of Asoka*, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.
- De Guignes, J. (1759) Recherches sur quelques événements qui concernent l'histoire des Rois Grecs de la Bactriane, & particulièrement la destruction de leur Royaume par les Scythes, l'établissement de ceux-ci le long de l'Indus, & les guerres qu'ils eurent avec les Parthes, *Mémoires de Littérature tirés des Registres de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, tome xxv, 17–33.
- de Longpérier, A. (1839) Collection numismatique du général Court, *Revue Numismatique*, 2, 81–88.
- de Longuerue, L. (1732) *Annales Arsacidarum*, Argentoratum: apud Jo. Reinholdum Dulsseckerum.
- de Meyendorff, I. K. (1826) *Voyage d'Orenburg à Bukhara fait en 1820 à travers les steppes qui s'étendent à l'est de la Mer d'Aral et au-delà de l'ancien Jaxarte*, Paris: Dondey-Dupré.
- Díaz-Andreu, M. (2007) *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eckhel, W. (1794) *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. III, Vindobonae: sumpt. Friderici Volke.
- Errington, E. (1995) Rediscovering the coin collection of general Claude-Auguste Court. A preliminary report, *TOIIOI*, 5(2), 409–423.
- Fox, C. F. (1856) *Engravings of Unedited or Rare Greek Coins*, vol. I, London: Bell and Daldy.
- Foy Vaillant, J. (1728) *Arsacidarum imperium, sive regum Parthorum historia ad fidem numismatum accomodata*, Paris: sumptibus Caroli Moette.
- Ghirshman, R. (1946) *Bégram: Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Française.
- Gorshenina, S. (2003) *Explorateurs en Asie Centrale. Voyageurs et aventuriers de Marco Polo à Ella Maillart*, Genève: Olizane.
- Gosselin, Fr.-P., & Campion, Ph. (1788) *Catalogue des médailles antiques et modernes, du cabinet de M. D'Ennery*, Paris: Imprimerie de Monsieur.

- Grotefend, C. L. (1839) *Die Münzen der griechischen, parthischen und indoskythischen Könige von Baktrien und den Ländern am Indus*, Hannover: Hahn.
- Hackin, J. (1939) *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire.
- . (1954) *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram: ancienne Kâpici: 1939–1940*, Paris: Presses universitaires.
- Holt, F. L. (2010) Bayer's coin of Eukratides, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 174, 289–290.
- . (2012) *Lost World of the Golden King: In Search of Ancient Afghanistan*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Jacquet, E. (1836) De la collection de médailles bactriennes et indo-scythiques rapportées par M. le général Allard, *Journal Asiatique*, t. 1 n° 2, février, 122–190.
- Köhler, H. K. E. (1822) *Mémoire sur les médailles grecques de la Bactriane*, Saint Petersburg: Imprimerie de N. Gretschn.
- . (1823) *Supplément à la suite des médailles des rois de la Bactriane*, Saint Petersburg: Imprimerie de N. Gretschn.
- Lafont, J.-M. (1992) *La présence française dans le royaume sikh du Penjab. 1822–1849*, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Lassen, Ch. (1838) *Zur Geschichte der griechischen und indo-skythischen Könige in Baktrien, Kabul und Indien*, Bonn: H. B. König.
- Mairs, R. (2009) The 'Greek Grid-Plan' at Sirkap (Taxila) and the question of Greek influence in the North West, in Willis, M. (ed.), *Migration, Trade and Peoples. European Association of South Asian Archaeologists. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress*. London, 2005, London: British Association for South Asian Studies, 135–143.
- . (2014) The reception of T. S. Bayer's *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani* (1738), *Anabasis: Studia Classica et Orientalia*, 4, 255–262.
- Marshall, J. (1951) *Taxila: An Illustrated Account*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . (1960) *A Guide to Taxila*, fourth edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . (1844) *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, the Panjab, & Kalât, During a Residence in Those Countries*, 4 vols., London: Richard Bentley.
- Mionnet, T.-E. (1799) *Catalogue d'une collection d'empreintes en soufre de médailles grecques et romaines*, Paris: De Crapelet.
- Montesquieu, C. & de Secundat, (1748) *De l'Esprit des loix*, Genève: J. J. Vernet.
- Morgan, E. D. & Coote, C. H. (1886) *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen: With Some Account of the First Intercourse of the English with Russia and Central Asia by Way of the Caspian Sea*, 2 vols., London: Hakluyt Society.
- Narain, A. K. (1957) *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . (2003) *The Indo-Greeks: Revisited and Supplemented*, New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- Noris, F. E. (1689) *Annus et Epoche Syromacedonum in vetustis urbium Syriae nummis praesertim Mediceis expositae*, Florentiae: typis Sereniss. Magni Ducis.
- Olivier-Utard, Fr. (2003) *Politique et archéologie: histoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, 1922–1982*, Paris: éd. Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Olivieri, L. M (2015) 'Frontier Archaeology': Sir Aurel Stein, Swat, and the Indian Aornos, *South Asian Studies*, vol. 31, 1, 58–70.
- Pellerin, J. (1762–1778), *Recueil de médailles de rois qui n'ont point encore été publiées ou qui sont peu connues*, 10 vols., Paris, Francfort, La Haye: H. L. Guerin & L. F. Delatour, veuve Desaint.
- Prinsep, J. (1838) Additions to bactrian numismatics, and discovery of the bactrian alphabet, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 79, 636–658.

- Raul-Rochette, D. (1834) Notice sur quelques médailles grecques, inédites, appartenant à des rois inconnus de la Bactriane et de l'Inde, *Journal des Savants*, juin, 321–344.
- . (1835a) Supplément à la Notice sur quelques médailles grecques inédites des rois de la Bactriane et de l'Inde, *Journal des Savants*, septembre, 513–528.
- . (1835b) Suite du Supplément à la Notice sur quelques médailles grecques inédites des rois de la Bactriane et de l'Inde, *Journal des Savants*, octobre, 577–596.
- . (1838) Troisième supplément à la Notice sur quelques médailles grecques inédites des rois de la Bactriane et de l'Inde, *Journal des Savants*, décembre, 736–753.
- Salomon, R. (1998) *Indian Epigraphy. A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schlegel, A. W. (1828) Observations sur quelques médailles bactriennes et indo-scythiques nouvellement découvertes, *Journal Asiatique*, t. 2, novembre, 321–349.
- Sestini, D. (1831) *Descrizione d'alcune medaglie greche del museo del signore barone Stanislao di Chaudoir*, Firenze: Guglielmo Piatti.
- Stein, A. (1942) From Swat to the Gorges of the Indus, *The Geographical Journal*, 100, 49–56.
- Tarn, W. W. (1951) *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tod, J. (1826) An account of Greek, Parthian, and Hindu Medals found in India by Maj. J. Tod, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, vol. I, part II, 313–342.
- . (1829–1832) *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 2 vols., London: Smith, Elder.
- Wilson, H. H. (1841) *Ariana Antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan with a Memoir on the Buildings Called Topes by C. Masson Esq.*, London: Court of Directors of the East India Company.

CHAPTER 8

THE ORIGINAL ‘FAILURE’? A CENTURY OF FRENCH ARCHAEOLOGY IN AFGHAN BACTRIA¹



Annick Fenet

INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of the Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA) and the mission of Alfred Foucher in Bactria provide a very rich dossier of evidence, both for antiquity and for the world of the twentieth century. In France the early period of the DAFA has inspired numerous articles and historiographical works – unevenly documented – of which the attached bibliography gives a broad overview from the very first accounts drawn up by the actors themselves since the 1920s (from Foucher 1924 to Foucher 1942–1947; Bazin-Foucher 1952; Hackin 1933; unpublished text by Foucher, published in Fenet 2010, 582–606), to the studies of the 2000s dealing with the results of the DAFA (Gorshenina and Rapin 2001, 44–45, 54–61, 79–80; Bernard 2002; Bernard 2009; Bopearachchi 2007, on Bactrian coins), or conducted using the official archives of French ministries (Chevalier 2002: 347–373; Olivier-Utard 1997: 17–89). More recently, the Foucher archives and correspondence kept in the Société Asiatique in Paris (Fenet 2008; Fenet 2009b) have permitted a detailed re-examination of the mission and, through a review of the contemporary press, of its reception (Fenet 2010, with 335 edited letters² and manuscripts 1919–1948). During the 2010s, because of current events in Afghanistan, Foucher and the DAFA were regularly mentioned in retrospectives of the institution or of the French presence in Central Asia (for example, by Dupaigne 2012; Nasiri-Moghaddam 2012; Bendezu-Sarmiento and Marquis 2015), without contributing anything new, and sometimes even, in neglecting to take account of previous studies, distorting reality.

It is clear that for the most part, due to repetition of this sort, the French scientific presence in Bactria in the inter-war period has suffered from a negative image, which persists today in the English-speaking world, but also – which is more surprising – in French milieux. The present work therefore provides an opportunity for a synthetic review of the information provided by the sources and by retrospective judgements. In the title and content of this chapter, which are a tad provocative, we hope to lead the reader to reflect on the courtroom of history, and the notion of ‘success’ in the domain of eastern archaeology.

FOUCHER, FROM CALCUTTA TO KABUL (MARCH 1921–NOVEMBER 1923): THE BIRTH OF THE DAFA

The Franco-Afghan convention and the ensuing creation of the DAFA were consequences of the First World War, thanks to which this former vassal state of the Indian Empire gained its independence (Third Anglo-Afghan War, concluded by the Treaty of Rawalpindi, 8 August 1919). Amanullah, Amir of Afghanistan – who proclaimed himself King in 1926 – led his country into a policy of opening up to the West. Turning his back on the British, he prioritised collaborations with France, Germany and Russia. Abd-ul-Aziz Khān, minister (today we would say ‘ambassador’) of Afghanistan in Persia, proposed a scientific mission to his country in 1921 to his French counterpart Charles-Eudes Bonin (1865–1929). The latter, who was also a scholar and an explorer, passed this on to Philippe Berthelot (1866–1934, son of Marcellin and Sophie Berthelot), Secretary General of the Ministère des Affaires étrangères (MAE) in Paris, who seized this opportunity and immediately selected his former schoolfriend Alfred Foucher. Then 56 years old, Foucher was an internationally recognised scholar, a specialist in Buddhism and Graeco-Buddhist art, who by the time of his death was the author of almost 200 publications (Fenet 2009a). He was a graduate of the École normale supérieure (1885) and had studied Sanskrit at the École pratique des hautes-études (EPHE). From 1895, he taught the history of Indian religions at the EPHE and was appointed director of studies there in 1914. In parallel, from 1907, he taught ‘languages and literatures of India’ at the Sorbonne: first as a lecturer, then assistant professor, then as a professor holding the chair of the same name. He was visiting professor at Columbia University in 1915, an indication of his standing. Foucher was also a field researcher and on his first mission to the Indian Empire in 1895–1897, he brought back coins, ancient sculptures and Sanskrit manuscripts, which were deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale and the Louvre, as well as the material for his doctoral thesis, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, which has been an important reference work ever since its publication. It was on this journey that he identified the location, near Peshawar, of the so-called stupa of Kanishka, which was excavated in 1909 by the Archaeological Survey of India (Fenet 2019). As deputy director (1901), then director of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (1905–1907), he got to know the antiquities of Indochina and Java and learnt how to direct a research institute in Asia.

As well as the confidence his scientific and administrative competence inspired among the authorities in Paris, Foucher also had the advantage of already being in place. Since 1918, he had been seconded to the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and at the end of March 1921 was getting ready to return to Paris and resume his teaching duties. Contacted by telegram, he accepted the new mission offered to him and, from Calcutta, set out to Tehran in Persia, which he left on 9 January 1922 for Mashhad, then Herat (the ancient Alexandria in Areia) where he arrived on 18 March. Escorted by a caravan of 90 horses which helped him brave the snow and cross passes of more than 3000 metres, he covered the 700 kilometres from west to east to Kabul, where he arrived on 10 May 1922, in 31 stages. As we have seen, the scholar was welcomed as an official representative of France and not simply as

a mere scientist. After the signing on 28 April 1922 of the Franco-Afghan accord, with a view to reciprocal diplomatic representation – and while Foucher was still negotiating the terms of an archaeological convention – the Chamber of Deputies and Senate in Paris voted for the creation of a French legation in Kabul, which was also legitimised by an historical argument. The creation of the DAFA in fact received the scientific and political support of numerous French colleagues, whether they were Hellenists – connected with the *École française d'Athènes* (EFA) founded in 1846 – or Orientalists. In the eyes of the French, the eastward extension of French archaeological research, towards Central Asia and the Far East, was simply the extension of research on Hellenism – which had been conducted on Greek soil since the scientific expedition to Morea (1829) and on the other shore of the Aegean Sea (in Egypt, and later in Mesopotamia and Persia) – which might be traced, with the advent of the modern world, as far as China. In both cases, Hellenism and Orientalism were intimately linked, and it was up to France, as a civilised nation, to bring them into being and see that they lived on (Fenet 2011b).

For almost a year and a half, before the late arrival (September 1923) of the first French ambassador, Maurice Fouchet, Alfred Foucher established the French lycée, laid the foundations for laws on cultural heritage, developed the future museum and above all, on 9 September 1922, he signed an archaeological convention, on the model of the Franco-Persian convention (see the fine analyses by Olivier-Utard 1997 and Chevalier 2002, 354–359), which marked the creation of the DAFA. Although the term ‘délégation’ appears in this text, the DAFA only became known by its full title some years later (notably with the publication of the *Mémoires de la DAFA* from 1928). Foucher, for his part, would always be designated as the ‘chef’ of the DAFA, and kept this unofficial title until at least 1936, and doubtless until the Second World War. In fact, the first use of the official title of ‘directeur’ of the DAFA was only with Ghirshman in 1941 and, in Foucher’s view, it was only in 1945–1946 that the DAFA became ‘regularly organised’ as an institution worthy of this name and endowed with a true director, in this case Daniel Schlumberger (Fenet 2010, 143–145).

For Foucher, based in Kabul, work began with a field survey, within a maximum radius of 130 kilometres as the crow flies around the capital including reconnaissance surveys at Kabura and Kapisa/Begram and a stay in the Bāmiyān Valley. In January 1923, the arrival of the architect André Godard (1881–1965), accompanied by his wife Yedda (née Reuilly, 1889–1977), allowed the first surveys and sondages, over the following ten months, at Bāmiyān, at Hadda (near Jellalabad) and at Begram, as well as at Ghazni (ruins of the Islamic period). In this, Foucher did not stray from the programme which he had proposed in October 1921, of carrying out, in addition to the convention “an accurate reconnaissance of historical sites and excavation areas”. This research was also concerned with the field of historical geography, a theme which Foucher had pursued in the previous decades, in tracing the route of the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (then known as Hiuan-tsang; cf. Foucher 1925), whose travels from China to India (629–645 AD) were known from Stanislas Julien’s French translation of 1857–1858 and Samuel Bean’s English translation of 1888. Foucher had already made good use of these Chinese sources in his previous research, notably in Gandhāra.

Thus, from the very beginning of the DAFA, research took several directions, according to individual personalities and access to Afghan sites. Their primary

concern was the direction which had been decided in Paris, that of finding the traces of Alexander and evidence of eastern Hellenism, but they were also interested in the Buddhist domain, and – albeit only in part – Muslim culture.

BACTRA, A SHARED DREAM

Where did (Afghan) Bactria figure in all this? According to the 1922 convention, the territory of Bactria – which was in theory included in the geographical area covered by the DAFA – consisted of southern Bactria, to the south of the natural frontier formed by the middle course of the Amu-darya between the nation states which had developed in the twentieth century. Even though it was not mentioned in the text of the convention, and although Foucher's first fieldwork in Afghanistan concentrated on the central-eastern part of the country, Afghan Bactria was nevertheless always on Foucher's mind during the genesis of the DAFA. Study of Foucher's correspondence shows in fact that, in his view, it was the prospect of visiting this region that excited him the most (Fenet 2010, 77–78). In Persia, where he declared that "Persepolis is well worth the sunburn, and with Bactra we are all the more ready for frostbite," he began his bibliographical research on northern Afghanistan. When he arrived at Herat, he was still convinced that Balkh was "one of the essential goals of [his] mission" and, given the size of the site, hoped to conduct "several months of research, even if these must remain superficial". Therefore, even before the beginning of negotiations for the archaeological convention, Foucher presented Bactria to his correspondents in Paris as the main goal. In hindsight, the Indologist was later able to comment on "the mirage of Bactra", which provoked a "sacred delirium" even among serious German scholars (Foucher 1952). In fact, Bactra had always been the dream of Westerners who hoped to find architectural traces of all the civilisations which had succeeded each other there over the course of twenty centuries (Bernard 2002, 1291–1292; Bernard 2009, 156–158, 180). In the French imagination, it also took on the shimmering colours of a baroque opera (Rameau's *Zoroastre*). In a December 1923 article in the Parisian press, which supposedly reported the comments of the curator of the Cabinet des Médailles, Ernest Babelon (1854–1924), Bactra appeared as a city of *One Thousand and One Nights*:

ancient residence of the kings of Persia, the emporium where over the centuries the products of Tibet and China, the wares of High Asia, of Orient and Occident, flowed together. Ninus came there at the head of an expedition. It is said that Semiramis promenaded there in luxurious retinue. Alexander, at any rate, sowed there the seeds of a new civilisation. There, under the unshifting sands, slumber the grandiose ruins which hold the promise, as reward for a sustained effort, of considerable revelations.

The writings devoted to Bactra by the numismatist Edmond Drouin (1838–1904) at the end of the nineteenth century, however, took a view which was more detached, being based upon extant coins and the reports of modern travellers, but also more critical with regard to the ancient literary sources (Drouin 1887; Bernard 2009, 158–161; see also Coloru this volume).

We can nevertheless see, from reading these accounts, how the site appealed greatly to the curiosity of a range of scholarly communities, from specialists in antiquity, to those of Buddhism and the Islamic world. But above all the dream of Bactra was also that of Aurel Stein (1862–1843; biographies: Mirsky 1977 and Walker 1995). This Hungarian scholar, who was naturalised as a British citizen in 1904, and who had already undertaken three major exploratory missions in Central Asia (1900–01, 1906–08, 1913–15), had been a friend of Foucher since 1896.³ The two men shared the same goal, and since the end of the nineteenth century, despite the political situation, had been trying to reach northern Afghanistan. They were the originators of a motion at the 22nd Congress of Orientalists, in Rome in 1899, which expressed the desire for an international Association for the historical, archaeological, linguistic and ethnographic exploration of Central Asia and the Far East, and which led to the creation, during the following Congress (Hamburg 1902) of a committee for the exploration of Central Asia – with national groups, however, retaining some autonomy. But despite these moves, despite all the steps taken along with the Government of India and the Afghan authorities, and despite the support of his French colleagues, Stein had still not obtained authorisation at the beginning of the 1920s to explore Afghan Turkestan⁴ (see Stein, cited in Mirsky 1977, 203; Bernard 2002, note 4; Fenet 2016). Central Asia, which had been explored by the Germans (expeditions of Albert von Le Coq in 1904–05, 1906 and 1913–14), by the French (mission of Paul Pelliot 1905–08; Henry de Bouillane de Lacoste 1906–07), and by the Russians (see Gorshenina and Rapin this volume), remained closed on the Afghan side. The naturalised-French Luxembourger Guillaume Capus (1857–1931) had been able to visit northern Bactria in the 1880s as far as Termez on the right bank of the Amu-darya and carry out some sondages there, but had been unable to cross the river (letter of 23 April 1921: Fenet 2010, n.16). With the opening-up of Afghanistan, Foucher hoped that the way would at last be open for a shared discovery of Bactra, as he told Stein on 15 July 1922, telling him about his arrival in Kabul:

Rest assured, your Balkh has not been deflowered! ... The day before yesterday the Foreign Ministry told my Persian secretary ... that you had been granted authorisation to excavate there, as had I: I hope that we will see you here soon. I need not tell you that it was a disappointment not to find you there. Are we going to be able to make good on our old joke about sharing Afghanistan between us, north and south of the Hindu Kush? How many things we'll have to talk about together!

Foucher, for his part, thought of finding in Bactra the “‘missing link’ [sic, in English] between Gandhāra and Serindia,” that is to say between the Graeco-Buddhist art which he had himself studied in the region of Peshawar and the material brought to light by Stein in Chinese Turkestan on his previous expeditions (Fenet 2016: 421). In his view, the “cradle of this art, imported to the margins of the Taklamakan, is to be looked for in Bactra, which two thousand years ago was the first point of contact between the three great civilisations of Greece, India and China, as it is today the meeting point of the three great Chinese, Anglo-Indian and Russian empires” (Foucher 1905–1951, I, 5). In a lecture given in Simla on 1 August 1919, he therefore insisted on the supposed role of Bactra in the development of Graeco-Buddhist

art and the great benefit of exploring the site (Foucher 1920). More precisely, he hoped that the ‘tumuli’ – note the term used for what Drouin had called the ‘tells’ – in the neighbourhood of Bactra would reveal evidence of frescoes of this school of art, hitherto known only from texts, and reminded his audience of the “hundred monasteries” mentioned by Xuanzang at Bactra, renowned for their “antiquity, the beauty of their statues and the number of their stupas” adding, “all this bodes well for future excavations” (Foucher 1905–1951, II, 401–402, 635–636, 684). On this reasoning, he went so far as to date the first Buddhist foundations, in an Afghan Bactria in which no scholar had yet set foot, to the second half of the first century AD and the florescence of the Bactra school to the second century (Foucher 1905–1951, II, 640 ff.).

This shared hope unfortunately met with political resistance and problems in communication between Paris and Kabul. The archaeological convention had been established on the model of the existing convention between France and Persia – which included division of the excavation finds between the two parties – but with significant modifications required on the Afghan side: in particular, the exclusivity granted to France, even though this was flexible, according to the goodwill of local government. However much Foucher disagreed and argued, nothing could divert his interlocutors from this resolution.

After the signing of the convention, he nevertheless tried to convince the Afghans of the impartiality of Stein, whom the French had appointed ‘correspondant’ of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (AIBL) in order to promote his acceptance by the authorities in Kabul. In January 1923, Foucher explained the complexity of the situation and his embarrassment in the face of what he considered “the prior rights of Sir Aurel Stein”:

the question is whether you in Paris wish us to excavate at Kapiça this summer, or whether we should immediately head for Bactra, and for how long. Since the Afghans still do not want Stein’s mission, not only because it is English, but because they could then no longer refuse Barthold’s [Russian] mission, and they are even more afraid of the Russians than of the English. It is very sad for our friend Stein, but can we ‘play the third thief’⁵ indefinitely?

In the spring of 1923, Foucher was still defending the idea of a prospection at Bactra and possible field survey. In this way, the French – while still keeping open the possibility of future joint missions with Stein – could block the way for the Russians and the Germans, who were trying to interfere in Afghanistan by means of the archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948). But eight months later, Foucher left for Bactra to officially carry out the first French excavations. This decision has been subject to differing analyses by modern commentators. For some, it was Paris which imposed this action, against the will of Foucher and despite his stated reluctance, because of the fascination exercised by the site. For others, the Indologist went there of his own free will, betraying his old friendship with Stein. Examination of the correspondence demonstrates that the reality was not so Manichaean, and that it was the result of a misunderstanding due in large part to problems of postal communication (letters could often take between one and two months between Kabul and Paris, when they were not simply lost en route).

Foucher and the DAFA depended upon several institutional authorities: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Public Instruction, as well as the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. But Foucher's principal interlocutor, the Parisian pivot of the enterprise, was Émile Senart (1847–1928), a renowned Sanskritist, member of the Académie, President of the Société Asiatique, and of the interest group the Comité de l'Asie française (Fenet 2010, 50–53, 62–77). Thinking that he was fulfilling his disciple's wishes, by 1923 Senart had succeeded in obtaining sufficient funding and the approval of all in Paris for the commencement of excavations at Bactra. But the old man realised, too late, that Foucher's position had meanwhile changed and that he did not wish to leave for the north of the country. Many factors explain his change of heart: careful reading of the works of travellers who had reached Bactra – accounts which Foucher did not really study until just before or after his arrival in Afghanistan and which made him aware of the scale of the site – tiredness, being worn down after a year of life in Afghanistan, health problems, his feeling of isolation in the face of an irregular postal service (Fenet 2010, 77–82). Moreover, in this young nation still devoid of an awareness of cultural heritage, ancient monuments – including those of the Islamic period – were ruined or in a pitiable state. The constant support of Amanullah for the French mission was not shared by all those around him, in a capital where there was constant intrigue. Amanullah himself, who was capable of diverting the French architect from archaeological work in favour of local construction projects, projected to his people the image of an emir more interested in hunting and cars than in antiquities (Fenet 2015). In the field, archaeologists fell victim to the destruction of the first discoveries of the Hadda mission by local villagers. Minor tensions or disappointments made themselves felt within the small French community: the Godards did not adapt to Afghanistan and refused to stay there long; the French minister, who took so long to arrive and for whom Foucher waited in order to pass on the diplomatic baton, was initially diffident about the archaeological mission and worried about their security. Although the two men learnt to get along and to appreciate one another, the first moments were a little cold. Written traces of these disagreements, in A. Godard's notebooks kept in the Musée Guimet and in M. Fouchet's letters kept in the MAE archives, explain in part the sometimes critical first assessments of the Foucher mission in French historiography (for example, Olivier-Utard 1997, 69–87), before new sources allowed these views to be nuanced (Fenet 2010: 110–120).

In short, over the course of the year 1923, Foucher's enthusiasm lost momentum, and directed him towards more modest and realistic prospects, in accordance with his means and those of the Délégation: continued explorations south of the Hindu Kush and concentration on “the plentiful Graeco-Buddhist sculptures which are just waiting to be disinterred, and whose unearthing will not ruin us” (letter of 25 October 1923). But Senart could not or did not wish to sense this change: the die had been cast, the DAFA would excavate at Bactra, moreover without Stein.

A DIFFICULT MISSION

We should specify the conditions under which Foucher's mission in Bactria operated, since they are not always obvious to a twenty-first century scholar. The French ‘délégation’ which left Kabul on 15 November 1923 was actually limited, because of the

final departure of the Godards in October, to Foucher. The latter was accompanied by his wife, Eugénie Bazin-Foucher (1889–1952), known as ‘Ena’, a former student of Foucher and Sylvain Lévi, an English language specialist by training, and also an Iranologist. After the end of the war, she had travelled alone to Ceylon to rejoin her fiancé and marry him. Since that time she had followed him on all his travels, playing an active role in the stewardship of her husband’s missions and participating to varying degrees in his scientific work, in particular in the linguistic domain (written and oral translation). Like Agatha Christie in Mesopotamia, she supported her husband in Persia and Afghanistan with humour, curiosity and sang-froid. Foucher recognised her merits by associating her with him in the final publication, and requesting a Légion d’Honneur for her, which was never granted to him (Fenet 2011a). The head of the mission was therefore deprived of an architect and a draughtsman for his excavation. This explains why the publication of the excavations (Foucher 1942–1947) does not contain proper plans and surveys. Nevertheless, this ‘provisional’ study of the whole site remained for a long time authoritative (Figure 8.1).⁶ The DAFA chief received some assistance from Joseph Hackin (1886–1941), curator at the Musée Guimet, who left Paris on 15 March 1924 and came on 2 July to join them in Bactra on the eve of the end of the excavation, which was interrupted during the hottest months. Hackin left for Kabul and then France on 3 November of the same year, several days before the recommencement of excavation at the site. Foucher was therefore alone in managing the trenches and workers. Hackin never excavated at Bactra.

In an Afghanistan where there were no railways (a situation which lasted the entire twentieth century), travelling to Bactra was an expedition in itself. By the end

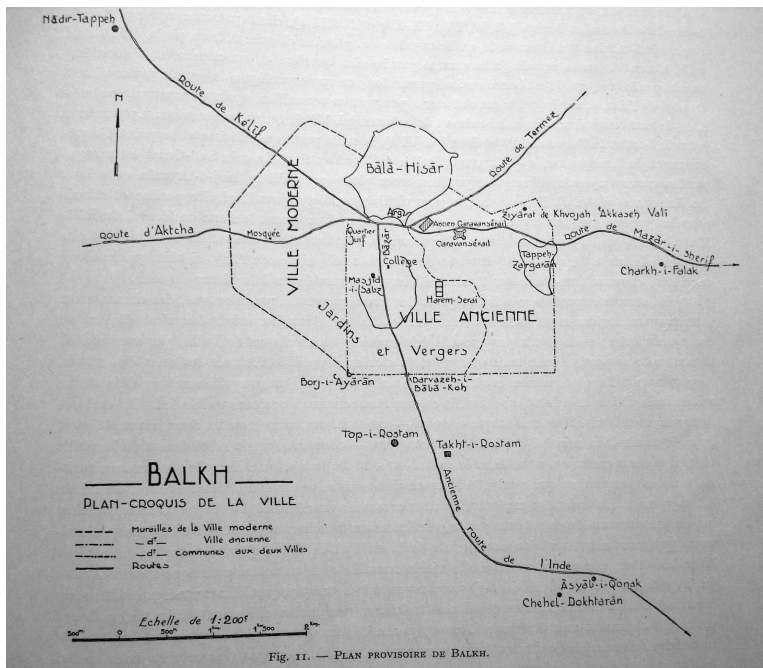


Figure 8.1 Plan of Bactra published by Foucher (after Foucher 1942–47, I, 59).

of 1922, a motorable road reached Bāmiyān; after that point, it was necessary to continue on horseback and cross the high mountains of the Hindu Kush, with passes of more than 3600 metres, in the snow, but also at times in the blinding sunshine. Via Haibak⁷, Tash-Kourghan and Khulm, the route between Kabul and Mazar-e-Sharif could be covered in 20 days. A letter by Ena (1 April 1924) specifies that this corresponds to 600 kilometres by the north-western route from Kabul, in order to find oneself three days' walk from the river crossings on Termez and Pattakisar on the Amu-darya. She further relates that "although at times it was so hot that a flask of benzine packed in a trunk would evaporate, at other times, in order not to freeze, we had to walk on foot next to our horses, whose muzzles had icicles hanging from them." Hackin, even though he was a veteran soldier, making the trip in summer, suffered from sleepless nights in uncomfortable caravanserais, infested with flies and clouds of dust stirred up by the hot wind. Foucher compared the isolation to a trip to the moon: no telephone, and only difficult communication with the south of Afghanistan. He used his contacts in Russia to try to send post to Europe by that route – there was a Russian consul at Mazar and the border with the USSR, marked by the river, was not far away – but letters could only travel by the long and uncertain Afghan circuit via Kabul. The other access route envisaged from the north – but never used by the Fouchers – involved going to Patta-Kesar and taking the steamboat to Karki, from where a branch line connected with the Tashkent-Moscow railway. But this river route "only worked during the high water in summer", otherwise in winter it was necessary to make "a march of fifteen to twenty days to Khoušk" (Kushk, north of Herat) which allowed them to take the train to Merv. A traveller who arrived at Balkh by this Russian route in April 1925 took less than a month, which was shorter than the journey via the Afghan capital, and allowed one to dispense with the crossing of the Hindu Kush.

The couple's writings allow us to see how, according to the colonial prejudices of the time, they saw their Asian travels as a journey into the past: from India to Persia, which was less civilised, then to Afghanistan, which was still less so. Nevertheless, the details in their letters show how material conditions complicated the situation still further. From the beginning, the DAFA received limited, short-term funding, which came from a variety of sources, which they had to constantly work to renew. Even though remissions of money became a little more regular with the Bactrian project, the sums granted by Paris were eroded by the exchange rate with the Kabul rupee, which was linked to the Indian rupee, in the face of a franc which kept losing its value against the pound sterling (in January 1924, one Kabul rupee was worth 3.94 French francs, when the daily salary of a trench worker was one rupee; in September 1925, one Kabul rupee as worth five French francs). Afghanistan was a country without banks, without a postal service, without airfields, without libraries, and so forth. Foucher was amused to see that in the bazaar at Balkh, copper Kushan coins were still in use. Everything had to be imported and taxed at the border: practically nothing was to be found in the bazaar at Kabul, and still less in that at Mazar. The Fouchers brought everything that they could with them from the capital (Figure 8.2). Hackin arrived at Kabul with fourteen trunks, and left for Bactra with a caravan of ten horses for his baggage, a large proportion of which was destined for Foucher: a compass sent by Godard, a typewriter by Senart and photographic plates, etc. Packages shipped from Paris contained stationery such as erasers, pencil refills, etc.



Figure 8.2 The Fouchers' caravan at Kabul before their departure for Bactra, with Alfred seated in the centre and Ena on his left (after Fenet 2010, 332).

The scientific equipment sent to Bactria consisted principally of photographic material and several reference works, the list of which can be reconstructed (Fenet 2010, 14, 103–105). Among these were the first volume of Rapson's *Cambridge History of India*, which had just been published (Rapson 1922), which Foucher used to try to find historical correspondences between the literary and numismatic sources in the chapters on the 'Indo-Greeks' and what he was finding on the ground (Fenet 2010, n.235). For the excavations, the workers, whom Foucher called 'coolies' in the Anglo-Indian manner, were equipped in a rudimentary manner with the tools at hand and cleared the ground with the aid of stretcher-like devices (Fenet 2015: 144–146) (Figure 8.3).

From the first days of January 1924, the couple settled at Balkh, "a village" about twenty kilometres from Mazar. They roughed it in a rented harem serail (cf. fig. 1) which they gradually furnished and according to their account were eventually able to make almost comfortable (see Foucher 1942–1947, 118–119). In Bactria, in general, the Fouchers and Hackin maintained good relations with the local population. The former, who were sometimes critical of the Kabulis who came and went at Balkh (interpreters or auxiliaries sent by Amanuallah or his ministers) and of the people of the region of Bactra who laboured with them, held particular regard for the Hazara nomads, whose courage and hard work they praised. The serail nevertheless suffered a few attempted night-time break-ins, fortunately without damage. But the members of the mission did suffer physical attacks in the form of fevers and episodes of malaria, to which Foucher had already fallen victim in India and on his journey



Figure 8.3 The stupa of Top-e Rustam during excavations. Note the mudbricks and the workers with the stretcher (*zambêl*) acting as wheelbarrow (after Foucher 1942–47, pl. XXa).

between Herat and Kabul in 1922. The French tried to protect themselves with regular doses of quinine against the mosquitoes who were legion in the marshes at Balkh, which are partly visible in the photographs published in *La Vieille route de l'Inde*. The couple were gradually weakened by dysentery, despite the few vegetables which Ena tried to grow. The weather conditions were difficult (cf. Adamec 1979, 7–8). The plain of Bactra is subject to sudden and terrible winds; February and March are very rainy and the summer is torrid. At the end of August it was 97 degrees Fahrenheit (around 37 degrees Celsius) in Hackin's room at Balkh. All the streams and reservoirs in the village were contaminated. Foucher had to clean out an old well in order to have water clean enough for his photographic plates. The mudbrick tells meant excavating in mud when the conditions were humid. Ena described them thus (Fenet 2010, n.155): “we swim in sticky, slippery, slimy, stinking clay. I call it the ‘porridge of history’ ... ruins built of mud brick, melted by centuries of snow and rain – what is an archaeologist to do with it?” And the site of Bactra in particular – surrounded by more than 11 kilometres of walls – which in their final phase date to the Timurid and Uzbek period (15th–17th centuries; see Bernard 2009, 182–185, 187–189, with previous bibliography) – was too much for one man. After the fact, Foucher confessed the weight of “the heavy responsibility of deciding for oneself the value of an immense site.”

At the beginning of 1925 Foucher, ill and demoralised by the archaeological sterility of the excavations, asked for leave. The MAE granted his request, but only to send

him to carry out a new mission in Japan. On 21 July, he began to return to Kabul across the Hindu Kush by another route, and then, from the capital, he carried out a new season of survey in October in the centre of the country with Jules Barthoux (1881–1965?), who had come to take over from him. The couple left the country in autumn 1925 (via Peshawar, Taxila and Ajanta) on what he thought would be a temporary absence from Afghanistan, but which turned out to be final.

THE FOUCHER MISSION AS SEEN BY THE BRITISH

The history of French archaeology in Afghanistan is also connected to Franco-British relations (Chevalier 2002, 359–363). The Franco-British Entente Cordiale included scientific relations (Fenet 2016), and Foucher's collaborations and friendships with his colleagues at the Archaeological Survey of India, an institution to which he was attached from 1918 to 1921, did not prevent underlying rivalries. The context of the Great Game (Trümpler 2010) weighed heavily on the achievements of the DAFA and influenced their reception.

From the beginning of the project in spring 1921, the Quai d'Orsay's desire for discretion forced Foucher to make a detour via Persia, instead of the usual route by the north-west frontier, and conceal his true destination. But the British were otherwise well informed: thus the mission's entry into Afghanistan was slowed not just by the long route, but also by their blocking of French communications between Tehran and Kabul. The British then followed Foucher's movements and steps inside the country closely. The first official objections to the convention came in December 1922, and the French diplomats immediately tried to appease them (internal MAE note, 5 December):

It is, moreover, possible to reassure the legitimate suspicions of the English by making the British government aware of the true meaning of the Convention: it is a general set of guidelines, a superintendentship of excavations in which we would be happy to have them join us, which has to a great extent been made possible by collaboration with English scholarship. M. Foucher has noted on many occasions his wish to work with his friend M. Aurel Stein, whose fine work is renowned around the world. He is moreover also a long-standing collaborator of the British Government and the Government of India ... The intention of the French archaeological mission is to open up to science a country which is prodigiously rich in unexplored archaeological finds, and to appeal for collaborators in good faith, subject to the approval of the Afghan Government. If it is prevented from accomplishing its mission, there will be one of two results: either the long-term closure of one of the regions where we can hope to make discoveries of the highest import, or the delivery of this region into the sole hands of Russian scholars and their German collaborators. This cannot be the design of the British Government.

But the intervention of Victor Bérard (1864–1931)⁸ in the Senate on 23 February 1923 provoked new reactions: diplomatic on the part of Lord Curzon (1859–1925), Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and public from Hercules Read (1857–1929), head of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at

the British Museum and president of the Society of Antiquaries in spring 1923. The latter notably published a letter in the *Times* (17 May 1923) which, denouncing a France which took advantage of its privileges without sharing anything as “a dog in the manger,” advocated a Franco-Anglo-American collaboration. The debate, which was summarised and taken up by Salomon Reinach (1858–1932) in the *Revue archéologique*, was followed in May and September by reaffirmations from the MAE to the British ambassador in Paris, according to which France was not opposed to requests to excavate in Afghanistan coming from “British subjects who could present the necessary guarantees from the scientific point of view.” Six months later, it was the United States that returned to the subject in sending new protestations via the Paris Embassy, with the support of the President of the Archaeological Institute of America, of the Institute itself, and the majority of the American museums.

Émile Senart did everything possible to defuse the conflict, an echo of which may be seen in the press reports of his journey to London in summer 1923 on the occasion of the centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society. A photograph taken at a banquet at the India Society (of which Read was the president) shows the latter in the company of Senart and the minister of the Afghan legation to Great Britain. Unfortunately, the letter in which the French academician recounted his stay in London to Foucher never arrived at its destination and therefore remains unknown to us. In a sign of détente in 1928, the India Society published in its journal an account by Foucher of his mission in Afghanistan (Foucher 1928).

Foucher had respected the MAE’s desire for confidentiality in 1921, but he kept his ASI colleagues informed of his mission in Persia during the trip and then, as soon as he was able in Tehran in December 1921, of French opportunities in Afghanistan. Analysis of the correspondence shows that these colleagues did not at first react badly, but that a certain *froideur* rapidly descended in 1923 – before relations with the majority of Indologists became cordial again in the 1930s (Fenet 2010, 127–131). But in the meantime, with the ratification of the convention and the Afghan refusal to let Aurel Stein come, the gap widened between the two friends. The explorer of the Taklamakan, who felt betrayed and was deeply hurt – without expressing it to Foucher and other French collaborators explicitly – did not propose any common strategy and seemed rather to avoid the subject with a vague fatalism. Senart and Foucher misinterpreted this silence, supposing that Stein had fallen under the influence of false anti-French rumours. They themselves received the rumour of an independent Stein mission in Bactra but with this Foucher nevertheless persisted in not wanting to “engage in competition.” Stein’s suspicions and resentment were fuelled by his correspondence with Sir Francis Humphrys (1879–1971) – son-in-law of Sir Harold Deane (1854–1908), who was esteemed by the small circle of Indologists for the archaeological work which he had carried out in the north-west regions where he had spent most of his military and imperial administrative career – who was committed to his cause. This British diplomat installed in Kabul from 1922 in fact kept him informed of everything which took place or was said in the capital, in a francophobic spirit, while on the surface the French maintained the best relations with the British legation, helping and socialising with each other (see extracts from the letters cited in Mirsky 1977 and Fenet 2010, *passim*).

Despite Foucher’s efforts and without any falling-out actually occurring (either by letter or in person), relations between the two men had practically broken down from

1924, and this seems definitively to have been the case after 1928, after a friendship of almost thirty years. Stein's death in Kabul on 26 October 1943 was received by Foucher thus (letter to Ghirshman of 5 November 1944):

What you have also told me about the last days of Sir Aurel Stein has saddened us greatly: he was angry with us for going to Bactra before [him?] – quite wrongly, because we had done everything we could to share this good fortune with him ... He had nothing to reproach us for on his part, and we also had no reason to wish him anything but the best, and the idea that he should die upon his entry into the land which he had been promised for so long appears to us a cruel stroke of fate.

All this doubtless had repercussions for the attitude of some British diplomats or functionaries to the Fouchers during the second part of their stay in Afghanistan, as seems to be indicated by minor incidents noted by the archaeologist from 1923 onwards, including during their crossing of the Khyber Pass in November 1925.

Resentment endured over the following decades on the British side, in Stein's circle. We find traces of it, for example, in the linguist Sir Edward Denison Ross, first director of the School of Oriental Studies (1916–1937), who briefly took part in the cataloguing of the Stein collections in the British Museum, and for whom the latter nevertheless held little regard (on relations between Stein and Ross, see Mirsky 1977, 351–353; Walker, 238). Or perhaps still, a generation later, in Sir Mortimer Wheeler's (1890–1979) critique of the methods and results of the excavations of Bactra, which he found “disappointing to a degree”, a site whose immense extent he recognised, since he had surveyed it with D. Schlumberger⁹ in 1946 during his period as director of the ASI (Wheeler 1954, 109–111; Olivier-Utard 1997, 71–72; Fenet 2010, 130). However, it is surprising to note that Wheeler's criticism comes in the context of the discussion of two excavations of tells: that of Foucher at Bactra, and that of Pushkalavati, carried out two decades earlier by Sir John Marshall (1876–1958) – whose name Wheeler does not mention explicitly – director of the Archaeological Survey of India, colleague and friend of Foucher until his death, with whom he worked in India from 1918 to 1921. In the Bala Hisar of the capital of Gandhāra, trenches more than six metres deep failed to reach the most ancient levels, no more than had those of Foucher, even with a sondage of 19 metres in depth!

In any case, Anglo-Saxon historiography retained the negative view of Foucher given in biographies of Stein (Mirsky 1977; Walker 1995; Bernard 2002, 1297), which insisted on Foucher's supposed betrayal of the famous explorer. These works are in fact essentially based upon Stein's correspondence – in particular the letters which he exchanged with his friend the Oxford scholar Percy Stafford Allen, which allow us to follow the explorer's whole life during the years 1898–1933, and in which he expressed all his frustrations and anger. This subjective view of archaeology in Afghanistan in the inter-war period and the first research in Bactria has not been nuanced, despite all publications about the DAFA – not just because they have been published in French, but also because the main party concerned – Foucher – bequeathed to posterity a modest and not very encouraging assessment of his own work.

THE RESULTS OF THE MISSION AS PRESENTED BY FOUCHER HIMSELF

Following the irreversible decision to undertake a mission at Bactra (end of 1923), Foucher no longer stated in his writings that his departure for Bactra was following “the instructions of Paris”: a means for him to announce the matter to his English and Indian correspondents without taking personal responsibility for the decision. Still at Kabul, in a series of letters to his close friends, he expressed his resigned doubts about the benefits of such a mission, which he nevertheless hoped would soon be dispelled.

On the ground, Foucher was no more convinced. On the contrary, as he explained in a letter dated 1 January 1925 to his friend Philippe-Ernest Legrand (1866–1953), a specialist in Hellenistic literature and history:

How have we in Europe succeeded in working ourselves up to this pitch about Bactra, I still wonder. Because in rereading the texts ... I see there nothing more than what I have before my eyes: an elevated acropolis and Basileion, then a vast enclosed market town (12 kilometres in circumference); and everywhere heaped the debris of several successive cities, under enormous earth mounds ... Explain to me, if you can, how in Europe they can expect to discover here a successor to Athens and Persepolis.

This became his leitmotif, in his correspondence, lectures and publications: Bactria was a collective ‘mirage’, for him as well as for the entire scientific community. The word, which issues from his pen for the first time in September 1923, when Foucher was still in Kabul, made a reappearance not long after the beginning of the excavations of Top-e Rostam at the end of January 1924, and was confirmed in his famous letter to Senart on 7 March 1924, published in 1942 in *La vieille route de l’Inde*. The expression ‘Bactrian mirage’ was reprised in a major publication (Foucher 1952).

In the course of the 19 months which he spent in Bactria (12 of which were devoted solely to the excavations of Bactra), Foucher made four trenches in total (Foucher 1942–1947; excellent summary and analysis in Bernard 2009):

- a) A large trench at Top-e Rostam, a stupa situated outside the city walls, identified as one of the Buddhist constructions mentioned by Xuanzang, where he unearthed a square platform (54 metres on each side, and more than 9 metres in height), equipped with four large access staircases. The structure, constructed of pisé (rammed earth) and raw mudbrick masonry doubled in places with baked brick, but not decorated with statues, had been disturbed by robbers’ tunnels. The date of the second century AD proposed by Foucher for its construction has today been adjusted to the end of the fifth – sixth centuries (Bernard 2009, 162–178).
- b) Three trenches on the mound of the Arg, an excavation and survey initiated on 13 April 1924 and which lasted around seven months (Figures 8.4–8.5). In the northern part of this immense walled city, a smaller zone (800 metres in diameter) stands out, also surrounded by still visible ramparts and identifiable as an upper city, the Bala-Hissar (also called the ‘Fort’ by Foucher). The Arg, around



Figure 8.4 13 April 1924, the beginning of the survey of the mound of the Arg (after Foucher 1942-47, pl. VIIc).



Figure 8.5 The same, seen from above (after Foucher 1942-47, pl. VIIa).

150 metres by 110 metres, is found inside this, on the south, and takes the form of a citadel. The third trench, on the north side, revealed a rich Timurid residence, with a courtyard and hammam, which Foucher called the ‘serail’. From there, the archaeologist made a large trench in an attempt to reach the most ancient levels. He found only sherds of red-slip ware, which were difficult to date at this time, and were not photographed. It is today thought that they belong to the Achaemenid and Graeco-Bactrian era, the traces of which were precisely what Foucher was looking for (Bernard 2009, 179–195).

The archaeologist did not keep the results of his work at Bactra, which he found very discouraging, to himself, but diffused them widely by post from Afghanistan to his scientific and diplomatic networks, French and foreign. The news spread and one of his letter-reports was immediately read and published (Foucher 1924–1925); his friend Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935) presented the affair as “a total fiasco, a story which was badly conceived and handled from the start” to their Russian colleague Sergej F. Oldenburg (1863–1934) (Bongard-Levin, Lardinois and Vigasini 2002, 141–144). Then, when he left the country, Foucher set himself to defend the legitimacy of the French mission in the face of national and international opinion, and make its discoveries known (positive as well as negative) through a large series of lectures, the manuscripts of which have been partially preserved (Fenet 2010, 132–139): first of all in Asia (seven in India and in Japan), then, after his return in November 1926 and lasting four years, in France (five in Paris and in the provinces) and in Europe (at least thirteen). He took special care in his contribution at the Seventeenth Congress of Orientalists – the first since the First World War – which was held in August 1928 in Oxford, i.e. in a sensitive environment. He chose to make two contributions, the first on Balkh (Fenet 2010, n.352), where he immediately went on the attack about the question of the monopoly – thereby responding after a gap of several years to his British detractors, taking up Read’s expression of the ‘dog in the manger’ – and ending his introduction by mentioning his ‘friend’ Stein. The second contribution was on Barthoux’s work at Hadda, where the excavations had been more fruitful. Foucher appears to have been treated with all due respect by the organisation committee, and seems not to have suffered any vexation. It should be noted that Stein, who spent the summer in his camp in Kashmir, did not attend the congress. After Oxford, Foucher continued with a tour of northern Europe (Norway, Sweden and Denmark), giving talks in Oslo, Stockholm, Uppsala, Gothenburg, Lund and Copenhagen. In Oslo he finally met the linguist Georg Morgenstierne (1892–1978), who had spent a long stay in Kabul in 1924 when Foucher himself was in Bactra. He went on to give talks in Berlin and Geneva.

What the content of these lectures on Afghanistan between 1925 and 1930, all illustrated by personal photographs, had in common was their commentary on the ‘failure’ of Bactra. This was modulated in tones varying from the bitter to the comic, without however lapsing into defeatism, since the speaker continued to defend the exploration of the site, and more widely the future of French archaeology in Afghanistan. Even before the publication of the mission in Bactria, which only took place during and after the Second World War (Foucher 1942–1947; genesis: Fenet 2010, 145–153), Foucher had therefore already imparted the substance of the results, and done so on a pessimistic note. In *La vieille route de l’Inde*, which took up a

certain amount of the commentary and analysis from these lectures of the 1920s, the author drove the point home, by reproducing some of his letter-reports to Senart which explained his disappointments day by day in the field. The work is in effect a mix of genres: letters, travelogues and syntheses rub shoulders in it. Although this double volume in the series *Mémoires de la DAFA* is rich in new information, the general impression which Foucher gave to his contemporaries of his work in Bactria was hardly encouraging for new research and could only confirm his enemies in their standpoint.

How to explain this relentlessness, this masochistic manner of diffusing the results of his work? Disillusionment with mudbrick, with the gap between “fallen grandeur” and the “meanness of the material” (Foucher 1952)? It is not so clear cut, since Foucher had expected this even before entering Afghanistan, aware that stone was scarce in the alluvial plains of the Oxus (Foucher 1905–1951, 638; see also Bernard 2009, 160–161). Perhaps he found himself working in Bactria “befuddled”, bereft, with regard to his own artistic and cultural reference points, of “the solidity of dressed and carved stone, even of stucco, and the Indian or Indianising images of Kapisa, Lamghan and Nangrahar” (Francfort 2010).

This was in any case a profound disappointment from the scientific point of view, given the theories which he had developed in *L’Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, as may be seen from the content of the final volume published in 1951. In the afterword, Foucher comments that the Afghan experience had changed his way of thinking: “the grottos, statues and decorative paintings of Bāmiyān” had at least given him “a foretaste of the antiquities of Central Asia” and he noted that the “negative result of [his] survey of Bactra” seemed to have been confirmed by Schlumberger’s sondages (Foucher 1905–1951, II, 815). Foucher thereby rejected the presumed existence of a Graeco-Bactrian art, which would have been “born from the amalgam of Greek technique and local ideas,” and henceforth saw Gandhāra as the one and only cradle of Graeco-Buddhist art. The chronology of Bactria was also revisited: the Greeks had been driven out in the second half of the second century BC and Buddhist foundations were only established in the second half of the second century AD (Foucher 1905–1951, II, 866–867, 879). In short, for Foucher from this point forward, there had never really been a Bactrian school. The art of Bāmiyān was for its part closer to the spirit of Central Asia than to the school of Gandhāra. If a hybrid art had seen the light of day in Gandhāra, the fruit of two ancient cultures (Greek and Indian “advanced civilisations”), such had not been the case in Bactria, where the Greeks “had uncontested dominance over populations of inferior culture in a ‘semi-civilised’ country” – a judgement taken from Rapson (Foucher 1942–47, 307–312) – and the revised chronology made it impossible for the two communities to have met.

For Foucher, the disappointment was also without a doubt personal, given the long friendship which he had had with Stein. Moreover, in a context of long-standing rivalry and competitive emulation between nations (the development of foreign archaeological institutes from 1846, the Great Game, the mindset of the Third Republic with regard to expanding ‘French influence’), the founder of the DAFA found himself confronted with the problem of asserting the value of a diplomatic-scientific mission whose excavations had given less than spectacular results and which had not delivered what had been expected. He was aware that in the eyes of the wider public and the press, the experience in Bactra could only be considered a

‘failure’ in comparison to the marvellous contemporary discoveries from the tomb of Tutankhamun (from 1922).

On Foucher’s death, some obituaries totally omitted the Bactrian episode (Bernard 2009, 206–207). Later, French historians who examined his Afghan work reproduced this negative viewpoint, as much because of the lack of discoveries as for the methods used (Courtois 1961, 19 and 23: “unsuccessful attempt”; Olivier-Utard 1997; Bernard 2009, 197 ff., 202; see also Blois 2000). At the beginning of the 21st century, the term ‘failure’ still recurred in the French literature to refer to Foucher’s excavations (for example Bernard 2009, where the word appears five times; Besenval 2013, 71; Grenet 2014), or at least its evocation is softened by imagining an alternative scenario: “So, we may dream of what could have become of an operation of this type, where Stein would have led the excavation, beating the drum, and Foucher would have shone the light of science, as he had done with Marshall in India” (Francfort 2010). Nevertheless, upon reflection, we would today no longer qualify a mission such as this in this way: one in which sondages and excavations gave different results than what had been expected, since even the absence of remains is archaeological evidence. Value judgements bearing on Foucher’s Bactra mission are symptomatic of the historical context of underlying rivalry. They also suffer from implicit comparison with the accomplishments of Stein – a man alone in the unknown – and with other French missions which were limited to a single man or a couple, in particular in the Orientalist world with which Foucher was familiar – the Dieulafoys at Susa, for example, the antiquities of which adorned the halls of the Louvre. The legacy of the Bactrian mission is also due to the personality of a man less attractive than the more romantic image of one of his successors: the archaeologist Joseph Hackin, excavator of Begram, who fought in the Great War and died as a hero of the Resistance (biographical studies: Cambon 1986; Cambon, Giraudier and Trouplin 2018).

ERASING THE ‘FAILURE’ OF BACTRA? FURTHER WORK OF THE DAFA (1922–2014)

Despite his feelings of failure, Foucher encouraged new excavations at the site of Bactra, which he himself hoped to conduct in part (Foucher 1927, 122–123; see also Annex, below). As he left the site in 1925, he wrote in a report that “its ruins ... are still far from having spoken their last word” and that the excavations

will yield us neither the palaces of the terrace of Persepolis nor the temples of the Acropolis of Athens, that is already understood: but who would seriously argue that we should only excavate at this price? If all we could expect was for our finds to yield certain information on the past of a city situated on the margins of the three great civilisations of Asia, I would still dare to maintain that the enterprise would be worth continuing to the end. Orientalists and historians of our Classical antiquity alike will all share my opinion.

In fact, the difficulties faced by the DAFA (shortages of personnel and funding) and those which stemmed from the country itself (infrastructure, political changes, impermeability of the northern frontier) made new French missions in Bactria difficult in the decades which followed the departure of the Fouchers. For his part Foucher,

after a new voyage which took him to the Far East, returned to Paris in 1926 after an absence of eight years (aged 61), took up his former post at the university, delivered lectures in Europe, and never returned to Asia. In retirement, he devoted himself to writing and in particular to the publication of the first volume of the *Mémoires de la DAFA* (Fenet 2009a).

Afghan Bactria was nevertheless the subject of several other research projects, other than Balkh *stricto sensu* in the years 1922–1926. Foucher and Hackin surveyed the environs of the site together for three days in July 1924 (on the remains of pre-Islamic and Islamic buildings, identified or not, see Bernard 2009, note 51), which Hackin conducted by himself for almost a month in the absence of the Fouchers. Then, for two weeks in August, the two men surveyed the mountains around Nān-beg, near Shadian, perhaps discovering the Achaemenid Aornos conquered by Alexander in 329 BC (Bernard, in Fenet 2010, 13). Hackin carried out further intermittent exploration in the region, between the end of September and the end of October, before returning to Kabul. In particular, research projects were carried out at the gates of Bactria, and at Bamiyan, a famous and more easily accessible site, which were much better known and were the object of numerous publications. Foucher, as we have seen, stayed there in November 1922. The Godards spent several months working there, and Hackin a few days in 1924. The latter subsequently made several study visits there in the 1930s, accompanied by his wife and collaborators. Still more recently, the site has been the object of several missions directed by Zemaryalāi Tarzi (Tarzi 2012).

After Foucher's departure from Afghanistan and after the interruption of his own excavations at Hadda in the second half of 1926, Barthoux visited Bactria alone. He carried out surveys there, despite his poor health and in conditions which were sometimes dangerous. It was during this research trip that he visited the site of Ai Khanoum, whose excavation he recommended instead of Bactra (Tarzi 1996; Olivier-Utard 1997, 94–95). But the two sites had to wait two decades before receiving archaeologists.

Schlumberger, who visited the region in 1945, remained lukewarm about what he saw: “the sites of this country are without any external indications [of archaeological promise]. We have visited the tells: there is not a single characteristic sherd, not a single fragment of sculpture, not a single piece of dressed stone, not a single wall, unless made of soil and dust. ... I am now setting my hopes on the aerial photographs which I am working to procure” (Fenet 2010, 152). But the dream of Bactra persisted: in 1947, in order to avoid useless excavations on such a large and inscrutable site, the new director chose to carry out a series of 71 sondages there (Figure 8.6) (Schlumberger 1949). These did not yield any decisive results because of the depth of the strata and the encroaching water table, but the ceramics brought to light were the object of a special study (see Bernard 2009, 195–197). Aware of the difficulties of the site as well as of the human and financial limits of the DAFA, Schlumberger nevertheless remained optimistic and, like his predecessor, continued to recommend future research in this territory (Schlumberger 1957). But two other major discoveries in Bactria again diverted archaeologists from Bactra.

This was first of all the great Kushan temple of Surkh Kotal excavated by Daniel Schlumberger during the 1950s, which uncovered Bactrian stone architecture, but without column drums (Olivier-Utard 1997, 197–207). Several inscriptions,

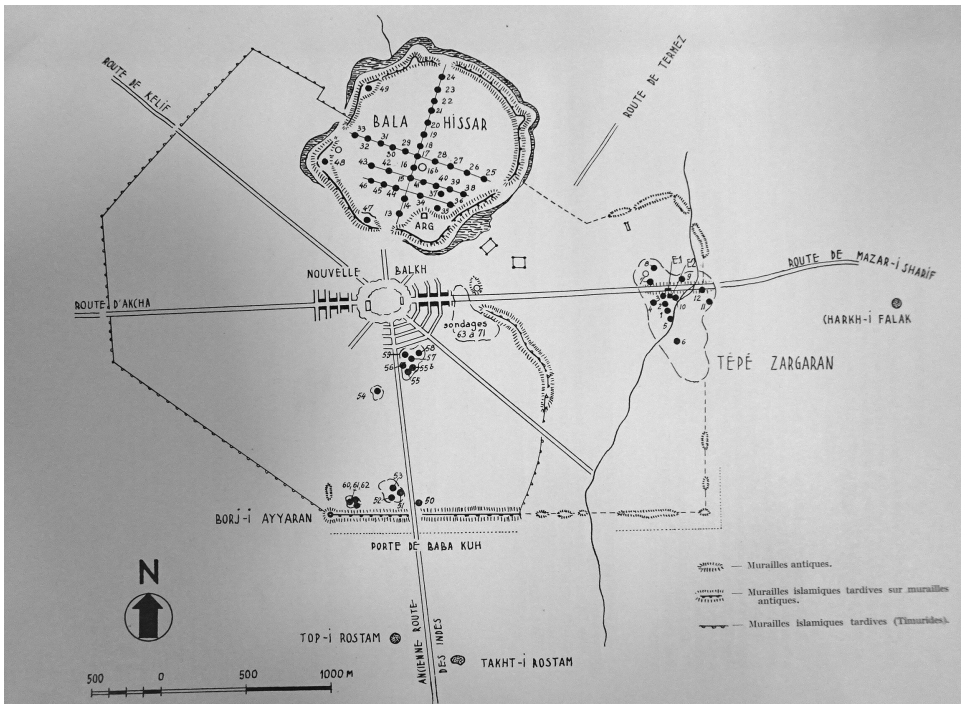


Figure 8.6 Plan of Bactra with the 71 sondages operated by Schlumberger (plan of M. Le Berre, after Gardin 1957, fig. 1).

including a long text (*SEG* 52.1526; photo in Bernard 2002, fig. 12) furnished the scholarly community with new sources in ‘Bactrian’, an Iranian language written in the Greek alphabet. Another surprise: the sanctuary which was brought to light belonged to the Zoroastrian religion, drawing its iconographic models from the Greek and Indian repertoires. Founded by Kanishka, it had a strikingly grandiose character, with its four superimposed terraces forming a monumental approach. The part of this which was still visible in 1951 formed a hill of more than 50 metres (Figures 8.7–8.8).

Then another major operation, the unearthing of the city of Ai Khanoum, was undertaken from 1965 under the direction of Paul Bernard (1929–2015)¹⁰ (see the contributions of Lecuyot and Martinez-Sève in this volume). This excavation was celebrated in the scholarly literature as requital for the ‘failure’ of Bactra, since it was identified as the ancient Eukratideia, capital of one of the last Greek kings of Bactria. Before the arrival of Barthoux in 1926 and Schlumberger in 1964, the site and plain of Ai Khanoum had been visited by the British officer John Wood in 1838 and, perhaps several years previously, by the famous adventurer Alexander Gardiner. Its ruins had been reported in an 1923 Afghan memoir by Burhān Al-Dīn Kuškakī on the provinces of Qataghan-Badakhshan commissioned by Mohammed Nadir Khan, who was then a minister in the government of Amanullah, (Bernard and Francfort 1978, 33–44, 84–91), but curiously Foucher was not aware of its existence. Several reasons may explain this:

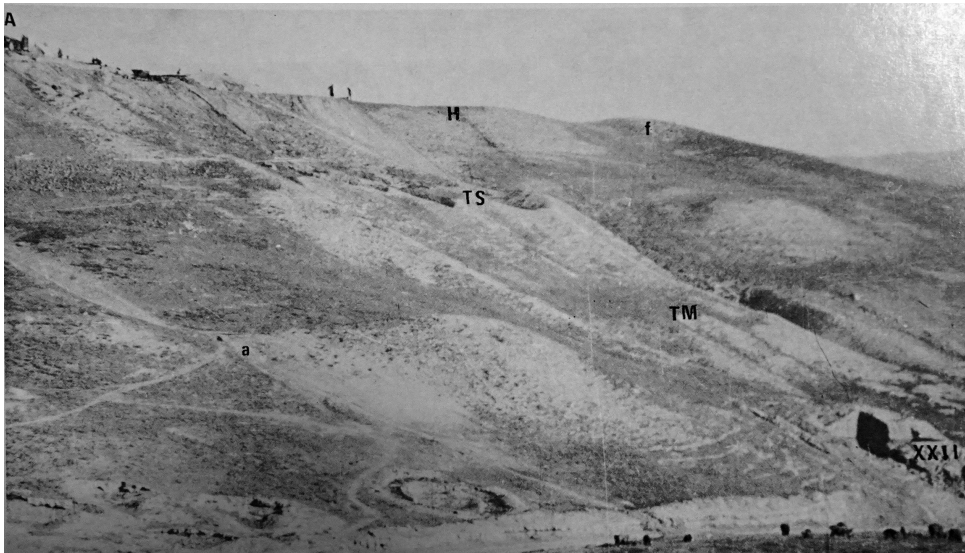


Figure 8.7 The hill of Surkh Kotal before excavation, facing East (after Schlumberger, Le Berre and Fussman 1983, fig. 3.4).

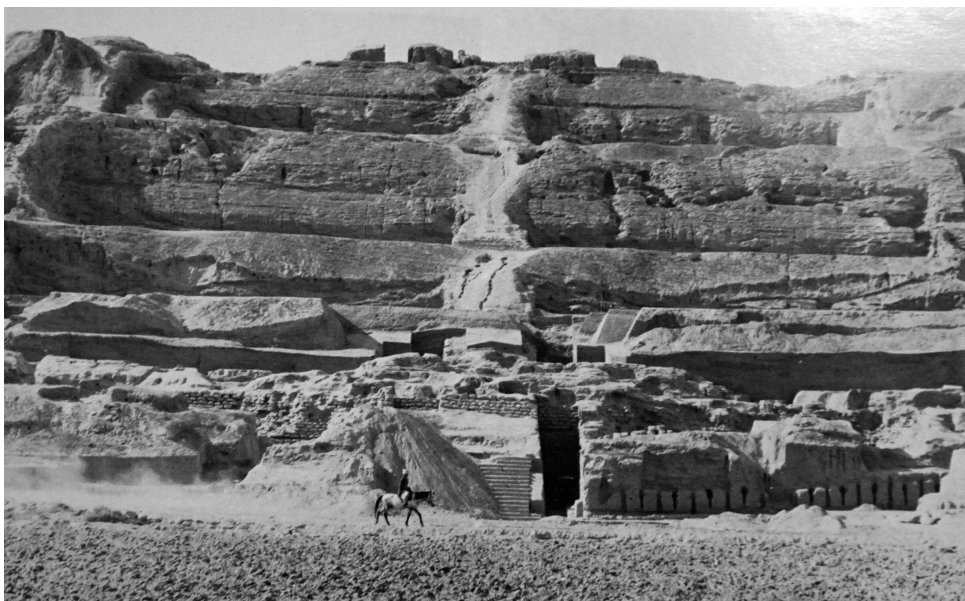


Figure 8.8 The same view, during excavation, with the upper terraces of the sanctuary (TS and TM) uncovered (after Schlumberger, Le Berre and Fussman 1983, fig. 5.11).

- a) Nadir Khan (1883–1933, the future Nadir Shah), minister of war from 1919 to 1923, does not seem to have been in contact with the Fouchers in Kabul – his name does not appear in any of Foucher’s correspondence – nor did he meet him during his time as Afghan Ambassador in Paris (1924–1926).
- b) The report’s lack of dissemination, not to mention its language.
- c) The Afghan minister of education, an interlocutor of Foucher, could not have been informed of it, since he himself was travelling in Europe in 1923–24.

Despite the great care taken in the stratigraphy, and the mass of information yielded by this rare extensive excavation of a Greek city in Central Asia (Martinez-Sève 2020, 348), the excavations of Ai Khanoum have been subject to criticism even within the French scientific community (Olivier-Utard 1997; see also Grenet 1999).

In parallel with the excavations at Ai Khanoum, between 1974 and 1978 a team from the Centre national de la recherche scientifique, URA 10 ‘Le peuplement antique de la Bactriane orientale’, led by Jean-Claude Gardin (1925–2013), carried out surveys in the north-east of Afghanistan – essentially the plain of Dasht-i Qala – and published three volumes on the geography, irrigation, ceramics and chronology of the sites they visited (Gardin 1989–1998). In the same period, the discovery near the village of Shortugāi of a site contemporary with the Indus Civilisation, in the province of Takhar, allowed the study, thanks to sondages and the excavation of two tepes, of the establishment of the Harappans in Central Asia and the question of the transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age (Francfort 1989; Olivier-Utard, 291–296). In 1982, there followed the closure of the DAFA, a consequence of the war with Russia, as well as the publication of the *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan* (Ball 1982; new edition Ball 2019), which provided something of an overview of the work carried out in the country, including Bactria, in particular by the French (Gardin 1985). Despite the gloomy period for Afghan cultural heritage which ensued (Besenval 2013), the archaeologists of the DAFA nevertheless did not remain idle. In 1983, the Mission Archéologique Française en Asie Centrale (MAFAC) was founded by Jean-Claude Gardin – former director of the DAFA from 1980 to 1982 – directed from 1989 by Henri-Paul Francfort. It is the MAFAC which allowed the publication of the surveys carried out in the years 1974–1978. The Mission archéologique franco-ouzbègue (MAFOuz) in Bactriane de Nord¹¹ (now designated as ‘Bactriane septentrionale’), created in 1993 by Pierre Leriche, was dedicated to the study of the history and population of the Surkhan-darya province (southern Uzbekistan), from the conquest of Alexander to the end of the medieval period.

In 2003, political circumstances allowed the refoundation of the DAFA, directed by Roland Besenval, and the realisation of a programme of survey, notably in Bactria from 2004 onwards (Besenval and Marquis 2008; Besenval, Engel and Marquis 2011; Besenval 2013). The archaeologists – having been informed that looting carried out in the 1990s at Bactra at Tepe Zagarān (located in the eastern part of the ancient city) had revealed stone architectural elements (Bernard, Jarrige and Besenval 2002, 1403–1411) – unearthed Hellenistic blocks there during the course of their work from 2004–2005 (see reports published in the *CRAI*: Bernard, Besenval and Marquis 2006, etc.), precisely in the location where Foucher had told the Société asiatique in 1927 that he would like to carry out research (Fenet 2010, 153 and n.318). New sondages were made at different points of the site in 2007 and over the

following years, allowing a chronological approach to the ramparts and a reconstruction of historical variations in water courses in the plain (Besenval and Marquis 2008; Besenval, Marquis and Fouache 2009; see Bernard 2009, fig. 3). Various work was also carried out with the view of publishing the excavations of Bactra, including a section on the ceramics (Marquis 2013, 94). Afghan Bactria still held other surprises, as has been shown by the discovery, by foreign collaborators of the DAFA, of the Sassanid relief at Rag-i Bibi. The study project which followed, carried out by Frantz Grenet in 2004, recognised there a scene representing Shapur I hunting rhinoceros (Grenet 2005; Grenet 2014, fig. 9).

At the very least, one can say that the archaeological achievements of the DAFA in Bactria together constitute a priceless ensemble. Of the thirty-five volumes published by the institution since 1928, more than half concern Bactria. It is nevertheless astonishing to see how heavily the memory of the first excavations at Bactra – which Foucher preferred subsequently to refer to as ‘sondages’ – has weighed on archaeological spirits. The discovery in 2004 of Hellenistic levels was greeted as “the dream of Alfred Foucher fulfilled” (Besenval and Marquis 2007). Although his work is now recognised as 1920s forerunner of important later Central Asian, Syrian and Indian archaeological discoveries (Bernard 2009, 198–201), it is as if, like with the famous Egyptian tomb, the collective imagination has nevertheless been imbued with the image of a Bactra struck by a ‘curse’: an archaeological mythology which would not have displeased Roland Barthes! When Senart counselled resignation to Foucher, whom he had sent to Bactra in spite of himself, in this way (letter of 2 December 1923):

You will certainly bring back at least a survey, plans, photographs which will tie your name to the future exploration of these famous sites. Even though you can only at first accomplish a small part of the task, you know well that no one can try to do anything more, and perhaps having dared to start will grant the privilege of being able to continue,

he could not have known how accurately he spoke in light of the ambivalent attitude of posterity.

INDICATIVE LIST OF BACTRIAN SITES EXPLORED BY THE DAFA¹² =

- **Ai Khanoum** (Alexandria on the Oxus) =
Visit of Barthoux (1926); rediscovery 1964; excavations of Schlumberger and Bernard (1965–1978); regional survey by Gardin (URA 10, 1974–1976).
MDAFA Publications: XXI, 1973; XXVI, 1983; XXVII/2, 1984; XXVIII, 1985; XXIX, 1986; XXX, 1987; XXXI, 1987; XXXIII, 1992; XXXIV, 2013; XXXV, 2014; XXVII/I, (forthcoming).
- **Bactra** =
Excavations of Foucher (1923–1925); visit (Barthoux 1926); survey by Schlumberger (1946, accompanied by Wheeler); Schlumberger (sondages 1947, with the Casals; ceramic study by Gardin); Le Berre (study of the ramparts and survey, 1948, 1955–1956); sondages and surveys by Besenval, Marquis, Bendezu Sarmiento (from 2004); study of the ramparts by Mongne (2007–2008).

MDAFA Publications: I (= Foucher 1942–47); XV, 1957; XIX, 1964.

- **Bamiyan** =
Visits and study by Foucher (1922, 1923, 1925); plans and drawings by the Godards (1923); Hackin, Carl and Bacquet (1930; with a small rescue excavation); studies by the Hackins (1934 and following); excavations by Tarzi (2002–2008, in partnership with the DAFA).
MDAFA Publications = II (1928); III 1933; VIII 1958; XIX (1964); XXIV (1987);
+ Foladi = plans by Dagens and Dumarçay (1957).
+ Shar-e Zohak = visit of Barthoux (1926); Bernard (1966) surveys and excavation (with UNESCO, 2013)
+ Shar-e Gholgola = Foucher (1922); Godard (1923); Hackin (1930); surveys (with UNESCO, 2014).
- **Cheshme-Shafâ / Kâfir Qaleh (ou Kafir Qala')** =
Visit by Foucher and Hackin (1924); survey, then excavations by Besenval and Marquis (2007–2009); survey (2015);
- **Haibak (Takht-i Rustam)** =
prospection by Foucher (1923); visit of Barthoux (1926).
- **Kohna Masdjid** =
Bernard (1963)
- **Kunduz** =
Excavations by Hackin (1937); Schlumberger (1945, visit); discovery of the treasure (1946); regional survey by Gardin (URA 10, 1977).
MDAFA Publication: VIII (1959); XX (1965: coin hoard).
- **Hadji Piada (Noh Gonbad)** =
Protection work (2004–2005); excavations by Bendezu-Sarmiento (from 2014)
- **Rag-i-Bibi** =
Mission of Grenet (2004).
- **Roui (Dukhtar-i Noshirwan)** =
Study by Hackin (1924); visit of Barthoux (1926).
MDAFA Publication: II (1928).
- **Shahr-i-Banu** =
Mention by Hackin of coins on sale in the bazaar (1924: cf. Cambon 1986, 3); excavations by Hackin (1934); excavations by Carl (1938); Schlumberger (1945, visit); survey by Gouin (1969).
MDAFA Publication: VIII (1959).
- **Shortugaï (Sar-i-Tchechmé)** =
Survey (1976); excavations by Francfort (1977–1979).
- **Surkh Khotal** =
Reconnaissance/discovery by Schlumberger (1951); excavations by Schlumberger (1952–1963).
MDAFA Publications: XXV (1983); XXXII (1990).
- **(Tepe) Nimlik** =
Survey by Schlumberger (1946, accompanied by Wheeler); sondages of Schlumberger and Le Berre (1947).

NOTES

- 1 Translated by Rachel Mairs, with my warm thanks.
- 2 335 letters (159–581) with more than 70 correspondents, distributed as follows. N.1–33: on the Afghan project, Foucher in India then en route to Afghanistan via Persia (1919–March 1922); n.34–132: the first 18 months in Afghanistan (March 1922–November 1923); n.133–289: the Foucher mission in Bactriane and those of Hackin and Jouveau-Dubreuil (November 1923–July 1925); n.290–314: from Balkh to Japan (July 1925–November 1926); n.315–335: lectures and passing on the DAFA baton (December 1926–1948).
- 3 Forthcoming, 2021–2022: edition of the French correspondence of A. Stein, 3 vol., A. Fenet (dir.), with the collaboration of G. Ducoeur, R. Lardinois, H. Wang, S. Whitfield, etc.; project supported by the Laboratoire d'excellence TransferS(ENS, PSL univ.), the Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres (Louis de Clercq grant, 2020) and the Collège de France (chair History and cultures of Pre-Islamic Central Asia).
- 4 On the designation 'Afghan Turkestan' or 'Turkestan', see Adamec 1979, 1–2.
- 5 The reference is to a fable of La Fontaine, in which two thieves quarrel over a stolen donkey, only to have a third thief steal it from them (translator's note).
- 6 The Foucher archives contain no excavation journal, and it is likely that the archaeologist did not keep one; only a summary sheet of works in progress and some draft plans have been found (Fenet 2010, 106, 623, 627, 629 and fig. 6).
- 7 Documents from the Foucher archives: Fenet 2010, 341–343.
- 8 Bérard was a Homer specialist and politician concerned with the Eastern Question, who was also known in Great Britain for his work *British Imperialism and Commercial Supremacy* (1906; French edition 1900), which was anglophobic and very critical of the British aristocracy.
- 9 CRAI 1947, 118–119.
- 10 Volume I of the *Opera selecta* of Paul Bernard, which will be published 2022 in the series Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres, brings together 27 articles dedicated to the excavation of Ai Khanoum, enriched by a comprehensive general bibliography, new illustrations and an index.
- 11 To be distinguished from the Mission archéologique franco-ouzbèke (MAFOuz) de Sogdiane, for which many other DAFA archaeologists worked from 1989.
- 12 With a few small additions and corrections to Ball 2019.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. W. Adamec (ed.), *Historical and political gazetteer of Afghanistan IV. Mazar-i-Sharif and North-Central Afghanistan*, Graz, 1979.
- W. Ball (ed.), *Archaeological gazetteer of Afghanistan. Catalogue des sites archéologiques d'Afghanistan*, Paris, 1982, 2 vol.
- W. Ball (ed.), *Archaeological gazetteer of Afghanistan*, revised edition, Oxford, 2019.
- E. Bazin-Foucher, « L'œuvre de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan », in *Civil. iran.* 1952, 316–320 [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 101 & 203].
- J. Bendezu-Sarmiento (dir.), *L'Archéologie française en Asie centrale. Cahiers d'Asie centrale*, 21/22, 2013.
- J. Bendezu-Sarmiento and P. Marquis, « A short history of nearly a century of scientific research in Afghanistan (1922–2015) », in B. Cassar and S. Noshadi (eds.), *Unesco. Keeping history alive. Safeguarding cultural heritage in post-conflict Afghanistan*, Paris and Kabul, 2015, pp. 104–112.

- P. Bernard, « L'œuvre de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (1922-1982) », *CRAI*, 2002, pp. 1287-1323.
- P. Bernard, « Alfred Foucher archéologue: les fouilles de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan à Bactres (1923-1925) », in Filliozat & Leclant 2009, pp. 153-209 (also published with the title « La mission d'Alfred Foucher en Afghanistan », *CRAI*, 2007, pp. 1797-1845).
- P. Bernard, R. Besenval and P. Marquis, « Du "mirage bactrien" aux réalités archéologiques: nouvelles fouilles de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA) à Bactres (2004-2005) », *CRAI*, 2006, pp. 1175-1248.
- P. Bernard and H.-P. Francfort, *Études de géographie historique sur la plaine d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)*, Paris, 1978.
- P. Bernard, J.-F. Jarrige and R. Besenval, « Carnet de route en images d'un voyage sur les sites archéologiques de la Bactriane afghane (mai 2002) », *CRAI*, 2002, pp. 1385-1428.
- R. Besenval, « Les années noires du patrimoine archéologique d'Afghanistan (1980-2001) », in Bendezu-Sarmiento 2013, pp. 69-91.
- R. Besenval, N. Engel and P. Marquis, « Les travaux de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan » [(2003-2009)], *Revue archéologique*, 2010, pp. 172-188.
- R. Besenval and P. Marquis, « Le rêve accompli d'Alfred Foucher à Bactres: nouvelles fouilles de la DAFA 2002-2007 », *CRAI*, 2007, p. 1847-1874 (also published in Filliozat & Leclant 2009, pp. 211-238).
- R. Besenval and P. Marquis, « Les travaux de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA): résultats des campagnes de l'automne 2007-printemps 2008 en Bactriane et à Kaboul », *CRAI* 152/3, 2008, pp. 973-995.
- R. Besenval, P. Marquis and É. Fouache, « Nouvelles découvertes en Bactriane 2007-2009 », *CRAI* 153/3, 2009, pp. 1019-1061.
- F. de Blois, s. v. « Foucher, Alfred », *Encyclopedia Iranica* XI/2, 2000, pp. 118-119.
- G. M. Bongard-Levin, R. Lardinois and A. A. Vigin, *Correspondances orientalistes entre Paris et Saint-Petersbourg (1887-1935)*, Paris, 2002.
- O. Boppearachchi, « A. Foucher et les études numismatiques en Afghanistan », *CRAI*, 2007, p. 1875-1897 (also published under the title « A. Foucher et les études numismatiques bactriennes », in Filliozat & Leclant 2009, pp. 243-266).
- P. Cambon (ed.), *Paris-Tokyo-Begram. Hommage à J. Hackin (1886-1941)*, Paris, 1986.
- P. Cambon, V. Giraudier and V. Trouplin (eds.), *De l'Asie à la France libre: Joseph & Marie Hackin, archéologues et compagnons de la Libération*, Paris, 2018 (cat. of exhib., Order of the Liberation Museum, Paris).
- N. Chevalier, *La recherche archéologique française au Moyen-Orient 1842-1947*, Paris, 2002.
- La civilisation iranienne (Perse, Afghanistan, Iran extérieur)*, Paris, 1952 [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 101].
- J.-C. Courtois, « Summary of the history of archaeological research in Afghanistan », *Afghanistan* XVI/2, 1961, pp. 18-29.
- E. Drouin, s.v. « Bactres », « Bactriane » et « Balkh », in *La grande encyclopédie. Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts par une société de savants et de gens de lettres*, IV & V, Paris, circa 1887, IV pp. 1115-1122 et V p. 143.
- G. Ducoeur (ed.), *Autour de Bāmiyān. De la Bactriane hellénisée à l'Inde bouddhique*. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (19-20 juin 2008), Strasbourg, 2012 (*Archaeologia afghana* I).
- B. Dupaigne, « La DAFA, Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan », in P. Bonninchon, P. Génys and J. Nemo (dir.) *Présences françaises outre-mer, XVIe-XXIe siècles. II. Science, religion et culture*, Paris, 2012, pp. 359-364.
- A. Fenet, « Les archives Alfred Foucher (1865-1952) de la Société asiatique (Paris) », *Anabases* VII, 2008, pp. 163-192.

- A. Fenet, « L'œuvre écrite d'Alfred Foucher et d'Eugénie Bazin-Foucher. Bibliographies inédites et commentées » and « Alfred Foucher (1865–1952) » (chronologie), in Filliozat & Leclant 2009a, pp. 11–56.
- A. Fenet, « Lettre(s) d'Ajanta... et d'ailleurs: les correspondances d'Alfred Foucher », in Filliozat & Leclant 2009b, pp. 73–99.
- A. Fenet, *Documents d'archéologie militante. La mission Foucher en Afghanistan (1922–1925)*, Paris, 2010 (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 42) ; foreword by Paul Bernard, member of the Institut de France.
- A. Fenet, « De la Sorbonne à l'Asie. Routes orientalistes d'Ena Bazin-Foucher », in *Genre & histoire* 9. Special issue of *Voyageuses et histoire(s). Partie 2/2*, dir. N. Pellegrin, automne 2011a, <http://genrehistoire.revues.org/index1441.html>.
- A. Fenet « L'École française d'Athènes et la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan: hellénistes et indianistes unis pour une même cause (1922–1924) », in C. Bonnet, V. Krings and C. Valenti (dir.), *Connaître l'Antiquité. Individus, réseaux, stratégies du XVIIIe au XXIe siècle*, PUR, 2011b, pp. 121–139.
- A. Fenet, « Archaeology in the reign of Amanullah: the difficult birth of a national heritage », in N. Green (ed.), *Afghan history through Afghan eyes*, London & Oxford University Press, USA, 2015, pp. 131–160 and 297–301.
- A. Fenet, « L'Entente cordiale des orientalistes: Aurel Stein, les Français et le Turkestan chinois », in M. Espagne et al. (eds.), *Asie centrale. Transferts culturels le long de la Route de la Soie*, Vendémiaire, Paris, 2016, pp. 419–436.
- A. Fenet, « “In other words, authentic relics of the Buddha himself!” La fouille du stūpa de Kanishka à Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī (février–mars 1909) », in S. Alaura (ed.), *Scavi d'archivio: dalla storia del orientalistica alla storia delle idee / Digging in the archives: from the history of oriental studies to the history of ideas*, Roma (Documenta Asiana XI), 2019, pp. 223–250.
- P.-S. Filliozat and J. Leclant (eds.), *Bouddhismes d'Asie. Monuments et littératures. Journée d'étude en hommage à Alfred Foucher (1865–1952) réunie le 14 décembre 2007 à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (palais de l'Institut de France)*, Paris, 2009.
- A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra. Étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient*, 2 vol. (4 booklets), Paris, 1905–1951 (Publications de l'EFEO V–VI) [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 64].
- A. Foucher, « The cradle of Graeco-Buddhist art », *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* VIII, 1, 1920, pp. 96–102 [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 5bis, 7 & 13].
- A. Foucher, « De Kâboul à Bactres », *La Géographie* XLII, 1924, pp. 147–161 [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 71].
- A. Foucher, « Rapport de M. A. Foucher sur les fouilles de Bactres », *Bulletin de la société française des fouilles archéologiques* VI, 1924–1925, pp. 71–80 [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 74].
- A. Foucher, « Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuan-tsang en Afghanistan », *Études asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire de l'EFEO par ses membres et ses collaborateurs* I, 1925, pp. 257–284 [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 73].
- A. Foucher, « La Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (octobre 1922 –novembre 1925) », *CRAI*, 1927, pp. 117–123 [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 76].
- A. Foucher, « The French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (October, 1922–November 1925) », *Indian Art and Letters* II, 1928, pp. 21–27 et pl. IX–XV [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 76bis].
- A. Foucher with the collaboration of Mme E. Bazin-Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Paris, 1942–1947 (vol. I. Introduction, 1st & 2nd parts, 1942; vol. II. 3rd part, appendices, 1947) (MDAFA I) [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 10].
- A. Foucher, « Le mirage de Bactres », in *Civil. iran.* 1952, pp. 258–261 [cf. Fenet 2009a, n° 101].

- H.-P. Francfort, *Fouilles de Shortughai. Recherches sur l'Asie centrale protohistorique*, Paris, 1989, 2 vol. (MMAFAC, II).
- H.-P. Francfort, « Le tombeau de Foucher », *Arts asiatiques* 65, 2010, pp. 159-166.
- J.-C. Gardin, *Céramiques de Bactres*, Paris, 1957 (MDAFA, XV).
- J.-C. Gardin, « Pour une géographie archéologique de la Bactriane », in *L'archéologie de la Bactriane anciennes. Actes du colloque franco-soviétique (Dushanbe, 27 oct.-3 nov. 1982)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 39-45.
- J.-C. Gardin (dir.), *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974-1978)*, Paris, 1989-1998, 3 vol. (MMAFAC, I, VIII et IX).
- Gazetteer, Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Afghānistān and Nepāl, Calcutta, 1908.
- S. Gorshenina and C. Rapin, *De Kaboul à Samarcande. Les archéologues en Asie centrale*, Paris, 2001.
- F. Grenet, « Découverte d'un relief sassanide dans le nord de l'Afghanistan », *CRAI*, 2005, pp. 115-134.
- F. Grenet, « Politique et archéologie: histoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (1922-1982), Paris, 1997 » (review of Olivier-Utard 1997), *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 1, 1999, pp. 159-160.
- F. Grenet, *Recentrer l'Asie centrale*, Paris, 2014.
- J. Hackin, *L'œuvre de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (1922-1932). I. L'archéologie bouddhique*, Tokyo, Maison franco-japonaise, 1933.
- P. Marquis, « Les activités récentes de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA) », in Bendezu-Sarmiento 2013, pp. 93-98.
- L. Martinez-Sève, « Recherches récentes sur la Bactriane et la Sogdiane à l'époque hellénistique », in R. Oetjen (ed.), *New perspectives in Seleucid history, archaeology and numismatics. Studies in honor of Getzel M. Cohen*, Berlin and Boston, 2020, pp. 348-374.
- MDAFA, *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*.
- J. Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein. Archaeological explorer*, Chicago, 1977.
- Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam, « Étude comparée du monopole archéologique français en Perse et en Afghanistan », in Ducoeur 2012, pp. 235-336.
- F. Olivier-Utard, *Politique et archéologie: histoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (1922-1982)*, Paris, 1997 (2003, with a foreword by J. C. Gardin: same pagination).
- E. J. Rapson (ed.), *Cambridge history of India I. Ancient India*, Cambridge, 1922.
- D. Schlumberger, « La prospection archéologique de Bactres (printemps 1947). Rapport sommaire », *Syria* 26, 1949, pp. 173-190.
- D. Schlumberger, « La Délégation archéologique à Bactres (1947) », in Gardin 1957, pp. 9-13.
- D. Schlumberger, M. Le Berre and G. Fussman, *Surkh Kotal en Bactriane I. Les temples: architecture, sculpture, inscriptions*, Paris, 1983 (MDAFA XXV).
- Z. Tarzi, « J. Barthoux, le découvreur oublié d'Aï Khanoum », *CRAI*, 1996, pp. 595-611.
- Z. Tarzi, « Les fouilles strasbourgeoises de la mission Z. Tarzi à Bāmiyān (2002-2008) » et « Appendices I-III », in Ducoeur 2012, pp. 27-208.
- A. Trümpler (ed.), *Das grosse Spiel. Archäologie und Politik zur Zeit des Kolonialismus (1860-1940)*, Essen, 2010.
- A. Walker, *Aurel Stein, pioneer of the Silk Road*, London, 1995.
- M. Wheeler, *Archaeology from the earth*, Oxford, 1954; (French. trad. 1989).

CHAPTER 9

HELLENISM WITH OR WITHOUT ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Russian, Soviet and Central Asian approaches¹



Svetlana Gorshenina and Claude Rapin

INTRODUCTION

The question of whether one can separate the historiography of Hellenism from that of Alexander may not at first seem pertinent, but the reconstruction of Russian, Soviet and post-independence Central Asian approaches amply justifies it. These approaches are divided among numerous points of view. Central Asia – considered as a land of contacts, exchanges, transfers, interactions and multi-directional influences between the Mediterranean, Iranian, Turkic, Indian, Chinese and Slavic worlds – has a similar status from a historiographical perspective. Central Asia offers us the opportunity to construct a comparative epistemology of archaeological thought and methods, because, since the nineteenth century, specialists from Russia, Central Asia, France, America, Germany, Italy, Japan and others have constantly rubbed shoulders, in all the archaeological sub-disciplines – prehistory, Classical archaeology and Medieval archaeology.

Even if the object of study is geographically the same, there are multiple differences between the disciplinary imaginaries of these researchers. The approaches which they adopt contrast in the construction of their object of study, in the definition of their research priorities, in the choice of methods, or in how they understand the role played by researchers. In consequence, their initial theories and final conclusions are often in opposition or in contradiction to one another since they issue from the context of diverse scientific traditions.

Observing these diverse approaches means that we cannot regard the history of archaeological research as coming from a *homogenous scientific society*. On the other hand, the increasing mobility of researchers today, as well as the (almost) unhindered circulation of scientific publications undermines the term *scientific school*, which presupposes the presence of rigid boundaries between researchers of different nationalities, and a monolithic unity within state borders. It seems more judicious to speak of *multiple scientific communities*, which are also spread out across time – in this case, from the tsarist period, through the Soviet period, to recent independence – as well as space, each marked by a group of theories closely linked to national culture and/or to political and ideological requirements.

The configuration and impact of each scientific community in Central Asia roughly correspond to the results of the great carving-up of the world in the nineteenth

century, during which each country, haphazardly, according to colonial policies, acquired and tenaciously held onto its own domain of research. These communities went to all lengths to prevent their competitors from taking their slice of the 'scientific cake', even if foreign missions could sometimes venture into regions colonised by other countries. No foreign institution could plant its roots in the soil of Russian Turkestan, as was the case in Rome, where in the nineteenth century numerous institutions already coexisted, such as the Prussian Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, the circle of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Xeneion society of Athens, and the 'Roman Hyperboreans', a group which brought together scholars from several countries to study 'Roman civilisation' (Gran-Aymerich 1998: 48, 51). The Revolution of 1917 only accentuated this rupture: the very rare pre-Revolutionary French missions, notably that of Ch.-E. Ujfalvy in 1876, and the American mission undertaken by R. Pumpelly in 1903–1904, did not have any successors. The establishment of an authoritarian system in the 1930s greatly contributed to the shaping of Soviet science and led to a definitive and lasting closure of the region to foreign researchers. The final foreign missions to be accepted were undertaken by the Germans, such as that of E. Kohn-Wiener, an art historian, in 1924, and the expeditions to the Pamir-Alaï in 1928 and 1930–1931. Under this policy, Russian Turkestan – which was subdivided into five Soviet Republics in 1924–1936 – remained for more than six decades the uncontested domain of Soviet archaeologists, who, working in a relatively cut-off region, did not even entertain the possibility of serious scientific competition on their territory.

Conversely, Soviet archaeologists only occasionally undertook scientific activities outside the borders of the USSR. Despite a first attempt at invading northern Afghanistan in 1929, and the project inherited from the tsar of annexing part of India, Afghanistan, Mongolia and Xinjiang – which made the British fear attacks from Moscow until 1941 (Hauner 1992: 78, 95–96, 107) – Afghanistan remained closed to Soviet archaeologists until the 1960s. It was only in 1969–1973 that an Afghan-Soviet mission could work there and obtain spectacular results (Kruglikova 1976), while some researchers also collaborated, very occasionally, with the DAFA during the excavations of Ai Khanoum. The coup d'État of 1978 and military intervention by the Soviet army in 1979 closed Afghanistan once again to archaeologists from all countries.

Great Britain, the main rival of Russia, focused primarily on India, but did not neglect the Afghan frontier region and that of the Pamir and Chinese Turkestan, where it sent its agents, notably Aurel Stein. In the absence of colonial successes in Central Asia, Germany attempted to catch up, notably by missions to the Pamir (until 1932) and in the Tarim Basin (for example, A. von Le Coq, who brought back to Berlin a precious collection of paintings, which were unfortunately destroyed in bombing raids in the Second World War). Even if her colonial interests drew her elsewhere, France took an interest in Iran, in Chinese Turkestan (P. Pelliot) and, to a certain extent, in Russian Turkestan. But it is above all in Afghanistan that her impact would be the most important, thanks to the establishment of a French monopoly in the field of archaeology, from 1921 until the 1950s, after the independence of Afghanistan (see Fenet, this volume). Having intervened only occasionally in the region at the beginning of the twentieth century, Italy and Japan established activities in Afghanistan only from the 1960s–1980s.

The closing of the country around 1980, and the departure of all Western archaeological missions – the DAFA suspended its activities in 1982 – paradoxically coincided with a progressive opening-up of Soviet Central Asia and the beginning of cooperation between Western and Soviet researchers, Russian as well as Central Asian.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the independence of the Central Asian states (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan) should apparently have put an end to the partition of Central Asia between competing ideologies and scientific schools, but new political myths grew up alongside this to replace communist ideology that had been transformed into national/ethnocentric doctrine; the distance between scientific traditions has therefore hardly decreased. Having been dominant during the decades of Soviet Central Asian archaeology, Russian scholars lost their privileged position. A temporary rupture took place between Central Asian institutions and those of Moscow and Leningrad/St Petersburg. With the resumption of relations around the end of the 1990s, Russian researchers could return, but, this time, with the same status as the Westerners who had arrived in the region in the meantime.

For the first time since the pre-Revolutionary period, independence led the Central Asian Republics to open themselves to foreigners on a wide scale, in order to assert themselves on the world stage. In a position of strength because of their experience in neighbouring regions (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq) and thanks to their Russian and Central Asian colleagues, foreign missions undertook long-term joint projects, the list of which is growing from year to year.

This new transparency within the field allowed researchers the opportunity to compare amongst themselves methods which had been developed under different socio-cultural and politico-ideological conditions, as well as results obtained from comparable data from neighbouring regions, or on the same sites. On the other hand, as it collapsed in on itself into civil war, Afghanistan struggled to accept foreign archaeologists on its soil. Throughout the region, we also see the cohort of Russian-Soviet and Western researchers progressively supplemented or replaced by 'local' researchers, who also attempted to free themselves from the tutelage of the Westerners, in order to take ownership of their own history (which was seen above all as a national history).

In view of this turbulent history, we can attempt to represent the multiple scientific traditions connected to Central Asia as a diagram with three circles, arranged according to the distance which separates researchers from their object of study: a) local researchers, whether or not of Central Asian origin; b) researchers from the 'centre' of the Russian-Soviet empire; and finally c) researchers from 'distant' foreign countries. The relationships between representatives of these three circles, which have blurred boundaries, are complex and changing. To analyse this phenomenon in a detailed manner, we will rely here on the example of the study of Hellenism in Central Asia, through a reconstruction of its history and the instrumentalisation of the name of Alexander.

PRELUDE TO THE STUDY OF HELLENISM IN CENTRAL ASIA

The identification of the Samarkand of Tamerlane – a toponym known in Europe since the thirteenth century from travellers who came into contact with the Mongol

Empire – with the Marakanda of Alexander, mentioned in ancient sources, seems to have been made for the first time in the reconstruction of the life of Tamerlane by the Florentine scholar P. Perondino (Perondinus), in his 1553 book *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita*. In any case, it is his name which appears a century later as the source in the *Lexicon Geographicum* of the monk and mathematician F. Ferrari (Ferrarius) (published before 1657; the edition cited here dates to 1677).

Having noted that it comes from accounts of Arrian and Quintus Curtius, Ferrari introduces the term *Marakanda* in the same entry as *Sanmarchand*, *Samarchand*, *Samarcand*, specifying that this town is found in Sogdiana, 100,000 paces (around 150 kilometres) north of the Oxus and 150,000 paces (around 200 kilometres) beyond Bactra. He notes that in the work of Ptolemy it corresponds to a Bactrian town, known as an important trading town, where Tamerlane lived and founded his Academy. Further, under the entry ‘*Maurahalnaria*’ [*Mā warā’ al-Nahr*] he specifies that *Samarkand* / *Marakanda* is the major town of the region which is part of *Tartaria Magna*, where *Usbekia* and *Zagataia* are found. This was once *Bactriana*, and it is difficult for Europeans to find more information on it (1677: 453, 466).

Despite a wide circulation, this identification was not accepted by the majority of scholars. One of the most influential Orientalists of the period, B. d’Herbelot, did not take it into consideration in his *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697: consulted ed. 1776), which he modelled upon Arabo-Turko-Persian authors, for the most part later than the thirteenth century. Acceptance came, nevertheless, from geographers, who combined elements known from ancient geographers with modern knowledge. The first map of the expeditions of Alexander was published in 1731, by the *premier géographe du roi*, G. Delisle (Briant 2012: 100–101). Faced with the impossibility of going into the field, Delisle approached the region through documents which had reached Paris from the Indian, Russian or Chinese margins of *Tartarie*. While recognising that there did not exist the slightest certainty on the location of the modern town of Samarkand, his successor, J.-B. B. d’Anville, introduced almost all the new toponyms onto maps, and confirmed that the geographical location of modern Samarkand coincided with the Greek town of *Marakanda* (Anville 1769: 168–169; Anville 1737; Anville, 1775: 209–210).

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE RUSSIAN SCHOOL

The first steps of the Russian academic school are closely linked to a European context. From the eighteenth century onwards, science took on an international character, and knowledge – of the ancient world as much as of contemporary Asian countries – circulated between nations practically unhindered. Studies were based upon a growing number of translations of original ancient texts, on the descriptions transmitted by travellers in the countries of the Near and Far East and on new cartographic information, and continued to grow as scholars travelled between European and Asian capitals.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Russian environment was favourable to scholarship. St Petersburg began to see an accumulation of documentation on the Far East and the Graeco-Roman world; the Academy of Sciences there opened in 1724–25; and the earliest Academicians flocked there from Europe, bringing with them their personal libraries (Frolov 1999: 46–111; Gnucheva 1946).

T. S. Bayer, a Russian Academician originally from Königsberg who specialised in history, archaeology and linguistics, was appointed in 1726 as a specialist in Greek and Roman antiquities (Anonymous 1741; Babinger 1915; Pekarskiy 1870: 180–196; Frolov 1999: 62–64; see also Coloru in this volume). However, he increasingly abandoned the Mediterranean world in favour of that of the ‘barbarians’ of the Orient, making use of his knowledge of Chinese and Hebrew. He thus worked in different fields touching upon Sinology (Lundbaek 1986), Sanskrit (Birman, Kotovskiy, Sosina 1976: 541), Mesopotamian numismatics (Mairs 2013: 252) and theories on the origins of Russian history (Jouteur, Mervaud 2004; Frolov 1999: 65–66, 68). Several of his studies on the periphery of the Graeco-Roman world, and contacts on the margins of the Classical world and the Middle East, were clearly pioneering. His works on the history of the town of Edessa in northern Mesopotamia (1734) and on that of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom (1738) opened up a new field of study, which J. G. Droysen subsequently defined as ‘Hellenism’.

Although he was a Classicist, Bayer approached Bactria via China, thanks to his preliminary studies in Europe and his contact with the Jesuits. His knowledge remained book-bound, since, like all intellectuals of the period, it was impossible for him to visit the places about which he wrote. In his *Historia regni Graecorum Bactriani in qua simul Graecarum in India coloniarum vetus memoria explicatur* (1738), written in Latin and published in St Petersburg in the year of his death, Bayer therefore limited himself to two directions: on the one hand, a study of two Graeco-Bactrian coins in the collection of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences (a new methodological approach for the period), and on the other, drawing up a compendium of Greek and Roman sources, which he saw in the light of Chinese and Arabo-Persian sources then available in Russia. Organised in a rational fashion, this compilation is best viewed as an exercise in synthesis rather than an analytical history (Mairs 2013: 254–255), but it constitutes one of the first attempts to situate the history of Alexander on a real territory (see his identification of Marakanda with Samarkand: Bayer 1738: 15), while showing the poverty and extremely lacunose character of the textual and numismatic sources on Central Asia during the time of Alexander and his heirs.

Even if, for some of his contemporaries, the main contribution of Bayer was to exoticise the subject, this publication symbolises the beginning of studies on the Greek kingdoms in Bactria and India, and continues to be cited as the first important work of the modern period on Central Asian Hellenism. This is still more the case in Russian studies: despite the criticisms of Soviet publications in the period of the struggle against ‘cosmopolitanism’ (Frolov 1999: 61), Bayer is seen by the majority of Russian-Soviet researchers as the founding father of Hellenistic studies in Central Asia (Trever 1940: 3; Litvinskiy, Pichikyan 2000: 5).

FIRST CONTACTS WITH THE LANDSCAPE

The first syntheses, constructed by cross-referencing ancient sources and contemporary observations made on the margins of Central Asia, were not confirmed by work in the field. Turkestan remains one of the most closed regions of the world. The rare travellers (mostly Russian) who ventured there at the risk of their own lives observed, moreover, only constructions of the Islamic period, which they classed in general as

‘Timurid monuments’ (Gorshenina 2014b). In contrast to the Mediterranean world, centred on the ancient Roman Empire, buildings which might provide evidence of Greek presence were not visible in Turkestan, because the principal construction material in the region – unbaked brick – does not have qualities which allow for good preservation. It goes without saying that it was unthinkable, in such a hostile environment, to attempt any excavation at all in order to obtain further material remains.

Gathering information from the local population was also presented by Western explorers as impossible because of mutual mistrust. According to them, the ‘natives’ could not provide any trustworthy information. During his travels of 1820, A. Meyendorff noted that because of “this kind of proscription of historical research [which prevailed at Bukhara]” it was impossible to obtain from the mullahs any details on “the route of Alexander the Great and the position of his forts” (Meyendorff 1826: 298–299). Common to all travellers, this negative view of local tradition (“to protect the honour of their ancestor, they [the ‘natives’] accord a Persian origin to Alexander the Great”: Meyendorff 1826: 299) allows us to understand the rarity of studies on local interpretations of the history of Alexander in the pre-colonial period. The state of academic knowledge on the Greeks in Central Asia therefore continued to stagnate.

POLITICAL MANIPULATION OF THE ‘RESTORATION’ OF THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER AND THE *MISSION CIVILISATRICE*

By the thirteenth century, the instrumental use of the image of Alexander in European discourse about the establishment of borders was already perceptible. In the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, the frontier between ‘civilisation’ and ‘barbarism’, associated with Gog and Magog, is marked by the twelve altars erected by Alexander (Westrem 2001: 40–41, n. 82; 72–73, n. 148; 96–97, n. 206; 98–99, n. 209). This schema is repeated in several European maps, up until the moment when mentions of Gog and Magog disappear from the cartographic realm.

Nevertheless, the name of Alexander continued to be placed on maps as a symbol of ‘civilisation’, even in very confused contexts. This is the case, for example, with the *Atlas of Siberia* [*Chertëzhnaya kniga Sibiri*] of S. Remezov (1698–1701), in which the presence of Alexander is attested around the mouth of the Amur river. This cartography reflects the arguments used in 1689, at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Nerchinsk between Russia and China, when the Chinese, represented in negotiations by the Jesuits, reclaimed the territories east of Lake Baikal under the pretext that they had belonged to China since the time of Alexander (Bartol’d 1977a: 384–385; Postnikov 2006: 145–146).

In the nineteenth century, the name of Alexander took on an even greater symbolic force, as a territorial marker in the expansion of the two ‘great powers’ of Russia and Britain towards the ‘heart of Asia’, and especially as spheres of influence were established between these powers.

In the British milieu, the first debates on the course of a ‘scientific border’ in the region (which, in the end, would be the extension of a ‘natural border’, or even a strategic one) arose before the First Anglo-Afghan War of 1838–1842. Political officers constructed a collection of ‘evidence’ to show that the extension of British power should go up to the Oxus, which formed the ‘natural’ border along which one could guarantee the defence of India (Lee, 1996: xxi, 75–78, 143, 168–202). The conquest

of Alexander assumed a central place in these arguments: in the popular imagination, the Oxus/Amu-Darya was inextricably linked to his name (Curzon 1889: 144–145). Moreover, British writers preferred to use the ancient names Oxus and Jaxartes to refer to Central Asian rivers like the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya, as well as the term ‘limes’ with regard to Central Asian borders, which indicates the underlying thought process which equated the Roman Empire with contemporary powers. At the root of the demarcation of frontiers on the Oxus lay the idea, commonly accepted by the British at the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the progress of the conqueror had stopped on the left bank of the Oxus, without going further north into Sogdiana, governed from Samarkand, nor even, paradoxically, further towards Alexandria Eschate (below n. 18), which was in reality the most northern point of the empire of Alexander. This perception, which may be attributed to a delay in the transmission of scientific knowledge, resembles rather an arrangement of historical facts in conformity with the geostrategic interests of the powers. This conception is even more difficult to explain since the link between Samarkand and the Greek city of Marakanda had been widely discussed in Europe and was well known by the British, passionate readers of studies on the conqueror.

While making an appeal to the Greek model, Russian politicians did not invoke it in regard to the limits of their empire – this line was useless in view of their constant advance from north to south – but only regarding the presence of Alexander in the region. Reflecting the ideas of political elites, journalists tried to establish parallels between the ‘Russian genius’ and the ‘Greek genius’ on the ground in Central Asia, speculating notably about their connection to the ‘Aryan race’ (Lidskiy 1889: 4). According to such ideas, the *mission civilisatrice* with which the Russians had been entrusted by Providence, and which pushed them against their will towards Asia (Gorshenina 2012: 56–62) went back to Alexander, whom they should – indeed, must – take as inspiration:

By bringing European influence and *graždanstvennost’* [civic consciousness] into the depths of Asia, we are carrying out a great mission, whose first apostle was Alexander the Great, and thus widening the frontiers of the civilised world.

(Anonymous 1868)

These writings, which glorified the Russians as ‘civilisers’, do not differ greatly from texts of the same type produced by the British (Green 1990; Lee 1996: 75–76; Bradley 2010). On both sides of the Hindu Kush, the new rivals for the ‘roof of the world’ saw themselves as direct heirs of Alexander, even if in the Russian milieu there were no direct analogies to writings such as those of Kipling in “The Man Who Would Be King” (1888). In this context, studies of Hellenism were of strategic importance and the name of Alexander was more and more frequently linked to the preoccupations of the powers, and integral to imperial reflections.

COLONIAL PATRIMONY: THE HERITAGE OF ALEXANDER AT SAMARKAND

The discipline of archaeology seems to be the best placed to furnish proof of the presence of Alexander in the region. For this reason, the problematic identification

of Samarkand-Marakanda was considered by the Russian colonial administration, which turned its attention to the ancient site of Samarkand at Afrasiab.

Even without monuments visible on the surface, and covered by “rubbish and stones, long grass and occasional trees” (Maev 1872: 282), the plateau of Afrasiab was seen by Russian colonists as “a real mine of archaeological discoveries”, yielding ancient coins of gold and silver (Khanykov 1868; Khanikov 1869: 269, 271; Khoroshkhin 1876: 186). When in 1869 the first Governor-General of Turkestan, K. P. von Kaufman, ordered A. L. Kuhn, an Orientalist in his service, to prepare a topographic map of Samarkand indicating all the “antiquities of value” seen as important *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1986), he demanded that the plan should indicate the location of Afrasiab as well as the position of the ancient wall of the city, the observatory of Ulugbek and the site of the battle of 1 May 1868, the day on which Samarkand was taken by the Russians (CGA RUZ, f. I–I, op. 15, d. 69, p. 5). In order to protect it against “treasure hunters”, Kaufmann placed the site under the protection of the state and forbade “archaeological prospections without special authorisation” (*Turkestanskii Vedomosti* 1871, 12).

The construction of the Samarkand-Tashkent road across Afrasiab brought about the discovery of numerous small objects and was the pretext, in 1873, for undertaking there one of the first excavations in Central Asia, which the colonial administration of Turkestan officially sanctioned. These excavations were conducted by the chief of the *otdel* (district) of Samarkand, Major Borzenkov, then, in 1883, by V.V. Krestovskiy, a functionary in charge of special missions (Gorshenina 1999a and 1999b). These works reflect the hope of finding traces of the presence of Alexander in Central Asia. In 1885, the Turkestan official newspaper *Turkestanskii Vedomosti* moreover announced the publication by E. J. Chinook of the *Anabasis* of Arrian, a translation which had a direct connection to the history of the region (Lyutov 1885).

The undertaking of these first excavations seems to have been important for the colonial administration at the moment of the conquest of Turkestan. They formed an element of its cultural heritage programme, which would prove that as a ‘true colonial power’, Russia could have a ‘civilised’ attitude to the historical past of Turkestan, while appropriating two of the most important personages – Alexander and Tamerlane – whom she saw as the precursors of the Russians. This ambition is described by a British traveller, J. T. W. Perowne (1898: XI):

under the skilful administration of the officers of the Czar, before long the Saturnian age of Central Asia must return. An empire worthy of Timur or of Alexander is rising into existence.

INVESTIGATIONS IN THE FIELD: CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT OVER THE IDENTIFICATION OF SAMARKAND WITH MARAKANDA

Nevertheless, from the second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, neither excavations, nor the chance finds that went into making up beautiful collections, nor even the first tentative steps towards collecting local sources on the history of Alexander in Central Asia (Anonymous 1832; Anonymous 1833) allowed any light to be shed on the question of the identification of Afrasiab with

the ancient Marakanda (see Lyonnet, this volume). The variety of viewpoints on this problem, however, does not reflect the particularities of ‘national schools’.

Even though he never set foot in Central Asia, the German linguist W. Tomaschek presented this identification as obvious (Tomaschek 1877: 79–80), situating himself in a direct line to the ideas of Bayer, the French geographers of the eighteenth century and Droysen (Droysen 1833 [1917 edition]: 352, 360, 367). His point of view was shared by his compatriot F. von Schwarz (1893: 43), an astronomer who spent fifteen years in the Russian service in Turkestan and wrote one of the first advanced studies on the campaigns of Alexander in Central Asia. This identification is, not without some reservations, taken up on a more popular level in the accounts of the American diplomat E. Schuyler (1877: 236), who arrived in Turkestan in 1876, and of the British journalist from *The Times* G. Dobson (1890: 235), who was invited in 1888 to the inauguration of the Transcaspian Railway to Samarkand. Without rejecting the hypothesis altogether, the French remained a little more reserved about this attribution (Blanc 1893: 827; Chaffanjon 1899: 57–58).

But it is on the Russian side that the palette of contrasting opinions is the broadest. For some Russians recently installed in Turkestan, Afrasiab presented itself as a pre-Islamic vestige of the modern city, or as a symbol of a “Samarkand of the fire-worshippers” (Maev 1872: 282). N. I. Veselovskiy, professor at the University of St Petersburg, proposed to date the abandonment of the site to 1220, the year of the destruction of Samarkand by Genghis Khan (for current dates see Bernard 1996; Grenet 2004). As for dating the first appearance of habitation at Afrasiab, Veselovskiy thought that this task should be left to the archaeologists of the future (Veselovskiy 1887: XCVII).

It is above all the location of Marakanda which continued to pose problems, even if V. A. Zhukovskiy, the first Orientalist to conduct excavations at Merv in 1890, rejected all links between Alexander and Merv and declared that the *Marginia* of Quintus Curtius had nothing to do with Margiana and that this toponym was rather a corruption of the name of Marakanda-Samarkand (Zhukovskiy 1894: 1–2; see also below n. 19, and Stančo, this volume). The ancient Marakanda was located in turn at Samarkand, to the west and south-west of the Timurid city (Krestovskiy 1887: 41), at Afrasiab itself (Grigor’ev 1881: 65, 183, 186; Lyutov 1890: 14), or at a short distance from Samarkand, to the west of the route leading to Zerafshan (Veselovskiy 1887: XCVII; [Veselovskiy] 1894: 376).

In 1913–1914 and at the beginning of the 1920s, V. V. Barthold stuck to the point of view of European scholars of the eighteenth century, reporting that they knew that

the name of the city mentioned by the Greeks under the form ‘Marakanda’ was preserved in the name of ‘Samarkand’ and that Afrasiab corresponded to the more ancient town known at the period of the campaigns of Alexander.

(Bartol’d 1977b: 513–515 [citation]; Bartol’d 1963a: 111, 113)

But doubt arose in 1922 and he wrote that the existence on the site of Afrasiab of “the city of Marakanda mentioned by Greek authors – but not by Chinese sources – and which was destroyed by Alexander remained obscure [*nevyvasennym*]” (Bartol’d 1977c: 550). In 1927 his position was even more negative: “the very fact of the existence at this period of a city on the site of Samarkand remains doubtful”

(Bartol'd 1963b: 186). This change of position resulted from the publication of the book *Afrasiab – gorodishche bylogo Samarkanda* (Vyatkin 1926) by the self-taught Samarkand archaeologist V. L. Vyatkin, the first monograph dedicated to the results of research on the site.

Both a field worker and a great connoisseur of the written sources, V. L. Vyatkin notes that this site was known in the eighteenth century under the name *Khisar-i kukhna*, *kala-i kukhna*, i.e. “the old castle”, before receiving its current name at the advent of the Mangit dynasty (ZVOIRAO 1903: 54). He recognised that some local legends linked the foundation of the city of Samarkand to Alexander and various epic heroes, but settled it unambiguously by affirming that the foundation of the city of Afrasiab was more recent (at the end of his life he still considered that the oldest levels of Afrasiab only dated to the Kushan period) and, even if one accepts that Marakanda corresponded to Samarkand, one should not look for this city either at Afrasiab or in neighbouring localities (Vyatkin 1926: 4, 19, 38–39; Masson, 1972: 4; Shishkin, 1961: 37, n. 38; Grenet 2004: 1046–1047).

This negative opinion did not prevent J. Markwart from supposing that Marakanda was a Greek corruption of the local toponym of Samarkand, an opinion which was supported by W. B. Henning in 1958 (Markwart 1929: 94, n. 1, cited in Litvinskiy, Ranov 1998: 653, n. 88).

We find, however, the echo of this negative view until the end of the 1970s, when D. W. Engels (referring to the work of G. Frumkin 1970: 128, who popularised the work of Soviet archaeologists in the West) wrote that the attribution was undermined by contemporary archaeologists (Engels 1978: 99, n. 1; 103, n. 16), at the very moment when Soviet archaeologists proved the contrary. His opinion, nonetheless, survived until 2009 in philological studies (Carney 1981: 149; Ripoll 2009: 120) referring to the famous banquet during which Alexander killed Kleitos, his milk-brother and close companion, who had saved his life at Granicus.

COLONIAL PATRIMONY: THE HERITAGE OF ALEXANDER AT MERV AND THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

The second important site linked to the name of Alexander is that of Merv (see Puschnigg, this volume), where the first studies reveal another peculiarity of approaches to the period. In contrast to Samarkand, the Pre-Islamic constructions at Merv were still visible on the surface. Situated in immediate proximity to one of the stations of the Transcaspian Railway, these ‘ruins’ had an unusual appearance due to their technique of construction in pisé, and became towards the end of the 1880s an obligatory stop for tourists, who were guided on site by representatives of the colonial administration. It is through these military guides, often enthusiasts and collectors of antiquities, that new historical discoveries were put into circulation, in a circle which brought together savants from the metropolis, local scholars and their informers, as well as foreign visitors.

Among these military guides we frequently find mentioned the Russian agent at Ashkhabad, W. O. de Klemm, who spoke English perfectly (Perowne 1898: 46–47; Curzon 1889: 94), and above all the famous general A. V. Komarov, governor of the Transcaspian region until 1890, conqueror of Kushka in 1885 and member of the

Imperial Russian Society of Archaeology, who owned a rich numismatic collection (Komarov 1888; Boulanger 1888: 316; Beylié 1889: 146, 128–129, 316; Curzon 1889: 94–95; Semenov 1957: 145).

It was from their explanatory diagrams that the view arose that the sites excavated in the region of ancient Merv dated to the period of Alexander, which travellers transmitted in their accounts as certain (Cholet 1889: 66; Dobson 1890: 178). Doubts, however, creep into the accounts of observers who distrusted invented stories told by the “brave ciceroni” who claimed to recognise in a “rather shapeless mound of earth” the “traces of the Merv of Zoroaster and of Alexander the Great” (Boulanger 1888: 228, 241; Beylié 1889: 107–108). Later, S. F. Oldenbourg noted that researchers should be careful against reproducing the new legends which the local population fired back at Western scholars, in using the name of Alexander (ZVOIRAO 1901: 63–64).

On the other hand, we should not project this observation onto Afrasiab. Barthold in any case severely criticised the American archaeologist R. Pumpelly, who said that the Samarkandi placed the Marakanda of Alexander at Afrasiab. According to Barthold “the natives did not report any myth of Alexander in connection with Afrasiab” (ZVOIRAO 1907: 85).

It is also necessary to underline that there was no general interest in the study of local traditions reflecting the content of the *Alexander Romance*.² Even though the Orientalist M. M. Andreev (Andreev, 1896: 8) noted that “in each *kishlak* [village] the natives, if one can get them to speak openly, relate many things of interest to an archaeologist”, the methodical rules established in the world of scholarship since the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of P. Bayle (1697) and codified in 1804 by Saint-Croix urged that “we find the true history [of Alexander] only in the accounts of Greek and Latin writers” (Briant 2012: 67).

Local tradition was, however, addressed as a specific theme by N. P. Ostroumov in a two-part study. One part dealt with curiosities linked to the name of Alexander in Turkestan, notably including a short description of sacred trees in the cemetery of Shakhantaur at Tashkent with an anecdote according to which these trees sprouted thanks to drops of water which trickled from the hands of Alexander (Ostroumov 1896: 6). The other presented the development of the *Alexander Romance* and the personage of Dhû-l-Qarnayn in the Muslim world in a wider sense.

In a less systematic manner, but richer in factual information, travel accounts sometimes make mention of *lieux de mémoire* connected to Alexander the Great as a prophet. In 1879, the Irish journalist E. O'Donovan caught sight of the so-called wall of Alexander (also called the *red serpent*) between the Caspian and the valleys of Gorgan and the Atrek (O'Donovan 1882 cited in Coloru 2013: 395). In 1882 and in 1902, H. Lansdell and A. M. B. Meakin noted that there had been a tomb of Alexander at Margelan in the Ferghana valley (Lansdell 1885: 501; Meakin 1903: 269; O'Donovan 1882 cited in Coloru 2013: 401). Several tourists saw the *Iskander-Kala* (fortress of Alexander) at Merv, and a lake *Iskander-Kul* and river of the same name in the piedmont zones of the Pamir (Coloru 2013: 395). A journalist, S. A. Lidskiy, signalled that near Khojent there was a tree at the foot of which Alexander was supposed to have rested after the capture of Marakanda-Samarkand (Lidskiy 1889: 12).

VISIONS OF ALEXANDER IN RUSSIAN PUBLICATIONS

In his analysis, P. Briant clearly shows how the image of Alexander became more idealised with time. But within what limits was this myth of Alexander as geographer, economist, man of peace, one ‘called’ by God to reunite ‘East’ and ‘West’, etc. accepted, tamed or rejected by the Russians, who were themselves often viewed as ‘non-European’ and ruled by tsars, some of whom – like Peter the Great or Catherine II – were judged as ‘above Alexander’ by Voltaire (1763) or simply connected to him by Volney (Briant 2012: 240–245, 538)?

This ambiguity with regard to Russia and the (in)dependence of Russian thought vis-à-vis Western ideas is made manifest in the work of V. V. Grigor’ev *Pokhod Aleksandra Velikogo v Zapadnyy Turkestan* [The campaign of Alexander the Great in West Turkestan] (Grigor’ev, 1881) – the greatest product of the period with regard to Alexander in Central Asia, which Russian, and later Soviet, researchers held in high esteem (Rtveladze 2002: 22). The choice of the figure of Grigor’ev is all the more interesting since it allows us to return to the study which N. Knight dedicated to him in 2000, as an example of the disinterested character of Russian Orientalism, and its incompatibility with the theories of E. Said.

In his essay, Grigor’ev limits himself to a single episode in the life of Alexander – his military campaign in western Turkestan in the years 329–327 – which, despite the works of explorers and the first excavations at Samarkand, remained very poorly documented. His reconstruction follows a traditional schema. Referring to the authority of Saint-Croix (*Examen critique des anciens historiens d’Alexandre*, 1771–1810), he considers the testimony of Arrian as the most trustworthy.³ Proceeding cautiously but scarcely concealing his contempt, Grigor’ev deigns to take some passages of Quintus Curtius into his analysis (Grigor’ev 1881: 25–26). By rereading these Classical authors who, according to him, used the available sources very poorly (Grigor’ev 1881: 203), Grigor’ev remains in the current of contemporary thought. He essentially took on the identifications made by contemporary German researchers like J. G. Droysen, W. Tomaschek, G. F. Hertzberg and R. Münzel, and did not overturn any of their interpretative schemas. He followed the trend of recent decades and tried to situate the history of Alexander in real terrain, from indications furnished by Arabo-Persian writers or by explorers, whether Russian or Western (A. Burnes, A. Connolly, A. P. Mel’gunov, I. F. Blaramberg, G. Forster, J. J. Morier, J. B. Fraser, N. I. Grodekov) (Grigor’ev 1881: 34, 36, 38–39, 41, 47, 49, 56–57, 177, 179, 181, 192, 197; Naveh and Shaked, 2012).

Although he concentrated on geographical identifications, Grigor’ev did not refrain from making moral judgements, even kept to a minimum, nor from anecdotes about the life of Alexander or debates about the hellenisation of the ‘East’.

In the first paragraph of his long article, he characterises Alexander in a very critical manner as “vain” and “hungry for glory” (Grigor’ev 1881: 24–25). Then, in relation to the episode of the massacre of the Branchidae (elsewhere judged by him to be a complete invention; see below), he underlines that Alexander was capable of committing such acts of barbarism, since “there is ample evidence that he possessed no more humanity than Chingiz-khan or Tamerlane” (Grigor’ev 1881: 47–48). Grigor’ev’s study underlines another parallel with Oriental despots: “Alexander thought – like Tamerlane – that all opposition to himself in conquered territory was resistance to

God” (Grigor’ev 1881: 48). In relation to another episode – the massacre of the inhabitants of the valley of Zerafshan carried out by Alexander as reprisal for setbacks in the pursuit of Spitamenes – Grigor’ev sharpens his criticism not only against Alexander, but also against Europe in general: “This is a good example of European justice and European humanism in relation to Asiatic ‘barbarians’” (Grigor’ev 1881: 67). In sum, according to him, Alexander was Great “not only thanks to his talents, but also because of his barbarism” (Grigor’ev 1881: 67). This Russian interpretation obviously goes in the opposite direction to constructions of Alexander as a hero sent by God to prepare the way for the coming of Jesus (Droysen) or as the peaceful organiser of a fusion between ‘Orient’ and ‘Occident’ (Tarn). In the conclusion, he nevertheless perceives romantic notes ‘à la Droysen’, in relation to the general character of this campaign, which “defies the imagination” (Grigor’ev 1881: 205–206). Grigor’ev also uses figures of speech which refer to the concept of Alexander as geographer (the goal of his campaign is defined as at once “military” and “geographical”: Grigor’ev, 1881: 28) or gesture towards providentialism (“Fortune remains vigilant over her Macedonian chosen one”: Grigor’ev 1881: 206).

His point of view with regard to the enemies of Alexander distances him from that of the German scholars. The decision of Bessos (initially described as a positive personage) to capture Darius is considered not as treachery, but as a patriotic act destined to better protect the independence of the country. This did not however impede Grigor’ev from subsequently declaring Bessos a “despicable nonentity [*prezrennaya nichtozhnost*]” and considering him as a “coward” (Grigor’ev 1881: 28–30, 44, 51). Spitamenes, as a Sogdian “great patriot” “fighting for the freedom of his homeland”, is defined as a noble incapable of treachery (Grigor’ev 1881: 46, 51, 187–188). The evolution of his battle, which German predecessors had defined as a “revolt” or a “betrayal” is qualified by Grigor’ev as “too Prussian an approach” (Grigor’ev 1881: 51; Southard 1995). On this point, Grigor’ev is closer to the point of view of the German B. G. Niebuhr, the Briton G. Grote and the French, who were quite critical of the German production, such as, for example, A. Bouché-Leclercq (1883: XVI). Grigor’ev’s preferences may be seen in a sarcastic passage: “virtue (represented by Alexander) is celebrated, sin (represented by Spitamenes) is punished. This is how one writes history” (Grigor’ev 1881: 188). His sympathies are clear: he sings a hymn to the independence of Sogdiana (Grigor’ev 1881: 51, 206–207) in contrast to the opinion – which would be widespread in Germany for decades to come – according to which the Greeks “with an ardent vitality” were in opposition to the Central Asians, “the inert masses of Asia, lacking in life” (Benoist-Méchin 1934: 17–19).

In his conclusion, Grigor’ev reproaches Alexander, and above all later historians, for completely omitting geographical, ethnological or historical descriptions of the country (Grigor’ev 1881: 203–204). According to him, the results of this military campaign were as insignificant for the Greeks “with the exception of a certain expansion of geographical information”, as they were for the Central Asians:

For the natives ... Greek civilisation brought nothing solid or vital ... there was no union between the eastern and western worlds, no exchange of ideas or interests. ... Why therefore should one build a garden to plant a single cabbage [*ogorod gorodit’, kapustu sadit’*]? Only – he answers with irony – so that, thanks to Roxane, the miniscule sovereigns of the piedmonts of the Pamir, whom even

the wretched emir of Bokhara can whip with impunity – so that these semi-savage princelings can until today imagine themselves to be the kin and the descendants of the ‘prophet of God’ Alexander the two-horned.

(Grigor’ev 1881: 207–208)⁴

All the ambiguity of the Russian school is concentrated in this passage. In critiquing the Eurocentrism, imperialism and arrogance of Westerners, Russians do not escape from the ‘Orientalist sin’ in placing the ‘semi-savage’ and ‘wretched’ Asiatics, on a lower rung of the ladder in their relations with one another, in which they self-define as civilized. The sole exception figures in the – very laudatory – description of the Scythians, whom Grigor’ev had previously represented as the ancestors of the Slavs (Grigor’ev 1871: 171). In retaining a focus on the campaign of Alexander in Turkestan as an event, Grigor’ev does not open any window of reflection on the local influence which the Sogdians exercised upon the Greeks, as the Indian scholar A. K. Narain (1957) later did with regard to Indo-Greek civilisation in the Indian context, in showing how the local factor contributed to the formation of the face of this Hellenistic civilisation.

Russian specialists did not all share Grigor’ev’s interpretation. Highly esteemed in the period (Ostroumov 1896: 6), but completely forgotten today, the study of M. M. Lyutov *Aleksandr Velikiy v Turkestane* [Alexander the Great in Turkestan] (1890) has a greatly reduced critical scope. In refuting the position of Grigor’ev as “unidirectional and biased” (Lyutov 1890: 17–18), he aligned himself with the interpretation of an Alexander as ‘Great Man and Bearer of Civilisation’, outlined in the manner of Droysen (Lyutov 1890: 19). Lyutov refused to see Bessos as a patriot; for him, he was simply a traitor (Lyutov 1890: 9); Spitamenes’ character is defined laconically as ‘courageous’ (Lyutov 1890: 23).

His conclusions are very politically-engaged, in the sense of being a defence of European imperialism. According to him, Alexander’s impact in Turkestan was enormous (Lyutov 1890: 24) and his name is preserved in multiple toponyms, in the genealogy of “native sovereigns” and in several legends, such as those connected to the foundation of cities and fantastical exploits. The final paragraph of his work is clearly presented as a hymn to Russian colonisers “sons of the West”:

This king is the Russian tsar, the continuer and realiser of the remarkable project conceived by the king of the Greeks and the Macedonians. ... Under the sceptre of the Russian tsar, the great dream of Alexander has finally been realised: a territory once conquered by him has joined the family of lands open to civilisation and to human progress.

(Lyutov 1890: 25)

The Turkestani Orientalist N. P. Ostroumov, aligning himself with Weber and Droysen, also expresses himself in the same vein, in taking account of the romantic characteristics of an Alexander who “possessed all the qualities of a hero ... necessary to accomplish the heavy duty which was entrusted to him by History” (Ostroumov 1896: 1–4).

We find this same attitude on a more popular level. Returning to the pairing of Alexander with Tamerlane, the Tashkent essayist S. A. Lidskiy followed Orientalist schemas when he wrote in 1889 that “Alexander, pupil of Aristotle, showed more

statesmanship than the uncultured and cruel Muslim Tamerlane” and that the results of his reign were very important for the region (Lidskiy 1889: 3, 4, 9, 12, 15, 18).

The position of V. V. Barthold, the greatest authority in Central Asian studies, is not so entrenched: closer to Grigor’ev, he avoids direct accusations as well as political panegyrics. In 1911, in his magisterial study *Istoriya izucheniya Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii* (History of Oriental Studies in Europe and Russia), he reports that the military campaigns of Alexander had “greatly expanded the Greek geographical horizon” (Bartol’d 1977a: 244). In the same passage he also adds that “for science, the conquest of the Macedonian Alexander and the supremacy of the Greeks in Asia had less important consequences than one might have expected” (Bartol’d 1977a: 244). Barthold reproaches Greek authors for not having been able to draw up a complete history of these campaigns, furnish geographical descriptions, or use Oriental sources (Bartol’d 1977a: 244–245).

RUSSIAN RESEARCHERS AND EUROPE

As P. Briant has noted (2012: 224), “because of his dual character as hero and anti-hero, the figure of Alexander is extremely malleable, and he can be introduced and instrumentalised on any occasion”. This conclusion, which is based upon European documentation, can also be applied to the Russian evidence.

The use of the name of Alexander as moral and political justification, in the context of the conquest of Central Asia, and diverse interpretations of his life were produced in Russia according to rather different schemas, as much in the scientific milieu and political circles as on the popular level. However, the persistent ambivalence of the image of Alexander reflects the questions which Russians posed about the legitimisation of conquest, and the relations to be established with Central Asians, questions which show that they were part of the European world. Evidently, for the Russians, Alexander was an integral part of the ideological system set in place at the time of the colonisation of Turkestan.

On the same scale, however, it should be emphasised that the place occupied by Alexander in Russian cultural, intellectual and political spaces far from dominated the symbolic sphere and cannot be compared to the situation in British India. This is visible, among other things, in the domain of Russian art. The ‘great century of Alexander’ – which is to say the ‘great eighteenth century’ – had already passed, and taken with it academic Classicism and the ‘taste for Greek’ of which the best known example in Russia is the *Alexander and Roxane* (1756) of Pietro Rotari (1707–1762), an Italian artist employed at the court of Elisabeth Petrovna, not to mention a few cameos presenting Alexander’s profile (Kagan 2010: 300–301). Even on the level of popular art, the height of the cult of Alexander was in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries (Postnikov 2006; *The Immortal Alexander the Great* 2010: 297–299: n. 358, 360; Chumakova 2014). The image of Alexander appears only rarely in paintings of artists of the second half of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries, and never in the Turkestan context.⁵ For artists working in tsarist Turkestan, the ancient period was far from being their priority. Romantic exoticisation and scientific naturalism encompassed the totality of their subjects. Alexander was therefore too ‘Greek’ to be used directly in the milieu of Russian Turkestan.

On the other hand, the rarity of studies on Alexander in Turkestan reflects the rarity of studies on this part of Hellenism in general, echoing the difficulties encountered in the interpretation of the very meagre known sources and the complexity of the reconstruction of the political history of an historical period – the Hellenistic period – then seen throughout the West as that of the decline of the ‘Greek genius’.

ALEXANDER AND THE HELLENISM OF THE SOVIETS

On the Afghan side, research on the territory of the mysterious kingdom of the Greeks in Bactria and India began in the 1920s with the activities of the *Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* (the DAFA). The meagre results obtained by the first missions, however, led to pessimistic evaluations which inspired the expression the ‘Greek mirage’.

This disappointment had practically no effect on Soviet researchers who, after 1917, created a veritable schism between studies on the life of Alexander and those on Hellenism. The two traditional lines of approach with regard to the Macedonian – panegyric and critique – were therefore discontinued, as the elitism of the study of ‘great men’ gave way to approaches which privileged social and economic aspects. While the mission of the ‘Alexanderzug’ directed by E. Boehringer, the director of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in Berlin, acted as a unifying axis for researchers of several countries until the end of the 1960s, this approach had no chance of success in the USSR, where the great conqueror was assimilated to the capitalist West, enemy of the Soviet East. On the other hand, new theoretical interpretations made their appearance in the USSR, even if the first reconstructions of the history of Hellenism were, as elsewhere, founded in philology.

Soviet studies on the Hellenic world in Central Asia were marked by multiple political and ideological upheavals. Even if we cannot go into detail on their genesis here, it should be emphasised that they were closely linked to debates about the principles according to which ancient history should be studied, on the construction of this object of study and, above all, on its definition.

THE ‘SOVIET SCHOOL’ OF THE 1920S–1970S AND ITS CRITIQUE OF ‘BOURGEOIS’ THEORIES

Soviet researchers actively discussed the definition of Hellenism from the 1920s, when socio-economic schemas became more rigid, personified in the figure of the historian M. M. Pokrovskiy. In these debates, the Marxist Soviet point of view was always presented in opposition to those of specialists called ‘bourgeois’. Although the great ‘classics’ – for example, the fundamental works of W. W. Tarn and later of D. Schlumberger – were translated into Russian (Tarn 1949; Shlyumberzhe 1985), their publication was always preceded by prefaces denouncing the ‘errors’ of the Westerners (Kovalev 1949: 5–18). These Soviet texts were based upon an interesting selection of citations, the omission of evidence which could weaken the critique, and a simplification of the work of other researchers. Above all, they simplified the evolution of ideas by referring in general only to their first publication. All difference of opinion in interpretations appeared suspect. The Soviets called for “global historical synthesis” and criticised the slightest deviation from

Marxist theory. They denounced empiricism and any “hypertrophic” interest in political history centred on the conquests of Alexander and the presence of Greeks in power, as well as any too-visible penchant for cultural or religious history (Ranovich 1950: 15).

At the same time, Soviet researchers developed their own measure of ‘progressivism’ with regard to their foreign colleagues, among whom Tarn seemed the most ‘acceptable’. This did not prevent S. I. Kovalev and later A. B. Ranovich, in the name of all Soviet researchers, from critiquing Tarn, for whom the term Hellenism was a poetic metaphor, a sort of label for the three centuries during which Greek culture was spread beyond its initial limits (Kovalev 1949: 20). According to them, this reflects a negligence that translated into a scientific language imprinted by ‘modernising tendencies’ and marked by ‘ignorance of the essential laws of history’ (Ranovich 1950: 14). In applying to the entire history of humanity a terminology which included notions of ‘capital’, of ‘transition from subsistence economy to monetary economy’ or of ‘nation state’ – which according to Marxist theory only defined certain specific stages of development in society – ‘bourgeois’ researchers “deformed history” (Kovalev 1949: 8; Ranovich 1950: 14, 146–150; Pigulevskaya, 1956: 22; Krikh and Metel’ 2014). According to Kovalev, Tarn’s ideas about the existence of feudalism in the Orient in the pre-Hellenistic period could not be accepted, just like his suggestion that one might see ‘similarities’ between Hellenism and capitalism (Kovalev 1949: 6–7, 22). Thus, “incapable of overcoming bourgeois limits”, Tarn “modernised ancient history, confused fundamentally different economic categories, transplanted into antiquity relations with feudal and above all bourgeois society” in order to prove the “eternal nature” of capitalism (Ranovich 1950: 14).

The theories of M. M. Rostovtzeff (1941) and M. Weber on “feudalism in the pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic periods” were also critiqued during the 1940s–1960s (Ranovich 1950: 14, 146–150), although later, at the end of the 1970s–1980s, Rostovtzeff was more positively evaluated as the most ‘progressive’ researcher, since he was interested in economic relations and the political context (Koshelenko 1979: 24).

Historians called ‘idealists’ – such as F. Altheim, P. Petit, H. Bengtson, A. Momigliano, E. Meyer, P. Lévêque, J. F. C. Fuller or F. Schachermayr – were the most severely criticised. They were presented as adepts of theories of Alexander as a ‘heroic commander’ believing in a Providence which watched over the propagation of the ‘Greek spirit’ in the Orient (Ranovich 1950: 13).

Despite their abiding criticisms, Soviet researchers of the 1930s–1940s nevertheless shared in certain elements of European myths. Opposed to the concept of ‘great men’ (although around 1934 we see the beginning of a process of reintegration of former ‘heroes’ [Simon 1991: 88]) and stipulating repeatedly that “it is impossible to put Hellenism down to the personal genius of Alexander”, the Soviets began to look for ‘objective prerequisites’, which did not prevent them from returning to the idea of the exceptional character of the work of Alexander. Ranovich writes:

It is scarcely probable that Alexander had clearly formulated the tasks which are attributed to him by Plutarch, but the objective results of the conquests of Alexander were exactly as follows ... the task of conquering the Orient was put on the agenda and resolved by Alexander.

(Ranovich 1950: 22–23)

Ranovich also took up the thesis according to which “scientific geography owes its birth to the campaigns of Alexander” (Ranovich 1950: 45).

SOVIET DEFINITIONS OF HELLENISM

To thwart these ‘deviations’ and avoid the figure of Alexander, Soviet researchers, especially by the seminal article by S. P. Tolstov (1940), elaborated their own understanding of Hellenism as a specific structure from a social, political and economic point of view, even if this global vision had several interpretations.

During the 1940s–1950s – camouflaged by citations of Marx, as a kind of guarantee of the truth of their words – all these projects sought to prove, to the benefit of Sovietism, Marxist theories on the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy, the appearance of primitive (slave-owning) classes, and the birth of the state. They situated themselves within a formal schema consisting of five socio-economic stages, where the emphasis was on the sociopolitical and economic aspects of historical processes: 1) a prehistoric period, or period without classes, 2) slave-owning, 3) feudalism, 4) capitalism and 5) Socialism-Communism. Thus, contradictions were brought to the fore between “productive forces and relations of production”, the “class struggle” as an essential driver of progress, and an understanding of history as an ascending linear progression. Spiritual and human characteristics remained to one side, whereas external factors such as conquests, migrations and cultural borrowings were rejected as being part of ‘bourgeois’ theories. The previous chronological system dividing history into two periods – pre-Islamic and Islamic – was also rejected. Hellenism, seen as the “universal history of the period” was henceforth interpreted as part of a slave-owning socio-economic stage, sub-divided into “four stages: those of the ancient Orient, Greece, the Hellenistic period, and the Roman Empire” (Kovalev 1949: 8–9, 11). Conforming to these interpretations, researchers rejected the definition of the Hellenistic period as a moment of decadence between the ‘great culture’ of Classical Greece and that of imperial Rome, and formulated their ‘central question’ as follows: “did the Hellenistic period really constitute the most advanced level of the slave-owning stage of development, not only in relation to the ancient Orient, but also in relation to Classical Greece?” (Ranovich 1950: 11, 14, 146–150).

However, the situation is much more complex. Orientalists understood well the incoherence of lines of reasoning which imposed Marxism in an authoritative manner. Without material evidence of the existence of a slave-owning society, historians could no longer speak of feudalism. The only solution to the problem lay in the preface of *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* where Marx introduced the term ‘Asiatic mode of production’. Every Orientalist made recourse to this term, whatever the period which he studied – Antiquity or the Middle Ages – implying the existence in Asia of a particular socio-economic structure, different from slave-owning regimes and ‘classical’ feudal regimes.

This rescue-term was introduced into historical vocabulary by the Academician V. V. Struve, from the example of ‘classical’ Oriental civilisations, whose history was that of more ‘primitive’ slave-owning societies than those of Greece and Rome. These theories passed into Central Asia with variants in the ‘communo-’ or ‘patriarchal-slave-owning’ sense, based on the particularities of irrigation in the region (Bernshtam 1949). These fossilised notions figure in all the Soviet literature. According to the

archaeologist A. N. Bernshtam, the thesis which defined the pre-Islamic period as a period of the dominance of ‘patriarchal-slave-owning’ and ‘slave-owning’ relations constituted, towards the end of the 1940s, the most important contribution of the Soviets, who struck “a decisive blow to the theory of eternal feudalism in Central Asia” (Bernshtam 1949: 16).

THE ADVENT OF NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF CENTRAL ASIAN HISTORY AND HELLENISM AT THE FRINGES

In parallel to these fierce debates about the definition of Hellenism, Soviet archaeologists developed a general strategy to manage their discipline. They no longer accepted the Eurocentric schematisation of history, founded on myths of Scythian migrations into Turkestan together with those of invasions by ‘non-Aryan barbarian Turks’ who came from the East and were rivals to the ‘genius of the Aryans’. Central Asia was no longer a zone of transition, a simple commercial route linking the great civilisations of East and West. In the new value-hierarchy, the Turkic element was favoured to the detriment of the Iranian element. At the same time, the Greek component was relegated to the fringes of the scientific preoccupations of archaeologists working in Central Asia. It is not without interest to recall that at practically the same moment, in 1941–1942, Hitler was mobilising the symbolism of Alexander in connection with the invasion of the USSR, notably in ordering Fritz Todt to undertake a project to build an autobahn from Berlin to Baku (Hauner 1992: 178).

At the same time, this quasi-disinterest reflects the very meagre data from the field. Operations such as the 1931 application of planning principles to science, with the development of the first plan for scientific activity and, later, the slogan “Let us make 1936 a year of Stakhanovist scientific work!” did not speed up research on Hellenism, which was considered as an elitist field, too closely linked to the ‘bourgeois’ past and difficult to make compatible with the political needs of the moment, which demanded “rapid technical and scientific assistance for industry and production” and the desire to study “Man as a force of production” (Shastov 1934: 184; Lakhtin 1990: 11, 34, 136, 138).

Indeed, while A. A. Marushchenko undertook the first excavations at Nisa in 1930, it was not until 1946 that M. E. Masson was able to organise the Complex Archaeological Expedition of Southern Turkmenistan (*JuTAKE*) which later discovered the site’s full potential. The album *Pamyatniki greko-baktriyskogo iskusstva* [Monuments of Graeco-Bactrian Art] published in 1940 by K. V. Trever is an important study of the Siberian collections from the Hermitage, which he attributes to Graeco-Bactrian art (Trever 1940), but this work now proves difficult to use, since the majority of the works were subsequently identified as later, or as imports to Bactria from other regions.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL CULTURES

Since the 1940s, after the birth of the five Republics which emerged from the national boundary making process of 1924–1936, Soviet researchers were guided by the necessity of proving the originality of the culture of the peoples of Central Asia. Suddenly, theories about diffusion, migrations and borrowing were rejected. At the same time,

it was necessary to show that local culture “was not inferior, but sometimes even superior, to the cultures of neighbouring lands” (Bernshtam 1949: 15). One of the reproaches often made, for decades, against Western scientists was the lack of reference to local cultures as active elements (Koshelenko 1979: 23–25).

This political demand for autochthony found a response on an institutional level. The Academy of Sciences engaged a vast army of specialists to prove that “each people possessed its own illustrious past”. During the period before the war and immediately after, the Academy no longer limited itself to the organisation of temporary expeditions from the ‘centre’ to the peripheries, which were defined from 1929 as ‘pluridisciplinary’ or ‘complex’ (Vasil’ev 1934: 15–18). The Academy also multiplied its institutes of research, which grew in number from two in 1918, to forty-eight in 1948 (Lakhtin 1990: 8), creating branch-institutions in the republics, starting with Tajikistan in 1932, then, in 1940, in Uzbekistan. The branch institute in the latter country was transformed during the Second World War into the Academy of the Republic of Uzbekistan – the first in the region – following the mass evacuation to Central Asia of great scholars from the ‘centre’ and the presence of several exiled scholars in Central Asia because of the ‘purge’ of elites, which began in the late 1930s (Gorbunov, Rastsvetaev 1934:70; Lakhtin 1990: 124–125). A second, equally important event followed in 1940 with the inauguration by M. E. Masson of a Department of Archaeology at the University of Central Asia in Tashkent. This situation favoured the development of a veritable ‘local school’, independent of Moscow and Leningrad, which also included Central Asian researchers.⁶ At the same time, those who worked in Central Asia were increasingly exposed to demands to prove the local character of significant finds.

This policy had positive results in Central Asia, where it started a ‘period of great archaeological discoveries’. All periods were affected, from the Palaeolithic to the Islamic period. One of the consequences was that the first institute of archaeology in Central Asia was founded in Samarkand in the 1960s. In the other Republics, archaeological research always took place within institutes of history (Ashkhabad, Bishkek, Dushanbe), except for Almaty, in Kazakhstan, where the second institute of archaeology in the region was founded.

FROM ‘MIRAGE’ TO REALITY

Eight pluridisciplinary archaeological expeditions were launched in the 1940s. The expeditions of S. P. Tolstov in Khorezm and of M. E. Masson in southern Turkmenistan were reference-points for the organisation of archaeological studies on the territory of the USSR. All took ‘multidisciplinarity’ as their working principle, combining skills in architecture, ethnography, linguistics, economics and natural sciences. They methodically covered large regions and historical periods, engaging an important number of collaborators for the publication of results. Despite these efforts, pessimism about the Greeks in Bactria continued to remain the norm.

However, after World War II, several successive discoveries began to confirm the existence of a Greek presence in Central Asia. In Afghanistan, excavations at Surkh Kotal, the great Kushan dynastic sanctuary founded by Kanishka I allowed the first traits of Central Asian Hellenism to be sketched – whose identity emerged between the Achaemenids and the Kushans, between the Greek, Iranian, Indian and Scythian worlds. D. Schlumberger, then Director of the DAFA, published an important study

in which he showed that Parthian art in the West and Graeco-Buddhist art in the East were both “descendants non méditerranéens de l’art grec” (Schlumberger 1960; Schlumberzhe 1985). He showed at the same time that Bactria constituted a Hellenic artistic centre distinct from that of Gandhāra.

Confirmation of Schlumberger’s hypothesis followed, shortly before his departure from Afghanistan, with the discovery in 1963 of the site of Ai Khanoum, capital of eastern Bactria, at the confluence of the Darya-i Panj (one of the upper courses of the Amu-Darya) and the Kokcha, on the border of Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Its exploration, undertaken from 1965 to 1978 under the direction of P. Bernard, uncovered what had been a city at the most easterly limits of the Greek world (see Martinez-Sève, this volume).

The discovery of Ai Khanoum was paralleled on the Soviet side, from 1976, by that of Takht-i Sangin, the ‘stone terrace’, which was excavated by I. R. Pichikyan and B. A. Litvinskiy (see Lindström, this volume). This site, located at the confluence of the Wakhsh and the Panj, after which the river takes the name Amu-Darya,⁷ was that of a rich city-sanctuary (probably the ancient Oxeiana)⁸ organised around a temple dedicated to the god Oxus (this is also the region from which came the famous Oxus Treasure displayed in the British Museum, which for a long time constituted one of the rare representative assemblages of the Achaemenid period, another period which, in the Bactria-Sogdiana area, remained poorly known on the archaeological front).

Discoveries relevant to the Hellenic world were preceded by great finds of the Parthian period, notably thanks to the work of the Southern Turkmenistan Expedition (*YuTAKE*), directed by M. E. Masson, which gave particular attention to Old Nisa, the fortified residence of the first Arsakids which included palatial and religious buildings. In 1948, the excavations of the Square House, a building which served as the treasury of the Arsakid kings at Nisa, led to the sensational discovery of around forty ivory rhytons, connected sometimes to the funerary cult of the Arsakids, sometimes to banquets of the Hellenised aristocracy (see Bruno, this volume). The debate over the importance of local cultures was thus reignited. In the first studies of the rhytons, Tashkent archaeologists G. A. Pugachenkova and M. E. Masson ascribed to them a Parthian origin, but this ‘local patriotism’ was not accepted by Russian scholars of the ‘centre’, who took a dim view of nationalist tendencies in science. On the French side, R. Ghirshman suggested a Graeco-Bactrian provenance, although P. Bernard was inclined towards production in the Hellenised Middle East. In Moscow, B. Ya. Stavitskiy leant rather towards an Indo-Greek origin. Views still diverge today. V. N. Pilipko maintains a position favourable to the hypothesis of importation, while A. Invernizzi returns in part to initial theories of a local artistic school. Indeed, the complexity of the hypotheses reflects that of Parthian history between the Seleukids and Romans in the West and the Graeco-Bactrians and Kushans in the East.

The Kushan empire figures among the last great civilisations identified by archaeologists, even though archaeological discoveries have followed since the 1930s, such as those of Airtam, which show the links between the banks of the Oxus and the Gandhāran world, then those of Begram and Surkh Kotal. Born in Tokharestan, the Kushan Empire took shape around the turn of the first centuries BC and AD, at a time of progressive sedentarisation of nomadic peoples – Scythians, Sakas, Yuezhi – who, from the third century BC, encroached upon the territories of the Hellenised kingdoms of Bactria and India. The height of its power is personified by Kanishka

I, who around AD 127 abandoned the Greek language on his coins in favour of the Bactrian language, while retaining the Greek alphabet.

The first studies, like those of R. Ghirshman, were based upon numismatic and literary evidence. Among Soviet researchers, K. V. Trever already showed in 1950 how the Kushans experienced an economic and political boom, based upon the development of irrigation and a wide diffusion of education and writing.

The Kushan period became one of the periods privileged by the Soviets who, from the 1960s, supported the organisation of specialist colloquia within the framework of UNESCO projects. The debate principally bore upon problems such as the date of the era of Kanishka, in which a great part of Central Asian and Indian chronology is rooted (Falk 2009). Kushan civilisation – a fusion of steppe, Bactrian, Romano-Parthian and Indian traditions – furthermore constituted a branch of history which counterbalanced the hellenocentrism present in the study of post-Hellenistic periods up until the arrival of the Arabs in AD 712.

One of the key questions, on which Westerners and Soviets took opposing sides, concerned the problem of the northern frontiers and sphere of influence of the Kushans in the region. In face of the silence of the literary sources, the former limited the empire to the Oxus. The latter, on the other hand, proposed contrasting hypotheses which, as V. M. Masson termed it, ranged from *gigantomania* to more measured scepticism. In 1961, B.Ya. Stavitskiy, author in 1977 of the best synthesis on the Kushans (translated into French in 1986), proposed to include all of Transoxiana in their empire, up to Chach (Tashkent) and Khorezm, but without Ferghana. M. E. Masson responded to this hypothesis by proposing a territory limited to the right bank of the Amu-Darya up to the plain of the lower Kashka-Darya, where the great urban site of Erkurgan stands, the Achaemenid Xenippa of the Alexander historians. He included neither northern Sogdiana, nor the land of the Kangju who thus make an appearance for the first time at the heart of the problem (see Yang, this volume). The latter, also formed by a nomad confederation, were centred upon the central and northern parts of Central Asia, from Sogdiana with Samarkand up to Khorezm and Ferghana. Today, the consensus of opinion is that the Kushan Empire comprised a territory limited to the north by Bactria and the left bank of the middle Oxus, up to the fortified frontier of the Iron Gates at Derbent in the Hissar mountains (on the frontier wall see Rapin 2013: 67, fig. 10). Beyond, Central Asia was divided into buffer states with strong ‘Kushan political dominance’. As with the Kushans, their sedentarised successors occupied great cities in the first centuries of the Common Era, like Paykend in the oasis of Bukhara, Samarkand-Afrasiab, Jizakh in Ustrushana at the outlet of the Gates of Tamerlane, Tashkent and Akhsikent in Ferghana.

From this new, extremely rich evidence, Soviet archaeologists delineated three periods: Khalchayan at the dawn of the empire in the first century AD, Dalverzine-tepe at the zenith in the second century (the period of the Great Kushans), and Zartepe, in the final stage at the transition to the Kushano-Sasanian period, around the third–fourth century AD.

THE REVISION AND RELAXATION OF MARXIST CONCEPTS

The rigidity of approaches progressively relaxed with the accumulation of new data and change of political regime.

During the 1950s–1970s, the definition of S. I. Kovalev and A. B. Ranovich was judged as an “example of the erroneous use of a concrete historical concept as an abstract sociological category” (Zel’in 1953: 145–156; Zel’in 1955: 99–108). After lively discussions launched in 1953, the concept of A. B. Ranovich was replaced by that, more tempered, of K. K. Zel’in, for whom Hellenism was

a specific historical phenomenon characterised by the combination and interaction of Hellenistic and local (principally Oriental) elements in the economic domain, social and political relations and cultural ideology. This combination took place in a specific historical context which was principally determined by the Macedonian conquest.

(Koshelenko 1979: 28)

This definition, very close to that given by M. M. Rostovtzeff, previously strongly criticised in the USSR, opened the door to the term ‘civilisation’, in a Soviet language which was progressively relaxing. Towards the end of the 1970s, three of the five stages of societal development found more neutral equivalents such as Prehistory, Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In parallel to this, researchers began to use the term ‘civilisation’, understanding it as a “socio-cultural complex that forms at a specific stage of society and takes specific forms in the context of diverse historical periods” (Masson 1989: 7). This means that diffusionist models of civilisation spreading from Mesopotamia were accepted, especially for Prehistory (as, for example, in the work of V. M. Masson 2006 and V. I. Sarianidi 2002). At the same time, the works of A. Toynbee were still denigrated as ‘relativist’, since this historian treated civilisations as a “phenomenon apart, which developed outside the context of the period according to its own internal laws and ... relied upon the hypertrophy of real events and denial of general laws” (Masson 1989: 7).

However, the Hellenistic, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms formed after the conquest undertaken by Alexander from 330 to 327 BC in the north-eastern satrapies of the Achaemenid empire, and the study of their Parthian and Kushan successors, regained the status of a ‘civilisation’ in its own right during the course of the 1970s. This moderate liberation paved the way for more posed studies such as those of B. G. Gafurov and D. I. Tsibukidis, V. M. Masson, I. V. P’yankov, A. S. Shofman, B. Ya. Staviskiy (see, for example, P’yankov 1970 and 1982; Shofman, A. S. 1976; Gafurov and Tsibukidis 1980).

Despite the relaxation of the approaches between the 1930s–1940s, some researchers still felt obliged to interpret history in terms of social confrontations which excluded models of transfer. Thus G. A. Koshelenko foregrounded the struggle of local populations against the “Greek occupiers” in “an incandescent spiritual atmosphere, full of hatred” which “could scarcely contribute to the acceptance of Greek artistic tastes” (Koshelenko 1985: 189).

At the same time, it should be emphasised that Soviet researchers remained foreign to critical post-colonial revisions. Interpretations which assumed a dynamic West facing an unchanging East, in the context of the encounter provoked by Alexander, remained present until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIMITS AND THE FLOW OF HELLENISM

Another line of discussion which characterises the historiography of Hellenism in its entirety bears upon the chronological limits of the Hellenistic period. While its

beginning was defined as the seizure of power by Alexander in 336 BC, his first military campaign in the East after the crossing of Dardanelles in 334 BC, or his death in 323 BC, the end date of this period floats for three centuries until 10 AD (for the date of the last Indo-Greek king see Bopearachchi 1991: 139–141). Strongly rooted in political history, these divergences, which reflect viewpoints which come sometimes from Marxist specialists, sometimes from ‘bourgeois’ historians, have become relatively blurred in the Soviet Union, where this ‘Hellenism’ was broadly dated to the fourth to first centuries BC.

However, as regards Central Asia, much ink has been spilled over the end-date of the Hellenistic period. In his discussion of non-Mediterranean Hellenism, represented by Iran and Mesopotamia, D. Schlumberger proposed that the limits be extended to the Sasanian period. At the same time, he emphasised that for territories connected to the Oxus and to India, Sasanid art never dominated the area previously marked by the Hellenised art of the Kushans or by Graeco-Buddhist art (Schlumberger 1970: 6, 16–17; Shlyumberzhe 1985: 13, 21–22). Also splitting up the political history, the Muscovite B.Ya. Staviskiy wrote that “the Hellenistic culture of Central Asia and India reached its height at the very moment when the power of the Graeco-Bactrian kings was overturned” (Staviskiy 1966: 93–94).

At the same time, until the ‘great discoveries’ of the 1960s–1970s, numismatics offered the only scanty evidence allowing “the diffusion, diminution and, finally, the progressive disappearance of Greek influence” (Schlumberger 1970: 11; Shlyumberzhe 1985: 17–18) to be traced across the centuries. Coin finds from the third century to the first half of the second century BC are so rare in Central Asia that researchers considered them to have come from the hoards of a non-monetarised society rather than having acted as real currency. Against this negative opinion, clearly formulated by E. Zeymal (Zeymal’ 1983: 285), are opposed the viewpoints of G. A. Pougachenkova and in particular E. V. Rtveladze.

According to the latter, two monetary systems coexisted in the Hellenised area of the first century BC to the third century AD. The Hellenistic system, represented by Seleukid and Graeco-Bactrian coins, developed in Bactria and Sogdiana, and was spread to regions which had not yet been touched by Hellenism, like Khorezm, who possessed their own issues. On the other hand, the Chinese monetary system prevailed in Ferghana and in parts of the eastern regions of Sogdiana. Roman and Parthian coins also circulated, but in a rather limited number (Rtveladze 1998: 5–9).

Independently of one another, in Tashkent, E. V. Rtveladze and the art historian L. I. Rempel also proposed to date the moment from which Hellenism began to decline to around 51–78 AD. According to them, this deterioration appears first on the level of iconography, with changes in portraiture, a coarser style and the advent of Parthian iconography, foreign to the aesthetic ideal of Hellenism (as, for example, on the coins of the Parthian King Orodes II), before affecting the Greek legends, into which errors began to slip, and on which other local alphabets began to appear, for example of Aramaic type (Rempel’ 1984: 202).

THE QUESTION OF STYLE

In the 1970s–1980s, a theoretical reversal occurs, with the appearance of the term ‘Oriental antiquity’ in the interpretations of G. A. Pougachenkova and L. I. Rempel.

Whereas for European historiography this term generally defines a chronological phase, ‘Antiquity’, for them, becomes a term which bears value judgements:

By ‘Antiquity’, we understand the development of ancient art to its most elevated stage, just as Graeco-Roman antiquity covers only the highest stage of ancient art, but not antiquity in general.

(Pugachenkova, Rempel’ 1982: 6)

Starting from the idea that “the flowering of art in antiquity in the Mediterranean and the Middle East are interconnected” (Pugachenkova, Rempel’ 1982: 6) and that the ancient world, according to M. M. Rostovtzeff, included elements of Hellenism as well as Iranian culture (Rostovcev 1918: 5), they defined the Hellenistic art of Central Asia as related to ‘Oriental antiquity’, placing it in an empty chronological space between the summits of Classical Greek art and Roman art, as a symbolically equivalent peak. By this definition, they denounced both diffusionism in the history of art – it was necessary to remain within the Marxist framework! – and transferred the Hellenism of Central Asia from the system of Oriental art towards the system of European art with which it thereby became comparable.

Alongside this, Pugachenkova and Rempel’ discussed the components of the ‘artistic style’ of Central Asian Hellenism, which they presented as essentially linked to Kushan art, in which several strata of different periods came together in different proportions. The local culture of the Bronze Age, and the Scythian and Saka animal style, were considered as the basis of this art which, with the superposition of the Iranian and Graeco-Iranian cultures which came into the region with the Achaemenids, formed ‘a local bedrock’ around the fourth century BC (Rempel’ 1978b: 24–25). These cultures then experienced Graeco-Macedonian and Graeco-Bactrian influence, before forming the bedrock of Kushan and Parthian art. Thereafter, under Graeco-Roman, Indian, Graeco-Buddhist and Byzantine influences, this culture, which was already strongly hybrid, formed the basis of medieval culture. These explanations allowed the idea of a more tranquil passage from one historical stage to another to be justified, while at the same time avoiding the slightest reference to the feudal character of pre-Islamic Central Asian societies:

Here, there was no slave-owning democracy as in ancient Greece; what was manifested more strongly was a communal-tribal system, which determined a particular course for local art – greater traditionalism, stability of artistic ideas, and the fact that the gap between Antiquity and the Middle Ages was not so great as in the west.

(Rempel’ 1978a: 15)

NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The disciplinary fork widened with time. If towards the end of the 1930s Central Asia was already considered as a region to be studied in its entirety, that is to say, combining history, archaeology, climatology, geography, geology and architecture (from which came the idea of complex pluridisciplinary missions), it is in the 1960s that archaeology truly opened up to multiple disciplines, with a marked recourse to hard sciences. More and more, the history of ‘great men’ made way for studies of economic history and populations, notably of urbanism or irrigation

systems, facilitated by, among other things, the drive to mechanise serialisation and use Carbon-14 dating (and now dendrochronology). By the end of the Soviet period, the study of Hellenism was definitively aligned with this attitude, especially since large sites were being intensively analysed, such as those of Takht-i Sangin in Tajikistan, Merv in Turkmenistan, and, in Uzbekistan, those of Erkurgan (ancient Xenippa), Uzunkir (ramparts of the ancient Kish-Nautaka), Kampyr-tepe, Paykent, etc.

Independence opened Central Asia up to foreign missions, which each brought their own specific approaches. In a context where archaeological excavations were multiplying across the whole chronological arc from Prehistory to the Islamic Period, Hellenism kept its place in the activities of several missions, as much in Uzbekistan as in Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and in Afghanistan. In contrast to results obtained from other countries in the region, research in Uzbekistan came to identify a certain number of sites of the Achaemenid period whose later phases – previously unknown – were dated to the turn of the fourth-third centuries BC, which is to say the period of the conquest of Alexander (see Wu this volume). In addition to Ai Khanoum, whose excavations have mainly uncovered Graeco-Bactrian history of the second century BC, Greek remains nowadays come more from the early phases of Central Asian Hellenism. They are all the more significant because they bear witness to the transition between the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, both in northern Sogdiana (in Samarkand and Koktepe [Gava-Gabae of the ancient sources] where today the fall of Greek power is dated rather earlier, around the second third of the third century BC: Lyonnet 2020: 6) and in the oases of southern Sogdiana, in Kashka-Darya, Sherabad-Darya (Stančo, this volume) and Surkhan-Darya (Wu 2018; see for example Kyzyl-tepe).⁹

The Hellenistic period can be studied over its entire duration in Sherabad-Darya, for example in Kampyr-tepe (Rtveladze 2017) and Uzundara (Dvurechenskaya 2018), or for various parts of this period at Kurganzol (Sverchkov 2008) or along the Surkhan-Darya (e.g. in Termez: Leriche and Pidaev 2008), the Wakhsh in Tajikistan (Takht-i Sangin, Torbulok: Lindström, this volume) and the Darya-i Panj (Ai Khanoum: Martinez-Sève 2015, and this volume).

The approach to the early Hellenistic period led to renewed interest in the history of Alexander in Central Asia, a very difficult part of his life which Western studies tended to ignore, except in order to evoke dramatic episodes like the trial of Philotas or the murder of Kleitos (see however Holt 1999 and 2005). New discoveries made in the field therefore led (ex-)Soviet researchers to restudy his route and try to reconstruct the Hellenistic topography which scholars had previously struggled to reconstruct on the basis of Graeco-Roman texts. Several important syntheses have seen the light of day since the 1990s, such as those of A. A. Sagdullaev (1993 and 2007) and E. V. Rtveladze (2002; 2019a; 2019b), or the field researches and hypotheses of L. Sverchkov (2008 and 2013). Interest in ‘great men’ was no longer limited to Alexander, but also to Central Asian figures, in particular the Sogdian Spitamenes, one of Alexander’s most tenacious adversaries, connected to Samarkand, whose satrap he had been, and a severe threat to the control of Central Asia in general (see *Spitamen*, a romanticised account from the pen of K. Amon published in 1993).

ALEXANDER AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

Historiographic analysis here requires a more detailed approach to the recently studied topics. Despite their importance, the aspects relating to historical geography and toponymy inherited from Alexander's conquest are marginally studied compared to field research. The persistence of a certain blurred relationship with ancient texts has various impacts not only on Alexander's history but also on ideas relating to the extent of ancient satrapies and their political boundaries during the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, as well as to the geological configuration of the area between Bactria-Sogdiana and the Caspian Sea.¹⁰ One of the issues concerns the current position of many scholars for whom the border between Bactria and Sogdiana coincides with the location of the Iron Gates near Derbent, in the Kugitang-tau (Kohitang) range between the oases of Kashka-Darya and Sherabad-Darya. The starting point of this schema, which considers that Bactria should have extended on both banks of the Amu-Darya River, goes back to nineteenth century European theories (Kiepert 1869, pl. I-II; Tomaschek 1877: 91 and map 1), mainly after Droysen's history of Alexander (1833).

The correspondence between ancient and modern geography was never really standardised among the first modern cartographers and historians of Alexander's empire, but the schema of Greater Bactria survived through time until the 1930s and 1940s, when archaeological research began to be carried out on both sides of the Iron curtain, along the Amu-Darya, by the French A. Foucher on the Afghan bank of the river (Foucher 1947: 197, fig. 35) and by Soviet archaeologists on the right bank. While developing for the first time the notion of Graeco-Bactrian art in Soviet Central Asia and resuming the history of the Hellenistic period, K. Trever was inspired by a cartographic concept directly inherited from Tomaschek (Trever 1940: 11). After her, Greater Bactria preserved the same borders in all the subsequent syntheses (from *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR* 1955: 57–82 to Stavisky 1986: 47–55 (1977: 32–41), or Litvinskiy, Ranov 1998: 283–406), at first under the denomination “*Srednyaya Aziya*” including “*Bactria and Sogdiana*” (i.e. by Tarn, Tolstov, and others), before world-wide denominations appeared more decisively, such as “*Bactria-Tokharestan*” (i.e. by Pugachenkova), “*Northern Bactria*” (i.e. by Diakonov, Litvinskiy), “*Northwestern Bactria*” (i.e. Rtveladze 2019b: 7, fig. 5), or even “*Transoxiana*” (below, also used for the Hellenistic period: i.e. Rtveladze 2019b). The geographical freeze was emphasized when protohistoric archaeology developed the terminology of “*BMAC civilisation*” (Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex, also defined as Oxus civilisation of the middle Bronze Age), definitively anchoring the right bank of the Oxus to Bactria and Margiana and depriving – as we will see – the real territory of Sogdiana of its oases located south of Derbent.

NEW PHILOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The question of Alexander's route and historical geography, indeed, is currently confronted with several contradictions that stem both from science and ideology. While the schemas are rooted in nineteenth century and Soviet period research, historical geography is now separated into two unequal trends.

While ancient geography appeared definitively fixed (e.g. by I.V. P'yankov 1982 and 2013 and P. Bernard), a study programme was launched by the Uzbek-French Archaeological Mission in Sogdiana (MAFOuz-Sogdiane), the first foreign mission to take shape in Uzbekistan before the end of the Soviet period.¹¹ The first activities of the mission were focused on the site of Afrasiab, in particular its Hellenic past linked to Alexander's personal intervention, before the programme expanded to all historical periods, and to several other sites in Sogdiana such as those of Koktepe¹² and the Sogdian Iron Gates at Derbent¹³ (see Lyonnet this volume). These archaeological objectives led to a re-examination of the ancient sources on Alexander (Grenet, Rapin 2001; Rapin 2001; Grenet 2004; Rapin, Baud, Grenet, Rakhmanov 2006; Rapin 2013; 2014; 2017; 2018a; 2018b; 2020; Briant 2020). However, in privileging a synthetic vision of the sources, the new approach has carried out a critical parallelism between Arrian and the Vulgate authors (Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, *Metz Epitome*, etc.),¹⁴ taking into account their genealogy through sources that had evolved over more than four centuries. This approach differed from trends which had dominated until recently, where the ancient authors were randomly preferred as the most trustworthy sources, while some philologists could not help but despise sources such as the *Metz Epitome*, which, however, provide some of the most decisive arguments supporting Alexander's real itinerary. The new result was a very different reconstruction of the route of Alexander from those proposed for more than a century, especially in reversing the paths taken by the Macedonian.

On the one hand, the analysis of the redactional system of the Vulgate authors¹⁵ made it possible to understand that their anomalies derived not only from Clitarchus, but also from an earlier erroneous mythic map where Alexander was shown as having crossed the real Caucasus (confused with the Hindukush) between the Black and Caspian Seas (Rapin 2018a: 260), hence, for example, the possibility of explaining several episodes such as the Branchidae massacre (Rapin 2018a: 278–281) or the encounter with the Amazons. On the other hand, the same analysis allowed one to redraw Alexander's itinerary (like the eastern one that he followed in 328 BC, along the southern bank of the Oxus and Darya-i Panj) and to locate with a high degree of probability the famous 'rocks' captured by him in Sogdiana, as well as the site where his marriage to Roxane took place.¹⁶ The most important contribution, mainly, was a better identification of his adversaries and their area of activity at the head of the oases-hyparchies on the right bank of the Oxus and the fact that all these governors were Sogdians. This geography allowed a better understanding of the economic and administrative organisation of the Central Asian satrapies and hyparchies, which was hitherto difficult to understand because of the confusion generated by the ancient sources. The alignment of the episodes of this conquest on this new itinerary also allowed Alexander's strategy to be reconsidered, and the evolution of his personality to be better understood.

Among the important adjustments were also cartographical statements that Sogdiana's administrative borders should be located in different places. In the traditional maps, indeed, Sogdiana has been erroneously shifted northward, from a pass to a river for the northern border (from Tamerlane's Gates near Jizakh to the Iaxartes/Syr-Darya), and from a river to a pass for the southern border (from the Oxus/Wakhsh/Amu-Darya to the Iron Gates).¹⁷ Therefore, to the north, the territory of Ustrushana should be identified as 'Scythia *intra fines*', that is the territory of

the Scythians Haumavarga of Darius' administrative geography (Rapin 2018c), with the result that its main cities like Alexandria Eschate¹⁸ and Antiochia Scythica were 'Scythian' or 'in Scythia'. To the south, Bactria was limited to northern Afghanistan by the Oxus and extended eastwards beyond the Wakhsh, following the new statement that in 328 BC Alexander conquered eastern Bactria through the city of Ai Khanoum before entering Sogdiana across the Oxus-Wakhsh (Figure 9.1). This itinerary is based on several data, one of which being the identification of the enigmatic Ochus river into two different rivers, the first being the Atrek to the west and the second an eastern Bactrian river identified with the Wakhan/Darya-i Panj (Grenet, Rapin 2001; Rapin 2018b: 146; 2020).

Thanks also to a reinterpretation of the map of Ptolemy, an important number of toponyms mentioned by ancient historical and geographical sources gained their real place, while ancient borders and rivers were moved along different alignments. Thus, the toponymy of Samarkand and its region was completed in a decisive manner, including the name of Zariaspa which since antiquity had been considered as a doublet for Bactra and which in reality designated Marakanda, or more precisely its district (Rapin 2018a). Toponymy was reviewed not only for the real position of several Alexandrias,¹⁹ but also for dozens of places traversed at the time of the Macedonian conquest, from the Caspian Gates to the Syr-Darya River, then towards Taxila across the Indus. Ai Khanoum appears to have been named *Oskobara, then Eukratideia after it was understood that the city was on the Ochus instead of the 'Oxus', whose upper course corresponds to the Wakhsh, 100 kilometres to the west. Although it should not be identified with the Oxian Alexandria as proposed by many atlases and studies (e.g. Fraser 1996: 154–155), Ai Khanoum was nevertheless not a border city, but a capital in the heart of great eastern Bactria.

THE CURRENT STATE OF THE ISSUE

The critique that may be made of the traditional approach is that it is based on theories that emerged in the nineteenth century from scholars who did not have access to the region or who did not include all written sources in their analysis. F. von Schwarz (1893, above), the only scholar who, during the tsarist period, intensively crossed the regions of the right bank of the Amu-Darya, proposed a complex system with partially good interpretations that nevertheless depended too much on Arrian. However, his experience was not really taken into account during the Soviet period (e.g. Trever, above; more recently, P'yankov 2013 does not refer to him at all). Later, the concept was so deeply impressed in people's minds that subsequent analyses failed to escape traditional guidelines. While it is clear for some philologists that ancient authors located the Oxus on the southern Sogdian border, current researchers in Central Asia continue to support the traditional geography of Greater Bactria.

Today, we must admit that the problems relating to Alexander's geography are far from undergoing a revision. The strength of the information relayed by the internet and the impermeability of the language barrier are directing general knowledge in a direction that owes nothing to a scientific basis. While previously most scholars studied Alexander's geography without knowing the region, the various visitors – researchers, travellers, tourists – who access it today with this schema in mind continue to interpret the landscape they face with ancient historical patterns based on



Figure 9.1 Map of the route of Alexander the Great in Central Asia.

mythical names, regardless of how they are used. Although it historically corresponds to the Sherabad-Darya oasis whose capital was the Oxian Alexandria, Oxiana is now considered as a region extending on both banks of the Amu-Darya, mainly after Robert Byron published his travel account of Afghanistan under the title *The Road to Oxiana* (1937). It is also not uncommon to read that Transoxiana is considered to be a Roman period toponym, when in fact it corresponds chronologically to Central Asia after the Arab conquest and is a modern translation of *Mā warā' al-Nahr* (the 'land beyond the river') invented by B. Herbelot (Gorshenina 2014a: 182–189).

Apart from the transformation of these geographical entities among the general public, the problem does not differ in the scientific context where the geography is rooted in ancient theories and survives under the influence of inertia and the strength of the academic authorities.

The widespread schema of a Greater Bactria has been particularly reinforced after the recent discovery of several Hellenistic fortresses and defensive walls on the ridge of the Kugitang-tau, mainly in Uzundara near Derbent, one of the most important sites that provided discoveries of this period (Stančo this volume). This fortification network is interpreted as a border defensive system that would have been built very early, at least under Antiochos I, if not before, that is when to the north Sogdiana was still under Greek power. This would mean that Uzundara would have marked an internal border between two provinces of the same empire. The solution is more probably connected to the nomadic populations that wandered in the mountainous and steppe regions between the oases-hyparchies during the years that preceded the definitive loss of northern Sogdiana by the Greeks. The monumental character of this system is therefore due rather to the need to protect the communication routes, whose Iron Gates were a key node between northern and southern Central Asia. From a methodological point of view, it is therefore more appropriate to trust historical texts, rather than to use philologically silent archaeological discoveries to assign an incorrect name (in this case Bactria) to a territory like the Sherabad-Darya. Contrary to what is now widely spread, it is a mistake to consider that the problem is definitively solved by placing on this basis the Bactro-Sogdian boundary at Derbent (e.g. P'yankov 2013: 581–597, with a critical review limited to the first preliminary study of the subject by Grenet and Rapin 2001 and Rapin 2001; however, their subsequent studies have not been seen by him; Rapin 2020). On the contrary, this schema precludes any study of Achaemenid and Hellenistic Sogdiana as a whole, by hindering the Kashka-Darya and Zarafshan oases from being considered within the same framework as the oases of southern Uzbekistan and southwestern Tajikistan, and by mistakenly linking them to the Scythian Ustrushana. More generally, toponymy cannot be studied without taking into account the chronological evolution, knowing that a name cannot be applied to a region outside the periods during which it has been used. This means that after the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, the right bank of the Oxus probably lost the name it had at the Achaemenid and Hellenistic time to adopt the name Tokharestan. However, there is of course a risk that we may also have to admit that now it is too late to correct the terminology, even if, from a historical point of view, the territory of Bactria as a state structure did not cross Uzbekistan's borders to the north of the Amu-Darya, but extended only to parts of Tajikistan and Afghanistan.

To conclude, we must finally say that the problem is all the more complex today, as archaeologists' data can sometimes also be intertwined with political situations.

In exploring both the life of Alexander and Hellenism as material for research in Central Asian history between the Achaemenids and the Kushans, research no longer owes anything to imported propaganda or history of the colonial world. In recent years, the figure of Alexander as a 'great man' was mainly publicity material used for tourism, although this figure ends up weighing much less in the eyes of the modern traveller than that of Tamerlane, whose life is moreover given material form by the existence of Islamic monuments even more spectacular than the undulations of the landscape of a site as renowned as that of Afrasiab. However, more recently, diverse events show that even this personage loses his exclusive European character by entering the Uzbek political sphere where he has acquired a new status in the shaping of the historical heritage.

The most recent return of Alexander occurs in the wake of the excavations at Kampyr-tepe near Termez and various books have been published where the city is identified with Alexandria Oxiana (Rtveladze 2012; 2017; 2019a; 2019b). This hypothesis, not being shared by all specialists, cannot be verified and risks being invalid. Instead of Alexandria, in fact, the city that the sources mention for the crossing of the Oxus in 329 BC was called Tarmantis (*Metz Epitome*, see above). However, the hypothesis relating to Kampyr-tepe has been welcomed by the political authorities, who see Alexandria Oxiana as an opportunity through the promotion of the city to develop tourist activities in southern Uzbekistan. In other words, this prestigious operation proves that today the import of the myth and history of Alexander into the heritage of Uzbekistan has been forgotten as a former colonial tool.

This recovery of Alexander's heroic image is indeed recent, as the history of independent Uzbekistan not so long ago witnessed an episode where another important site, the Sogdian Iron Gates near Derbent linked to the history of the conqueror, was completely neglected. In 2006 and 2010 the adjacent canyon of the pass and a long section of the monumental Hellenistic wall (built in the late 3rd century BC near where Alexander defeated the Sogdian Arimazes: Rapin 2013: 67) were destroyed to build a railway line and then to widen the Termez highway. This is why today this site can hardly be integrated into tourist circuits such as for Samarkand or Kampyr-tepe.

This appropriation by Uzbekistan's political elites of Alexander's imagery formatted in accordance with European tradition is echoed in Tajikistan, where Alexander is presented as a national hero ideologically linked to the Aryans and Sogdians. His image decorates several official and popular buildings from the republican and regional levels to the Ministry of Culture. As in Uzbekistan, the cult of Alexander, established from the top by the state, appears alongside the figure of Spitamenes, a figure who is known by the general public mainly from Soviet textbooks and popularized publications of recent decades. In this process of recovering and subverting European and Soviet myths about Alexander, local beliefs related to Iskandar that appear throughout Central Asia (e.g. Abashin 2006) are now experiencing a revival of interest throughout Central Asia. They even reached a high level of recognition and commemoration through spectacular events such as the recent officialisations of the Alexandrias. This symbolic recovery is materialized for Alexandria Eschate by the construction in the historical museum of Khojent of a monumental room dedicated to Alexander, and for Alexandria Oxiana by the museification of Kampyr-tepe in 2019. However, in spite of their passage to the level of official heritage, the location of these famous cities still remains questionable among specialists.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ZVOIRAO – *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva* [Notes from the Eastern Department of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society]
TKLA – *Turkestanskiy kruzhok lyubiteley arkheologii* [Turkestan Circle of Archaeology Amateurs]
CGA RUz – Central'nyy gosudrastvennyy arkhiv Respubliki Uzbekistan [Central National Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan]

ARCHIVES

- CGA RUz, f. I–I (Kancelyariya Turkestanskogo generala-gubernatora / Chancellery of the Governor-General of Turkestan), op. 15, d. 69.

NOTES

- 1 Translated by Rachel Mairs. This chapter draws upon publications previously issued in French: Svetlana Gorshenina, 'Alexandre le Grand et les Russes: un regard sur le conquérant porté depuis l'Asie centrale,' in C. Antonetti and P. Biagi (eds), *Moving East and Back to West: With Alexander in India and Central Asia*, Oxford, Oxbow, 2017, pp. 152–193 (most developed version); Svetlana Gorshenina, Claude Rapin, 'Samarkand, Maracanda, Zariaspa: la lente formation d'équivalences toponymiques,' in Véronique Schiltz (ed.), *De Samarcande à Istanbul: étapes orientales. Hommages à Pierre Chuvin – II*, Paris, CNRS Alpha, 2015 pp. 113–116; Svetlana Gorshenina, Claude Rapin, *Les archéologues en Asie centrale: de Kaboul à Samarcande*, Paris: Découvertes Gallimard, 2001 (a much more abbreviated version).
- 2 Incorrectly attributed to Callisthenes, this is the work of several generations of Alexandrian scholars in the second–third centuries, which underwent major reinterpretations from the Near to the Far East, and was spread through many translations (in twenty-four languages) from a lost Greek original: Bertel's 1948; Southgate 1978; Genequand 1996: 125–133; Lacarrière 2000; Zuwiyya 2001; Briant 2003: 487–521, 572; Gaullier-Bougassas 2014, t. 1, pp. 605–637 and t. 4, p. 493sq; Stoneman, Erickson, Netton 2012 (with, on Alexander in China: Y. Yamanaka pp. 263–274; on Alexander in Central Asia: Ball, pp. 127–158, and Palagia, pp. 369–382).
- 3 Historians who have tried to prove the historical value of the writings of Quintus Curtius Rufus, from P. Le Lorrain dit Vallemont to G. Radet, initially failed to convince their colleagues: Briant 2012: 82, 84, 107, 131–132; Radet 1924. However, the contribution of Curtius is beginning to be reassessed in the reflections on Alexander's sources with more emphasis and this new bibliography has recently developed; see e.g. Bosworth 1995; Rapin 2014; 2017; 2018a; 2018b.
- 4 In the nineteenth century these views – which retain a highly speculative quality until the present day – formed a topos: we find them on all levels, from the French anthropologist Girard de Rialle (1874: 439) who wrote in his *Instruction anthropologique pour l'Asie centrale* that "les princes de Karateghin se vantent de descendre d'Alexandre le Grand" up to the essayist Lidskiy (Lidskiy 1889: 1) recounting that the inhabitants of Chitral, Dir, Cuat and other regions of the Pamir presented themselves as descendants of Alexander. For other examples see Coloru 2013: 403–404.
- 5 In the case of Russia, one might cite the exceptional majolica copy of the Pompei Battle of Issos mosaic, produced in the 1830s–1840s by the workshop of Biagio Giustiniani in Naples, before becoming part of the collection of the Countess Alexandra Grigorevna Laval, then entering the Hermitage Museum in 1852: *Aleksandr Velikiy. Put' na Vostok* (2007).

- 6 Although towards the beginning of the 1930s Central Asians were still practically absent from academia, from the second half of the 1930s the politics of *korenizatsiya* (indigenisation) began to allow them access to study the ancient history of the region.
- 7 The ancient Oxus is generally identified with the Amu-Darya and Panj rivers (a traditional idea that was spread among the British in the nineteenth century), but according to other theories it is likely that in ancient times the Oxus corresponded to the Wakhsh and Amu-Darya, while the Darya-i Panj was the ancient Ochus: Grenet, Rapin 2001; Rapin 2013: 47–49; 2018a; 2020; on the impact on the ancient geography and history of Alexander in Central Asia, see also below. For a counter-argument to our hypotheses see among others P'yankov 2013: 581–597.
- 8 The name Oxeiana is a Greek plural neutral that can only define a city (e.g. Bactra, Maracanda, etc.). So, it is very plausible that it corresponds to Takht-i Sangin and its sanctuary.
- 9 See below on the administrative borders of Sogdiana.
- 10 This latter topic will not be discussed here, despite its importance. The error of the ancient maps according to which in ancient times the Oxus emptied into the Caspian sea instead of the Aral sea encouraged the study of the Uzboy dry channel and favoured ancient theories on India's trade links with the Mediterranean world through the Caspian Sea. On these theories see Rtveldadze 2012.
- 11 'Mission archéologique franco-ouzbèke de Sogdiane' initially co-directed on the French side by F. Grenet (1989–2015, then C. Rapin) and on the Uzbek side by M. I. Isamiddinov, then other colleagues based at the Institute of Archaeology in Samarkand.
- 12 Under the direction of C. Rapin and M. I. Isamiddinov.
- 13 Under the direction of C. Rapin and Sh. Rakhmanov. See, for example, Rapin 2013: 64–69.
- 14 For the most detailed philological approach see Bosworth 1995.
- 15 The episodes in the sources can hardly be paralleled since they have often been truncated as a particular technique of summary, without words of coordination to compensate for gaps (cf. the *Metz Epitome*). In addition, several episodes were dismembered and their components crossed. Arrian, on his part, has even grouped some episodes by themes to the detriment of chronology.
- 16 Rapin 2013 and 2018a: unlike most of the opinions, it seems that there were three 'rocks', each corresponding to a Sogdian hyparchy: 1) the rock of Chorienes (not 'Oxyartes'), hyparch of Pareitacene (upper Surkhan-Darya) has been identified with the Kyzkurgan (Kyrk-kyz) hill (Rapin 2013: 72, fig. 14), at the top of which Achaemenid pottery was discovered by various archaeological expeditions; the Bactrian Roxane was captured there in 328 BC but married Alexander in 327 BC in the capital of Chorienes (probably Gazaba-Kizyltepe); 2) the rock of Arimazes, hyparch of Oxiana (Sherabad-Darya, whose capital was probably in the region of Sherabad, where later Alexandria Oxeiane was also to be: see below), was located in the Iron Gates area where several spots provided Achaemenid pottery (Rapin 2013: 64–69); 3) the rock of Sisimithres (not 'Chorienes'), hyparch of Nautacene (Kashka-Darya basin, capital Kish) was northwest of Derbent, possibly on Mount Kapkagly-auzy (Rapin 2013: 71, fig. 13).
- 17 All scholars agree that the ancient borders were aligned with the mountain ranges or steppes separating river basins and oases. However, the Amu-Darya is a special case since this river cannot supply the adjacent plains along Afghanistan's northern border, except for a narrow strip of irrigable territory. It is only to the west, from the border with Turkmenistan, that water can be drawn from it for large-scale irrigation. In this context, this river is an exception and nothing prevents us from considering that it constitutes from Takht-i Sangin a 'natural' boundary which could have been the original administrative border between Bactria and Sogdiana.
- 18 The analysis of the historical sources relating to the route of Alexander shows that this Alexandria was founded in the Scythian area and was misplaced in Sogdiana by ancient

geographers like Ptolemy (6.12.6). Until now, the city was identified as Khojent/Khujand on the Syr-Darya, but it may have been located rather in the Zaamin region, in the centre of Ustrushana, between the Tamerlane's gates and the Syr-Darya, as Alexander's capital of Scythia *intra fines*: Lur'e 2004: 161–171; Rapin 2018a: 272, 283, 286.

- 19 Alexandria Margiana: for a recent hypothesis that, contrary to Pliny's assertion (7.47), Alexander did not reach Merv, but only the Kushka region where he may have founded Alexandria of Margiana, see Rapin 2014: 145–146; 2017: 83–85; 2018a: 259; 2020. Alexandria 'Oxeiane' (Ptolemy 6.12.6): since its epithet must be translated as "Oxian", and not "on the Oxus", the city may have been in the centre of the Sherabad-Darya oasis ("Oxiana" province), in the Sherabad region: Rapin 2018a: 381–382 (with arguments excluding identification with Ai Khanoum and the Termez region along the Oxus). Like Alexandria 'Oxeiane', Ptolemy did not locate Alexandria Eschate on a river. Therefore, it seems that Alexander's policy was to found a single Alexandria for each province by mainly controlling their centre without necessarily coinciding with the location of the former capitals. Contrary to the usual hypotheses, it follows that Antiochos I did not name his foundations by erasing Alexanders' toponyms (e.g. in Margiana, Sogdiana/Oxiana and Scythia).

REFERENCES

- Abashin S. (2006) Kul't Dvurogogo Iskandara u gortsev Tsentral'noy Azii [The Cult of the Two-horned Iskandar among the Highlanders of Central Asia]. In *Sredneaziatskiy etnograficheskiy sbornik* [Central Asian Ethnographic Collection], Vyp. 5. K 100-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya Ol'gi Aleksandrovny Sukharevoy [On the 100th anniversary of the birth of Olga Alexandrovna Sukhareva], Moscow: Nauka, 190–208.
- Aleksandr Velikiy. Put' na Vostok (2007) *Aleksandr Velikiy. Put' na Vostok. Katalog vystavki* [Alexander the Great. The road to the East. Exhibition catalogue], St Petersburg: Ermitazh.
- Amon, Kamar (1993) *Spitamen: istoricheskaya povest' iz IV veka do nashey èry*, Samarkand: Sugdiën.
- Andreev, M. (1896) Mestnosti Turkestana, interesnye v arkheologicheskom otnoshenii (chitano v TKLA 26 fev. 1896) [Locations of Turkestan, archaeologically interesting]. In *Turkestanskiy Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], Tashkent, t. 462, 9–14.
- Anonymous (1741) Mémoire historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de Mr. Bayer. *Bibliothèque Germanique*, 50, 99–113.
- Anonymous (1832) Drevnie russkie skazaniya o pokhode Aleksandra Makedonskogo v Indiyu i na Vostok [Ancient Russian legends about Alexander the Great's campaign in India and the East]. *Moskovskiy Telegraf* [The Moscow Telegraph] XI, 374–390.
- Anonymous (1833) Tatarskaya legenda ob Iskandare [Tatar legend about Iskander]. *Moskovskiy Telegraf* [The Moscow Telegraph] XVI, 513–540.
- Anonymous (1868) Po povodu vzyatiya Samarkanda [About the capture of Samarkand]. Birzhevye vedomosti [Exchange Bulletin], 217. In *Turkestanskiy Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], St Petersburg, t. VIII, 149.
- Anville, J.-B. B. d' (1737) *Nouvel atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet: contenant les cartes générales et particulières de ces Pays, ainsi que la Carte du Royaume de Corée; la plupart levées sur les lieux par les PP. Jésuites Missionnaires en Chine, soit par des Tartares du Tribunal des Mathématiques, et toutes revues par les mêmes Pères; rédigées par M. [Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon] d'Anville, géographe ordinaire de sa Majesté trèschrétienne, précédé d'une description de la Boucharie, par un Officier Suédois qui a fait quelques séjours dans ce Pays, À laHaye: Chez Henri Scheurleer.*
- Anville, J.-B. B. d' (1769) *Géographie ancienne abrégée*, Paris: Chez Merlin.
- Anville, J.-B. B. d' (1775) *Antiquité géographique de l'Inde et de plusieurs autres contrées de la Haute-Asie*, Paris: Imprimerie royale.

- Babinger, F. (1915) *Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738)*, Muenchen, Inaugural-Dissertation.
- Bartol'd, V. V. (1963a) *Istoriya Turkestana* [History of Turkestan]. In *Sochineniya* [Works], Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, t. 2, ch. 1, 109–168 [1st ed. 1922].
- Bartol'd, V. V. (1963b) *Istoriya kul'turnoy zhizni Turkestana* [History of Turkestan's cultural life]. In *Sochineniya* [Works], Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, t. 2, chast' 1, 109–168 [1st ed. 1927].
- Bartol'd, V. V. (1977a) *Istoriya izucheniya Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii* [History of Oriental Studies in Europe and Russia]. In *Sochineniya* [Works], Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, t. 9, 199–484 [1st ed. 1911].
- Bartol'd, V. V. (1977b) *Sostoyanie i zadachi izucheniya istorii Turkestana* [State of the art and aims of the study of the history of Turkestan]. In *Sochineniya* [Works], Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, t. 9, 510–521 [1st ed. in German 1913–1914].
- Bartol'd, V. V. (1977c) *Blizhayshie zadachi izucheniya Turkestana* [Next Goals in Turkestan Studies]. In *Sochineniya* [Works], Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, t. 9, 546–555 [1st ed. 1922].
- Bayer, T. S. (1738) *Historia regni Graecorum Bactriani in qua simul Graecarum in India coloniarum vetus memoria explicatur*, Petropoli: ex Typogr. Acad. Scient. Copy of the Lausanne Cantonal and University Library available on Google books.
- Benoist-Méchin, J. (1934) Introduction. In G. Droysen, (ed.), *Alexandre le Grand*, Paris: Éditions Complexe, 1991 (1st ed. Berlin: G. Finke, 1833–1834).
- Bernard, P. (1996) *Maracanda-Afrasiab colonie grecque*. In *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo*, Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, pp. 331–365.
- Bernshtam, A. N. (1949) *Sovetskaya arkheologiya Sredney Azii. Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta istorii material'noy kul'tury* [Brief reports of the Institute for the History of Material Culture], Vyp. XXVIII, 5–17.
- Bertel's, E. S. (1948) *Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnye versii na Vostoke* [Alexander's Roman and its main versions in the East], Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk.
- Beylié, L. de (1889) *Mon journal de voyage de Lorient à Samarcande*, Grenoble: Imprimerie F. Allier père et fils.
- Birman, D. A., Kotovskiy, G. G., and Sosina, N. N. (1976) *Bibliografiya Indii: dorevolucionnaya i sovetskaya literatura na russkom yazyke i yazykakh narodov SSSR, original'naya i perevodnaya* [Bibliography of India: Pre-revolutionary and Soviet literature in Russian and USSR languages, in original version and translation], Moscow: Nauka.
- Blanc, E. (1893) Notes de voyage en Asie centrale. Samarcande. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 115.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1991) *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- Bosworth, A. B. (1995) *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*. Vol. 2: Commentary on books IV–V, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bouché-Leclercq, A. (1883) Avant-propos du traducteur. In J. G. Droysen (ed.), *Histoire de l'hellénisme*, trad. de l'allemand sous la dir. de A. Bouché-Leclercq. T. 1. *Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand*, Paris: E. Leroux, iii–xxxvi.
- Boulangier, E. (1888) *Voyage à Merv. Les Russes dans l'Asie centrale et le chemin de fer transcaspien*, Paris: Hachette.
- Bradley, M. (ed.) (2010) *Classics and Imperialism in the British Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Briant, P. (2003) *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre*, Paris: Fayard.
- Briant, P. (2012) *Alexandre des Lumières*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Briant, P. (2020) Bactria in the Achaemenid Empire. The Achaemenid Central State in Bactria (again). In Payne, R. E. and King, R. (eds), *The Limits of Empire in Ancient Afghanistan: Rule and Resistance in the Hindu Kush, circa 600 BCE–600 CE*. *Classica et Orientalia* 24, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 21–44.

- Byron, R. (1937) *The Road to Oxiana*, London: Macmillan & Co, Ltd.
- Carney, E. (1981) The death of Clitus. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 22(2), pp. 149–60.
- Chaffanjon, J. (1899) Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans l'Asie centrale et la Sibérie. *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 9, 55–101.
- Cholet, A. P. (1889) *Excursion en Turkestan et sur la frontière Russo-Afghane*, Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit.
- Chumakova, T. V. (2014) Syuzhet “Voznesenie Aleksandra Makedonskogo na nebo” v drevnerusskoy kul'ture [Topic “Alexander the Great’s Ascension to Heaven” in Ancient Russian Culture]. *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta* [Newsletter of the University of St Petersburg]. Seriya 17: Filosofiya. Konfliktologiya. Kul'turologiya. *Religiovedenie*, 2, 103–107.
- Coloru, O. (2013) Alexander the Great and *Iskander Dhu'l-Qarnayn*: Memory, myth and representation of a conqueror from Iran to South East Asia through the eyes of travel literature. In Stavrianopoulou, E. (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period. Narrations, Practices, and Images*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 389–412.
- Curzon, G. N. (1889) *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question*, London/New York: Longmans.
- Dobson, G. (1890) *Russia’s railway advance into Central Asia. Notes of a journey from St. Petersburg to Samarkand*, London: W. H. Allen & Co.
- Droysen, J. G. (1833) *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, Hamburg: Perthes.
- Dvurechenskaya, N. D. (2018) K metodike polevykh issledovaniy v gornoy mestnosti (na primere èllinisticheskoy kreposti Uzundara). *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii*, 251, p. 168–180.
- Engels, D. W. (1978) *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Falk, H. (2009) The name of Vema Takhtu. In W. Sundermann, et al. (eds.), *Exegisti monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, p. 105–116.
- Ferrari, F. (Philippus Ferrarius) (1677) *Novum Lexicon geographicum*. Isenaci (Eisenach): Sumptibus Iohannis Petri Schmidt.
- Foucher, A. (1947) *La vieille route de l’Inde de Bactres à Taxila II*. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tome 1,2, Paris: Éd. d’Art et d’Histoire.
- Fraser, P. M. (1996) *Cities of Alexander the Great*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Frolov, È. D. (1999) *Russkaya nauka ob antichnosti: Istoriograficheskie ocherki* [Russian science on Antiquity: Historiographical essays], St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo SpbGU.
- Frumkin, G. (1970) *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*. Handbuch der Orientalistik VII / 3, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Gafurov, B. G., and Tsibukidis, D. I. (1980) *Aleksandr Makedonskii i Vostok* [Alexander the Great and the East], Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redakciya vostochnoy literatury.
- Gaullier-Bougassas, C. (ed.) (2014) *La fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (X^e–XVI^e siècle). Réinvention d'un mythe*, 4 vol. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Genequand, C. (1996) Sagesse et pouvoir: Alexandre en Islam. In Bridges, M., and Bürgel, J. C. (eds.), *The Problematics of Power. Eastern and Western Representations of Alexander the Great*, vol. 22, Bern/Frankfurt am Main/New York/Paris/Wien: Peter Lang, 125–133.
- Girard de Rialle, J. (1874) Instructions anthropologiques pour l'Asie centrale. *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie* de Paris, 9, deuxième série [séance du 4 juin 1874], Paris: G. Masson, 417–463.
- Gnucheva, V. F. (1946) *Geograficheskiy departament Akademii Nauk XVIII veka* [Department of Geography of the Academy of Sciences in 18th Century], Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.

- Gorbunov, M. P., and M. K. Rastsvetayev (1934) *Rabota Akademii nauk SSSR v Tadjikskoy SSR* [The work of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the Tajik SSR]. In *Akademiya nauk SSSR respublikam Sredney Azii. 1924–1934. K desyatiletiiyu nacional'nogo razmezhvaniya Sredney Azii* [Academy of Sciences of the USSR to the republics of Central Asia. 1924–1934. On occasion of the decade of national delimitation of Central Asia], Moscow/Leningrad: Izdanie Akademii nauk SSSR, 49–73.
- Gorshenina, S. (1999a) Premiers pas des archéologues russes et français dans le Turkestan russe (1870–1890): méthodes de recherche et destin des collections. *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, 40 (3), 365–384.
- Gorshenina, S. (1999b) V. V. Krestovskiy: “antigeroy” sredneaziatskoy arkheologii? [V. V. Krestovskiy: an “anti-hero” of Central Asian archaeology?]. In *Summary of the colloquium of the Institute of material culture “Cultural heritage of Orient”*, St Petersburg: RAN, 22–26.
- Gorshenina, S. (2012) *Asie centrale. L'invention des frontières et l'héritage russo-soviétique*, Paris: CNRS-Éditions.
- Gorshenina, S. (2014a) *L'invention de l'Asie centrale. Histoire du concept de la Tartarie à l'Eurasie*. Collection: Rayon Histoire no. 4, Genève: Droz.
- Gorshenina, S. (2014b) Samarkand and its cultural heritage: Perceptions and persistence of the Russian colonial construction of monuments. *Central Asian Survey*, special issue on the *Russian Conquest of Central Asia* dir. by Alexander Morrison, (33–2), 246–269.
- Gran-Aymerich, Ève (1998) *Naissance de l'archéologie moderne 1798–1945*, Paris: CNRS Éd.
- Green, P. (1990) *Alexander to Actium: The Hellenistic Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grenet, F. (2004) Maracanda/Samarkand, une métropole pré-mongole. Sources écrites et archéologie. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 5/6, 2004/5 – 59^e année, 1043–1067.
- Grenet, F., and Rapin, C. (2001) Alexander, Aï Khanum, Termez: Remarks on the spring campaign of 328. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series 12, 1998 [=O.Bopearachchi, C. A. Bromberg, and F. Grenet (eds.), *Alexander's Legacy in the East. Studies in Honor of Paul Bernard*], 79–89.
- Grigor'ev, V. V. (1871) *O skifskom narode sakakh* [About the Scythian people of the Sakai], St Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk.
- Grigor'ev, V. V. (1881) *Pokhod Aleksandra Velikogo v zapadnyy Turkestan* (Posvyashchaetsya pamyati M. P. Pogodina) [The campaign of Alexander the Great in West Turkestan (in memory of M. P. Pogodin)]. *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya*, 10, pp. 24–67; 11, pp. 175–208. In *Turkenskii Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], St Petersburg, t. 272, 1–80.
- Hauner, Milan (1992) *What is Asia to Us? Russia's Asian Heartland Yesterday and Today*, London/New York: Routledge.
- Herbelot, B. de Molinville d' (1776) *Bibliothèque orientale*. T. 3 (N–Z), À la Haye: aux dépens de J. Neaulme & N. van Daalen, libraires.
- Holt, F. L. (1999) *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Holt, F. L. (2005) *Into the Land of Bones. Alexander the Great in Afghanistan*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR (1955) Red. S. P. Tol'stov, R. N. Nabiev, Ya. G. Gulyamov, V. A. Shishkin [History of Uzbekistan Soviet Socialist Republic], tom 1.1, Tashkent: Isdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR.
- Jouteur, I., Mervaud, M. (2004) “*Les origines de la Russie*” de Gottlieb Bayer (1741). Tolosae: A. D., coll. Specimina slavica tolosana 9, Toulouse.
- Kagan, Yulia (2010) Alexandre the Great and Heroes of the Trojan Cycle in Cameos from Yekaterinburg. In *The Immortal Alexander the Great. The Myth, the Reality, His Journey, His Legacy, from 18 September 2010 to 18 March 2011, organised by the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg and the Hermitage Amsterdam*. St Petersburg/Amsterdam: Museumshop Hermitage Amsterdam, 300–304.

- Khanykov, N. (1868) Samarkand (rasskaz ochevidca) [Samarkand (witness account)]. *Russkiy invalid* 161. In *Turkestanskiy Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], St Petersburg, t. 7, 197–205.
- Khanykov, N. (1869) Samarkand, traduit du russe par M. P. Voelkel. *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, 3–4, 295–306. In *Turkestanskiy sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], St Petersburg, t. 31, 295–306.
- Khoroshkhin, A. P. (1876) Sbornik statey kasayushchikhsya do Turkestanskogo kraya. Samarkand [Collection of papers on the Turkestan Territory Samarkand], St Petersburg: Tipografiya A. Transhelya. In *Turkestanskiy Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], St Petersburg, vol. 116, 184–237.
- Kiepert, H. (1869) *Atlas Antiquus. Twelve Maps of the Ancient World for the use of Schools and Colleges*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Knight, N. (2000) Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851–1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire? *Slavic Review*, 59, 74–100.
- Komarov, A. V. (1888) Zakaspiyskaya oblast' v arkheologicheskoy otnoshenii (soobshchenie generala A. V. Komarova v Imperatorskom arkheologicheskoy obshchestve) [The Transcaspiian Department from the archaeological point of view (General A. V. Komarov's communication to the Imperial Archaeological Society)], *Novosti* [News], March 2 and 5, 62–65.
- Koshelenko, G. A. (1985) *Afterword to the D. Shlyumberzhe, Ellinizirovanny Vostok*, Moskva: Iskustvo, 187–190.
- Koshelenko, G. A. (1979) *Grecheskiy polis na èllinisticheskoy Vostokey* [The Greek polis in the Hellenistic East], Moscow: Nauka.
- Kovalev, S. I. (1949) Predislovie k perevodu knigi V. Tarna “Èllinisticheskaya civilizatsiya” [Introduction to the translation of W. Tarn's book “Hellenistic Civilisation”]. In Tarn, V. (ed.), *Èllinisticheskaya civilizatsiya*, Moscow: Izdatel'stvo inostrannoy literatury, 5–18.
- Krestovskiy, V. V. (1887) *V gostyakh u èmira Bukharskogo* [At the Emir of Bukhara's house], St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo A. S. Suvorina.
- Krikh, S. B., and Metel', O. V. (2014) *Sovetskaya istoriografiya drevnosti v kontekste mirovoy istoriograficheskoy mysli* [Soviet historiography of antiquity in the context of universal historical ideas], Moscow: Lenand.
- Kruglikova, I. T. (1976) *Drevnyaya Baktriya. Materialy Sovetsko-Afganskoy èkspeditsii 1969–1973* [Ancient Bactria. Materials of the Soviet-Afghan expedition 1969–1973], Moscow: Nauka.
- Lacarrière, J. (2000) *La légende d'Alexandre*, Paris: éd. Du Félin, Philippe Lebaud.
- Lakhtin, G. A. (1990) *Organizatsiya sovetskoy nauki: istoriya i sovremennost'* [Organization of Soviet Science: History and Modernity], Moscow: Nauka.
- Lansdell, H. (1885) *Russian Central Asia: Including Kuldja, Bokhara, Khiva, and Merv*, London: Sampson Low & Co, t. 1.
- Lee, J. R. (1996) *The “ancient supremacy”: Bukhara, Afghanistan and the Battle for Balkh*. 1731–1901, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Leriche, P., and Pidaev, Ch. (2008) *Termez sur Oxus. Cité-capitale d'Asie centrale*, Paris: IFEAC, Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Lidskiy, S. (1889) Velikie zavoevateli Sredney Azii. Aleksandr dvurogiy i Timur khromoy [Great conquerors of Central Asia. Alexander the horned and Timour the lame]. In *Turkestanskiy Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], Tashkent, t. 462, 52–63.
- Litvinskiy, B. A., Pichikyan, I. R. (2000) *Èllinisticheskii khram Oksa v Baktrii (Yuzhnyy Tadzhikistan)* [The Hellenistic Temple of the Oxus in Bactria (Southern Tajikistan)], Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, RAN, t. 1.
- Litvinskiy, B. A., and Ranov, V. A. (1998) *Istoriya Tadzhikskogo naroda*. t. 1. *Drevneyshaya i drevnyaya istoriya* [History of the Tajik people. T. 1 Ancient history], Dushanbe: Akademiya Nauk respubliky Tadzhikistan, Institut istorii, arkheologii i ètnologii im. A. Donisha.

- Lundbaek, K. (1986) *T. S. Bayer (1694–1738): pioneer sinologist*. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies monograph series, 54, London/Malmö: Curzon Press.
- Lur'e, P. V. (2004) *Istoriko-lingvisticheskiy analiz sogdiyskoy toponimii* [Historical and linguistic analysis of Sogdian toponymy]. Dissertation, St Petersburg, 2004.
- Lyonnet, B. (2020) New Insights into Sogdiana during the Classical Period (from the end of the 4th c. BCE to the 3rd c. CE), Iran, pp. 1–19.
- Lyutov, M. (1885) Novaya kniga ob Aleksandre Velikom (Annabazis Arriana) [A new book on Alexander the Great (Arrian's Anabasis)]. In *Turkestanskije Vedomosti* [Turkestan Newsletters], 26. In *Turkestanskiy Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], Tashkent, 457, 58–59.
- Lyutov, M. M. (1890) *Aleksandr Velikiy v Turkestane* [Alexander the Great in Turkestan], Tashkent: Tipo-litografiya S. I. Lakhtina.
- Maev, N. (1872) Dzhizak i Samarkand. Putevye zametki [Jizakh and Samarkand. Travel notes]. In Maev, N. A. (ed.), *Ezhegodnik. Materialy dlya statistiki Turkestanskogo kraya*, vyp. 1, chast' 2, St Petersburg. In *Turkestanskiy Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], St Petersburg, t. 52, 269–287.
- Mairs, R. (2013 [pub. 2014]), The reception of T. S. Bayer's *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani* (1738). *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia*, 4, 255–262.
- Markwart, J. (1929) Kultur und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten. *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Berlin/Leipzig, 9(1), 63–103.
- Martinez-Sève, L. (2015) Ai Khanoum and Greek Domination in Central Asia. *Electrum*, 22, 17–46.
- Masson, M. E. (1972) *V interesakh russkoy gosudarstvennosti* [In the interest of the Russian State]. In M. E. Masson, *Tri epizoda, svyazannyye s samarkandskimi pamyatnikami stariny* [Three episodes related to the ancient monuments of Samarkand], Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 15–20.
- Masson V. M. (2006) Kul'turogenез Drevney Tsentral'noy Azii [Culturogenesis of Ancient Central Asia], St Petersburg/Filologicheskiy fakul'tet SPbGU, Izd. St Petergskogo universiteta.
- Masson, V. M. (1989) *Pervyye tsivilizatsii* [First civilisations], Leningrad: Nauka.
- Meakin, A. M. B. (1903) *In Russian Turkestan; A Garden of Asia and Its People*, London: George Allen.
- Meyendorff, E. K. (1826) *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Boukhara, fait en 1820, à travers les steppes qui s'étendent à l'est de la mer d'Aral et au-delà de l'ancien Jaxartes*; rédigé par Georges de Meyendorff, revu par Amédée Jaubert, Paris: Dondey-Dupré père et fils.
- Meyer, Eduard (1925) *Die Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien*, Berlin: K. Curtius.
- Narain, A. K. (1957) *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Naveh, J., and Shaked, S. (eds.) (2012) *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century BCE) from Khalili Collections*. London: Khalili Family Trust.
- Nora, P. (éd.) (1986) *Les lieux de mémoire. 2. La nation*. Paris: Gallimard, Collection "Bibliothèque illustrée des histoires".
- O'Donovan, E. (1882) *The Merv Oasis. Travels and Adventures East of the Caspian During the Years, 1879–80–81 Including Five Months Residence Among the Tekkes of Merv*, London: Smith, Elder & Co, 2 vols.
- Ostroumov, N. P. (1896) *Iskander-Zul'-Karnayn (Aleksandr Makedonskiy v legendakh narodov Vostoka) (chitano v TKLA)* [Iskandar-Zulkarnein [Dū l-Qarnayn] (Alexander the Great in the legends of the peoples of the East) (reading in the TKLA)], Tashkent: Tipolitografiya trgovogo doma F. i Zh. brat'ev Kamenskikh, 1–22. In *Turkestanskiy Sbornik* [Turkestan Collection], Tashkent, t. 462, 16–27.
- Pekarskiy, P. P. (1870) *Istoriya imperatorskoy Akademii nauk v Peterburge* [History of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg], St Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, t. I.
- Perondinus, P. (1553) *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita*, Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino.

- Perowne, J. T. W. (1898) *Russian Hosts and English Guests in Central Asia*, London: Scientific Publishing, Phillips.
- Pigulevskaya, N. V. (1956) *Goroda Irana v rannem srednevekov'e* [Iran's cities in the early Middle Ages], Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.
- Postnikov, V. V. (2006) *Obraz Aleksandra Makedonskogo v russkoy material'noy kul'ture* [Image of Alexander the Great in Russian material culture]. In *Vestnik VDO RAN* [Newsletter of the Far Eastern Department of the Russian Academy of Sciences], 3, 141–147.
- Pugachenkova, G. A., and L. I. Rempel' (1982) *Ocherki iskusstva Sredney Azii. Drevnost' i srednevekov'ye* [Essays on the art of Central Asia. Antiquity and the Middle Ages], Moscow: Iskusstvo.
- P'yankov, I. V. (1970) Marakandy [Marakanda]. *Vestnik drevnej istorii* [Ancient history bulletin], 1, pp. 32–48.
- P'yankov, I. V. (1982) *Baktriya v antichnoy tradicii (Obchshie dannye o strane: nazvanie i territoriya)* [Bactria in the ancient tradition (General data on the country: nomination and territory)], Dushanbe: Donish.
- P'yankov, I. V. (2013) *Srednyaya Aziya i evraziyskaya step' v drevnosti* [Middle Asia and the Eurasian Steppes in Antiquity], St Petersburg: Linguistic Society of St Petersburg.
- Radet, G. (1924) La valeur historique de Quinte-Curce. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 68^e année, 5, 356–365.
- Ranovich, A. B. (1950) *Èllinizm i ego istoricheskaya rol'* [Hellenism and its historical role], Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR.
- Rapin, C. (2001) L'incompréhensible Asie centrale de la carte de Ptolémée. Propositions pour un décodage. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, 12, 1998, 201–225.
- Rapin, C. (2013) On the way to Roxane: The route of Alexander the Great in Bactria and Sogdiana (328–327 BC). In Lindström, G., Hansen, S., Wiczorek, A., and Tellenbach, M. (eds.), *Zwischen Ost und West. Archäologie in Iran und Turan* 14, Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 43–82.
- Rapin, C. (2014) Du Caucase au Tanaïs: les sources de Quinte-Curce à propos de la route d'Alexandre le Grand en 330–329 av. J.-C. In M. Mahé-Simon and J. Trinquier (eds.), *L'Histoire d'Alexandre selon Quinte-Curce*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 141–186.
- Rapin, C. (2017) Alexandre le Grand en Asie Centrale. Géographie et stratégie de la conquête des Portes Caspiennes à l'Inde. In C. Antonetti and P. Biagi (eds.), *Moving East and Back to West: With Alexander in India and Central Asia*, Oxford: Oxbow, 37–121.
- Rapin, C. (2018a) On the way to Roxane 2: Satraps and hyparchs between Bactra and Zariaspa-Maracanda. In J. Lhuillier, and N. Boroffka (eds.), *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st millennia BC)*, (Archäologie in Iran und Turan, Bd 17; Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, vol. 35), Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 257–298.
- Rapin, C. (2018b) How Alexander entered India, with a note on Ortospāna (the ancient name of Ghazni?), by F. Grenet, Afghanistan. *The Journal of the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies*, 1(1), 141–181.
- Rapin, C. (2018c) Aux origines de la cartographie: l'empire achéménide sous Darius I et Xerxès. In M. Minardi and A. Ivantchik (eds.), *Special Volume: Ancient Chorasmia, Central Asia and the Steppes*, Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia 24, Leiden: Brill, 1–67.
- Rapin, C. (2020) *Pokhod Aleksandra Makedonskogo ot Baktr do Marakand/Zariasp: granicy Sogdiany v istoricheskoy geografii* [Alexander the Great from Bactra to Maracanda/Zariaspa: the borders of Sogdiana in historical geography]. In *Istoriya i Arkheologiya Turana*, vol. 6, Samarkand (in print).
- Rapin, C., Baud, A., Grenet, F., and Rakhmanov, Sh. (2006) Les recherches sur la région des Portes de Fer de Sogdiane: bref état des questions en 2005. *Istoriya material'noy kul'tury*

- Uzbekistana* [History of the material culture of Uzbekistan], 35, 91–101 (in Russian); 102–112 (in French).
- Rempel', L. I. (1978a) Nekotorye cherty istoricheskogo razvitiya iskusstva Sredney Azii [Some features of the historical development of art in Central Asia], *Iskusstvo Srednego Vostoka* [Art of the Middle East], Moscow: Sovetskiy khudozhnik.
- Rempel', L. I. (1978b) Uzlovye voprosy izucheniya iskusstva srednevekovoy Sredney Azii [Key issues of studying the art of Medieval Central Asia], *Iskusstvo Srednego Vostoka* [Art of the Middle East], Moscow: Sovetskiy khudozhnik, pp. 21–33.
- Rempel', L. I. (1984) Izobrazitel'nyy kanon i stilistika form na Srednem Vostoke [Visuel canon and stylistics of forms in the Middle East], *Iz istorii zhivopisi Sredney Azii. Traditsii i novatorstvo* [From the history of painting in Central Asia. Tradition and Innovation], Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Gafura Gulyama.
- Ripoll, F. (2009) Les intentions de Quinte Curce dans le récit du meurtre de Clitus (VIII, 1, 19–52). *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 1, 120–142.
- Rostovtsev, M. I. (1918) *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na yuge Rossii* [Hellenism and Iranism in Southern Russia], Petrograd: Ognii.
- Rostovtzeff, M. (1941) *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, v. I–III, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rtveladze, È. V. (1998) Monety na Velikom Shelkovom puti [Coins of the Great Silk Road], *Numizmatika TSentral'noy Azii* [Numismatics of Central Asia], vyp. 3, 5–17.
- Rtveladze, È. V. (2002) *Aleksandr Makedonskiy v Baktrii i Sogdiane* [Alexander the Great in Bactria and Sogdiana]. Akademiya iskusstv respubliki Uzbekistan, Tashkent: Institut iskustvoznaniya.
- Rtveladze, È. V. (2012) *Velikiy indijskiy put'*. *Iz istorii vazhneyshikh trgovykh dorog Evrazii* [The Great Indian Road. From the History of the Most Important Trade Routes of Eurasia], St Petersburg: Nestor-Historia.
- Rtveladze, È. V. (2017) *Kampyrtepa – Aleksandriya Oksianskaya: gorod-krepost' na beregu oksa v èllinisticheskoe i postèllinisticheskoe vremya (konets IV v. do n.è.–I v. do n.è.)* [Kampyrtepa – Alexandria Oxiana: the city and fortress on the Oxus in the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic epochs (from late 4th till 1st century BC)]. *Materialy Tokharistanskoy Èkspeditsii. Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya Kampyrtepa 10*, Tashkent: Publishing house “San'at”.
- Rtveladze, È. V. (2019a) *Aleksandr Makedonskiy v Transoksiane. Pokhody. Istoricheskaya geografiya* [Alexander the Great in Transoxiana. Expeditions. Historical geography], St Petersburg: Evraziya.
- Rtveladze, È. V. (2019b) *Aleksandriya Oksianskaya-Kampyrtepa. Gorod-krepost' na beregu Oksa* [Alexandria Oxiana-Kampyrtepa. Forteress-city on the banks of the Oxus], Tashkent: Nacional'naya Biblioteka.
- Sagdullaev, A. S. (1993) *Ognennyye strely* [Fire arrows], Tashkent: “Universitet”.
- Sagdullaev, A. S. (2007) *Pokhod Aleksandra Makedonskogo v Sogdianu* [The campaign of Alexander the Great in Sogdiana], Tashkent: Centr Novoy istorii.
- Sarianidi W. (2002) Ancient Oriental Kingdom in the Old Delta of the Murghab river, Ashgabat: Türkmen döwlethabarlary.
- Schlumberger, D. (1960) Descendants non-méditerranéens de l'art grec. *Syria*, 37, 131–166 and 253–319.
- Schlumberger, D. (1970) *L'Orient hellénisé. L'art grec et ses héritiers dans l'Asie non méditerranéenne*, Paris: Éditions Albin Michel.
- Schuyler, E. (1877) *Turkestan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja*, London/New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co, 2 vols.
- Schwarz, F. von (1893) *Alexander des Grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan*, München: Dr. E. Wolff & Dr. H. Lüneburg.

- Semenov, A. A. (1957) *Nechto o sredneaziatskikh gemmakh, ikh lyubitelyakh i sobiratelyakh* (Iz vospominaniy proshlogo) [Some data on Central Asian gems, their amateurs and collectors (memories of the past)]. *Izvestiya otdeleniya obshchestvennykh nauk AN TadzhSSR* [News from the Department of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan], 14, 143–155.
- Shastov, A. I. (1934) *Rabota Akademii nauk SSSR v Karakalpakskoy ASSR* [Work of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. In *Akademiiyа nauk SSSR respublikam Sredney Azii. 1924–1934. K desyatiletiyu nacional'nogo razmezhvaniya Sredney Azii* [Academy of Sciences of the USSR to the republics of Central Asia. 1924–1934. On the occasion of decade of national delimitation of Central Asia], Moscow/Leningrad: Izdanie Akademii nauk SSSR, 169–190.
- Shishkin, V. A. (1961) *Uzbekistanskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya AN UzSSR (polevye raboty 1956–1959 gg.)* [Uzbekistan Archaeological Expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic (1956–1959 excavation work)]. *Istoriya material'noy kul'tury Uzbekistana* [History of the material culture of Uzbekistan], Tashkent, 2, 18–50.
- Shlyumberzhe, D. (1985) *Ellinizirovannyi Vostok. Grecheskoe iskusstvo i ego nasledniki v nesredizemnomorskoy Azii* [Hellenized East. Greek art and its heirs in non-Mediterranean Asia], Moscow: Iskusstvo.
- Shofman, A. S. (1976) *Vostochnaya politika Aleksandra Makedonskogo* [Alexander the Great's Eastern Politics], Kazan': Izdatel'stvo kazanskogo universiteta.
- Simon, G. (1991) *Nationalism and Policy Toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union: From Totalitarian Dictatorship to Post-Stalinist Society*. Transl. by Karen Forster and Oswald Forster, Boulder/San Francisco/Oxford: Westview Press.
- Southard, R. (1995) *Droysen and the Prussian School of History*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Southgate, M. S. (1978) *Iskandarnamah: A Persian Medieval Alexander Romance*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Stavitskiy, B.Ya. (1966) *Mezhdu Pamirom i Kaspiem* [Between Pamir and Caspian], Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redatsiya vostochnoy literatury.
- Stavitskiy, B.Ya. (1977) *Kushanskaya Baktriya: problemy istorii i kul'tury* [Kushan Bactria: historical and cultural problems], Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaya redatsiya vostochnoy literatury.
- Stavisky, B. Ya. (1986) *La Bactriane sous les Kushans: problèmes d'histoire et de culture*, Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Jean Maisonneuve. (Translation of the Russian edition of 1977.)
- Stoneman, R., Erickson, K., and Netton, I. (eds.) (2012) *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*. Ancient narrative. Supplementum 15, Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing Group, Groningen Univ. Library.
- Sverchkov, L. M. (2008) The Kurganzol Fortress (on the History of Central Asia in the Hellenistic Era). *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 14, 123–191.
- Sverchkov, L. M. (2013) *Kurganzol – krepost' Aleksandra na yuge Uzbekistana* [Kurganzol - Alexander's fortress in southern Uzbekistan], Tashkent: SMI-ASIA.
- Tarn, V. (1949) *Ellinisticheskaya civilizatsiya*, Moscow: Izdatel'stvo inostrannoy literatury.
- Tolstov, S. P. (1940) Pod'em i krushenie imperii ellinisticheskogo 'Dal'nego Vostoka' [The rise and fall of the Hellenistic 'Far East' empire], *Vestnik drevney istorii* [Ancient history bulletin], 3–4, 194–209.
- Tomaschek, W. (1877) *Centralasiatische Studien. I. Sogdiana. Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, 87, Wien.
- The Immortal Alexander the Great. The Myth, the Reality, His Journey, His Legacy, from 18 September 2010 to 18 March 2011, organised by the State Hermitage Museum in St*

- Petersburg and the Hermitage Amsterdam*. St Petersburg, Amsterdam: Museumshop Hermitage Amsterdam.
- Trever, K. V. (1940) *Pamyatniki greko-baktriyskogo iskusstva* [Monuments of Graeco-Bactrian art]. Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.
- Trever, K. V. (1950) *Kushanskoe tsarstvo (I–IV vv.)*. izd. AN UzSSR [History of the peoples of Uzbekistan]. Tashkent: Archaeological Institute of Uzbekistan, vol. 1, part 4, 117–124.
- Vasil'yev, V. N. (1934) *Rabota Akademii nauk SSSR v Turkmenskoy SSR* [The work of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the Turkmen SSR]. In *Akademiya nauk SSSR respublikam Sredney Azii. 1924–1934. K desyatiletiiyu nacional'nogo razmezhvaniya Sredney Azii* [Academy of Sciences of the USSR to the republics of Central Asia. 1924–1934. On the occasion of the decade of national delimitation of Central Asia]. Moskva/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 11–30.
- Veselovskiy, N. V. (1887) *Sushchestvuyut li v Sredney Azii poddelki drevnostey?* [Are there any fake antiquities in Central Asia?]. In *ZVOIRAO*, Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, St Petersburg, t. 1, vyp. 2, 110–114.
- Veselovskiy, N. V. (1894) *Recenziya na knigu Franz v. Schwarz “Alexander des Grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan”* [Review of Franz v. Schwarz's book “Alexander des Grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan”], 1893. In *ZVOIRAO*, Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, St Petersburg, t. VIII, vyp. 3–4, 375–376.
- Vyatkin, V. L. (1926) *Afrosiab – gorodishche bylogo Samarkanda* (on the cover: *Gorodishche Afrasiab*) [Afrosiab - city of the Samarkand of yesterday], Tashkent: Izdanie Glavnauki Narkomprossa UzSSR.
- Westrem, S. (2001) *The Hereford Map. A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary* (Terrarum Orbis. History of the Representations of Space in Text and Image), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Wu, X. (2018) Exploiting the Virgin Land: Kyzyltepa and the effects of the Achaemenid Persian Empire on its Central Asian frontier. In J. Lhuillier, and N. Boroffka (eds.), *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st millennia BC)* (Archäologie in Iran und Turan, Bd 17; Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, vol. 35), Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 189–214.
- Zel'in, K. K. (1953) *Osnovnye cherty ellinizma* [Main features of Hellenism]. In *Vestnik drevney istorii* [Ancient history bulletin], 4, 145–156.
- Zel'in, K. K. (1955) *Nekotorye osnovnye problemy istorii ellinizma* [Some essential problems the history of Hellenism]. *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* [Soviet Archaeology], t. XXII, 99–108.
- Zeymal', E. V. (1983) *Drevniye monety Tadzhikistana* [Ancient coins of Tajikistan], Dushanbe: Donish.
- Zhukovskiy, V. A. (1894) *Drevnosti Zakaspiyskogo kraya. Razvaliny Starogo Merva* [Antiques from the Transcaspien Territory. Ruins of the old Merv]. In *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii, izdavaemye Imperatorskoyu arkheologicheskoyu komissieyu* [Materials on the archaeology of Russia published by the Imperial Archaeological Commission], no 16, St Petersburg: Tipografiya Glavnogo Upravleniya Udelov.
- Zuwiyya, Z. D. (2001) *Islamic Legends Concerning Alexander the Great, Taken from Two Medieval Arabic Manuscripts in Madrid*, Binghamton/New York: Global Academic Publishing.
- ZVOIRAO (1901) t. XIII, vyp. 1, 4, 2–3, pod redakciey V. P. Rozena, Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, St Petersburg.
- ZVOIRAO (1903) t. XV, vyp. 1, pod redakciey V. P. Rozena, Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, St Petersburg.
- ZVOIRAO (1907) t. XVIII, vyp. 1, pod redakciey V. P. Rozena, Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, St Petersburg.

PART III

REGIONAL

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CHAPTER 10

AFGHAN BACTRIA



Laurianne Martinez-Sève

Afghan Bactria with the two large cities of Bactra and Ai Khanoum was the core of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and one of the wealthiest regions in Central Asia (Figure 10.1). Two geographical zones can be identified on either side of the Kunduz River, western and eastern Bactria. To the west (Figure 10.2), a vast foothill area is occupied by a number of oases extending where various rivers emerge from the Hindu Kush Mountains to join the Amu Darya, but fail to reach it. Their presence facilitated travel along the main road that arrived from western countries. From the current western city of Maimana, this road successively reached the oases of Andkhoi and Shibergan, the one of Bactra passing through the area of Aqcha and finally the oasis of Khulm/Tashkurgan. These oases were separated from the Amu Darya Valley by a desert dune area 20 to 30 kilometres wide – more near the Andkhoi Oasis – making communication with the river difficult.

To the east of the Kunduz River extends the hillier eastern Bactria, bordered by the Hindu Kush to the south, and the Badakhshan and Pamir to the east and north (Figure 10.3). The Afghan side is bounded to the north and east by the Panj River, which forms the upper reaches of the Amu Darya. The Panj becomes the Amu Darya after joining its waters with those of the Wakhsh, about 15 kilometres upstream from the confluence with the Kunduz River. The Panj, which originates from the junction between the Wakhan and Pamir rivers, is the main river in eastern Bactria, fed by several tributaries: in addition to the Kyzyl Su flowing in Tajikistan, the two main ones on the left bank are the Kokcha, which originates in Badakhshan, and the Kunduz River. The first probably occurs under the name Dargoidos in Ptolemy, and the second as the Dargomenes (*Geography* 6.11.2). The Panj is often equated with the Oxus, probably wrongly. The Oxus corresponds rather to the Wakhsh, whose name is the current transcription of the Iranian word *Waxšu*, which the Greeks transcribed as Ὠξός. The Panj is the former Ochus, a name that has been passed on to the Wakhan River (Grenet, Rapin 2001; Rapin 2013). The Kunduz River is the last tributary on the right bank that manages to reach the Amu Darya. Taking its source in the Hindu Kush about 20 kilometres from Bamiyan, it flows through the Baghlan and then the Kunduz Plains, before receiving the waters of the Khanabad River about 30 kilometres after Kunduz. This hydrographic network constitutes the main communication axis of the region.

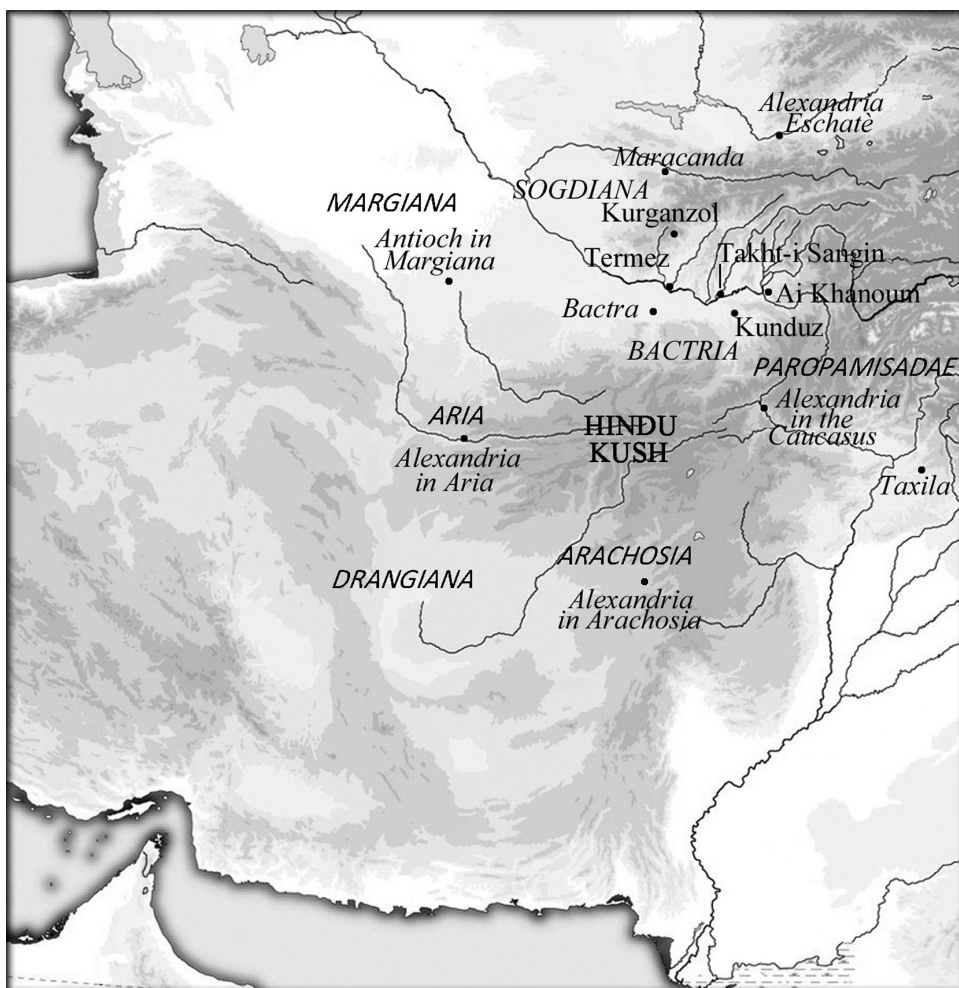


Figure 10.1 Map of Hellenistic Central Asia (Ancient cities are shown in italics, modern cities are show in roman / L. Martinez-Sève).

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The first scientific exploration of Afghan Bactria was conducted by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA), founded in 1922 to search for material evidence of the Greek presence in Afghanistan (Olivier-Utard 1997; A. Fenet in this volume). A. Foucher, the first director, was given the task of excavating Bactra, regarded as the main centre of Greek power. His stay was difficult and the results unconvincing even if he reached Greek or Kushan layers in a deep sounding (Foucher 1942; Bernard 2007). The following excavations by D. Schlumberger in 1947 and 1948 mainly resulted in the collection of large amounts of pottery studied by J. C. Gardin, who proposed the first chronology of the city (Schlumberger 1949; Gardin 1957). At the same time, M. Le Berre, architect of the DAFA, began a survey

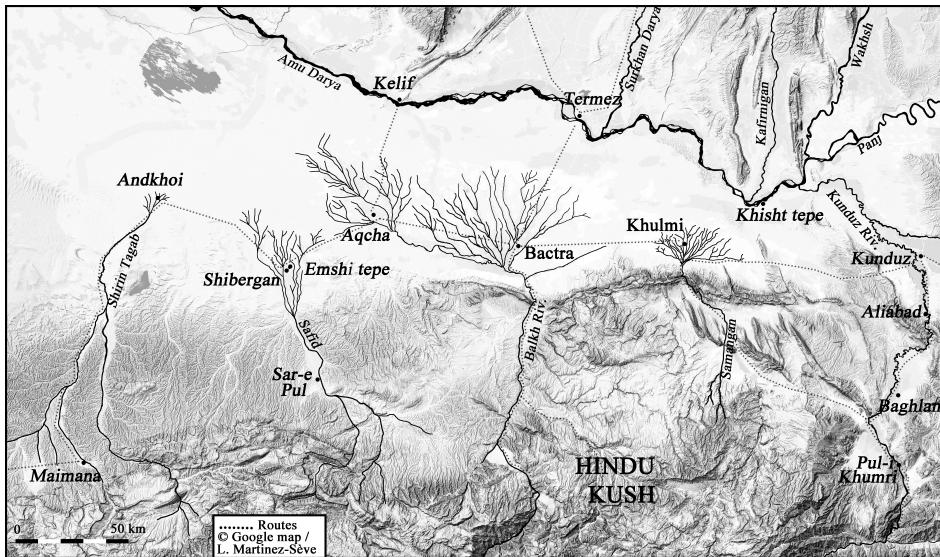


Figure 10.2 Map of Western Bactria (Google map / L. Martinez-Sève).

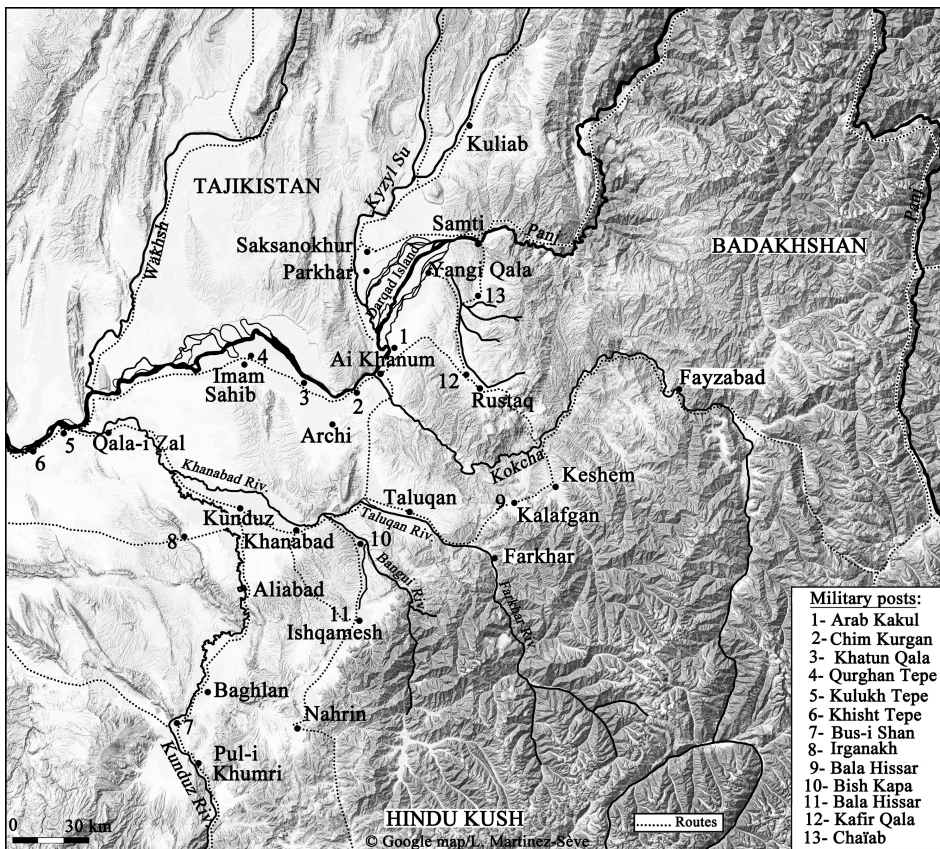


Figure 10.3 Map of Eastern Bactria (Google map / L. Martinez-Sève).

of the oasis to draw up an archaeological map. This project was made in response to a request from the Afghan State and remained on the agenda of the DAFA's activities without being completed (Olivier-Utard 1997, 172–175). Research then focused on the ramparts. In 1953, R. Young made a trench in the southern rampart of the lower city, without adding any new information for the Hellenistic period (Young 1955). M. Le Berre studied the fortifications in 1955 and 1956 and gave an initial overview of the evolution of the city's boundaries (Le Berre, Schlumberger 1964).

Despite these disappointing results, the DAFA reactivated the exploration of Bactra after being refounded in 2002 and has conducted several campaigns since 2004. The new excavations were productive, though they did not reveal any *in situ* architectural remains from the Hellenistic period (Bernard, Besenval, Marquis 2006; Besenval, Marquis 2007; Besenval, Marquis 2008; Fouache, Marquis, Besenval 2009; Besenval, Engel, Marquis 2011; Marquis 2018; Lhuillier, Bendezu-Sarmiento, Marquis forthcoming). The survey of the surrounding oasis was also continued with the aim of reconstructing the changes in the course of the Bactra River and the stages of the development of the irrigation network (Fouache, Marquis, Besenval 2009, 1033–1061; Fouache et al 2012; Marquis 2018).

However, from 1952 to 1963, the DAFA had redirected its efforts to the large Kushan site of Surkh Kotal. But the discovery in 1961 of Ai Khanoum during a hunt by King Mohammad Zaher Shah finally gave the opportunity to uncover the much sought-after Greek city. This site had been visited by the Scottish explorer John Wood in 1838 and by the French archaeologist Jules Barthoux in 1926, but it was only after the first excavations that its importance became clear. They were conducted under the direction of P. Bernard, from 1964 until 1978, and revealed the city's main monuments (Bernard 2009; Lecuyot 2014). From 1974 onward, the investigation was broadened to include a survey of the surrounding territory and a paleogeographic study. Three campaigns took place in 1974, 1975 and 1976 under the direction of J. C. Gardin and with the collaboration of B. Lyonnet, H. P. Francfort and the geographer P. Gentelle (Gardin, Gentelle 1976; Gentelle 1978). The results prompted the extension of the survey area to all of eastern Bactria. Two of the three planned additional missions were organised in 1977 and 1978 (Gentelle 1989; Lyonnet 1997, 26; Gardin 1998). But the deterioration of Afghanistan's political situation stopped the DAFA's field work.

The other foreign archaeological missions suffered the same fate. After 1945, the DAFA had lost its exclusive rights in Afghanistan and other missions were allowed to operate (Lyonnet 1997, 23–25; Olivier-Utard 1997, 169–171; Gardin 1998; Ball 2019, Appendix 3). The Soviet-Afghan archaeological mission, which was active between 1969 and 1979 under the direction of I.T. Kruglikova, obtained the most remarkable results. Each year, surveys were carried out over a vast territory between Herat and Baghlan to draw up an archaeological map (Pugachenkova 1976, 16 for the oasis of Bactra; Staviskij 1986, 92–94; Koshelenko, Munchaev, Gaibov 2010; 2014). Important sites were identified and sometimes excavated both in the oasis of Bactra (Dilberjin and Jagat/Jigat tepe, for example) and the one of Shibergan (Tillja tepe and Emshi tepe). Their publication remained incomplete for a while, even though numerous studies have provided much information (Kruglikova 1973; 1974; 1976; 1979; 1984; Kruglikova, Pugachenkova 1977). They have been supplemented by new studies that specify certain datings and give more detail (Kruglikova 1986; 1999; 2001; 2004; 2005).

THE CONQUEST OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

When Alexander the Great crossed the Hindu Kush in the spring of 329 BC in pursuit of the satrap Bessos, he entered one of the richest regions of the Achaemenid Empire. The Achaemenid archives of Bactra reveal that it was firmly controlled, which is also confirmed by the most recent results of archaeology (Naveh, Shaked 2012; Henkelman 2018; Lhuillier 2018; Wu in this volume). According to Arrian, Alexander went to Bactra by a road that led him successively to Drapsaca and Aornos, which he seized (*Anabasis* 3.29.1). These three cities were for Arrian the main ones in Bactria (αἱ δὴ μέγισταί εἰσι πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βακτρίῳ χώρῃ). Aornos is often located at Khulm/Tashkurgan, although this is not unanimously accepted (Bernard 1996, 475–483), and Drapsaca at Kunduz. The archives from Bactra allow us to reconsider these identifications. They repeatedly mention the administrative centre of Khulmi. Since it cannot be placed elsewhere than in Khulm/Tashkurgan, we can no longer identify this city as Aornos. These documents also mention Aornos under the name of Warnu, which is also found in a Bactrian manuscript from the 8th century AD. This name refers to the one Qunduz had in medieval times: Warwaliz (Sims-Williams 2000; Naveh, Shaked, 2012, 19–22). Thus, if Qunduz was Aornos, it cannot be Drapsaca. The latter identification was uncertain in any case, as Drapsaca seems to be mentioned in the royal inscription of Surkh Kotal and is located closer to this dynastic sanctuary than Kunduz (Grenet 1995). Neither the plain south of Kunduz nor the Baghlan Plain near Surkh Kotal appear to have been densely inhabited during the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods (Ball 2019, maps 5–8), but they were never really surveyed. The only appropriate site for placing Drapsaca, considering that it was a rather important city, is Aliabad, located at the northern foot of the mountains between the Kunduz and Baghlan plains (Ball 2019, no. 29). The triangular site, protected by a massive rampart with several gates, extended over an area of about 20 hectares. It was strategically located on a natural hill overlooking the Kunduz River, protected by a meander, and controlled the road following the river. It seems to be occupied since the Bronze Age. Arriving near the current Pul-i Khumri from the high passes of the Hindu Kush, Alexander thus took the main road to Bactra, which was longer than the one going directly to Khulm/Tashkurgan through the mountainous areas (fig. 10.2). This choice enabled him to seize two strategic sites, Drapsaca/Aliabad and Aornos/Qunduz, and to control this major axis by leaving troops to guard his rear.

Alexander then arrived safely at Bactra from where he quickly left in pursuit of Bessos. He easily obtained the submission of the city since most of the operations were concentrated in the territories north of the Oxus. Alexander went back to Bactra in winter 329–328 BC and did not return until 327 BC, before leaving for India. This is all the more true if we accept, as C. Rapin recently argued, that Zariaspa was not Bactra referred to under another name, but Maracanda, the main city of Sogdiana (Rapin 2018, 263–270). In this case, the only military operations that took place in Bactria were carried out in eastern Bactria during the spring of 328 BC. Alexander is known to have first crossed the Ochus River (Panj) and then the Oxus River (Wakhsh) before entering into Sogdiana, perhaps in the area of the upcoming Ai Khanoum (Rapin 2013, 46–54; 2018, 286). Before the founding of this city, the largest settlement was Kohna Qala on the banks of the Panj, less than two kilometres

to the north of Ai Khanoum. Unfortunately, the site has not been excavated by the DAFA. Semi-circular in plan, it was protected by two successive lines of ramparts and included a citadel more than 20 metres high that dominated the river. The total area was 25 hectares (Gardin 1998, 136–137, fig. 3.5; Ball 2019 no. 631). The Dasht-i Qala Plain, where Kohna Qala was located, was then almost entirely exploited thanks to an irrigation network developed since the Bronze Age and expanded during the first half of the 1st millennium BC (Gentelle 1989). The neighbouring plains were also intensively exploited, sometimes on almost all cultivable lands (Gardin 1998, 109–112). Like Khulmi, Drapsaca and Aornos, this establishment was a centre of Achaemenid power in Bactria, and Alexander had to seize it. Kohna Qala was also located near a ford to cross the Panj (Gardin, Gentelle 1976, 78–79). Perhaps this is where the city of *Oskobara should be located, unless this toponym designated Ai Khanoum itself (Rapin 2005, 146–147). Alexander probably also left a garrison there. On the other hand, there is no evidence that he founded an Alexandria at this place. Ai Khanoum is often identified as Alexandria Oxiana, mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geography* 6.12.6; Fraser 1996, 153–156; Cohen 2013, 269–271), but the hypothesis is no longer possible if the Panj River is identified with the Ochus and not the Oxus. This Alexandria, if real, must be placed elsewhere (Martinez-Sève 2015, 20–26). Stephanus of Byzantium also mentions an Alexandria near Bactra (κατὰ Βάκτρα; *sv. Alexandreia*) that should be placed in Bactria, but its existence remains doubtful (Cohen 2013, 262).

BACTRA AND AI KHANOUM, TWO CAPITAL CITIES

For most scholars, Bactra retained the status it had during the Achaemenid period and became the main capital of the Seleukid and then Graeco-Bactrian kings. But the foundation of the large city of Ai Khanoum probably modified the administrative and political organization in Bactria (Martinez-Sève 2015, 28–30). Ai Khanoum was indeed conceived as a royal city, extending over a very large area of 150 hectares, much larger than those of Drapsaca, Aornos or Khulmi which probably remained inhabited.

Ai Khanoum

The foundation of the city of Ai Khanoum, located at the confluence between the Panj and the Kokcha rivers, was a major historical event in eastern Bactria (Martinez-Sève 2015). The site, triangular in shape (1800 metres by 1500 metres), extended from the foot of an acropolis about 60 metres high (Figure 10.4). The excavations were concentrated in the lower town where some private residences were exhumed as well as several public buildings: palace, propylaea, gymnasium, theatre, sanctuaries, mausoleums, arsenal and fountain. Only a few excavations were opened on the upper town from 1975 onwards. Rich material was also collected, including a considerable mass of ceramics. As these constructions were easy to reach because they were not very deeply buried below the surface, extensive excavations were carried out to obtain a general plan (Bernard 2009). Many results have been published (Mairs 2011, 26–28, 49; see also Lecuyot 2014 and P. Bernard's bibliography in Martinez-Sève, Sève 2016). The first volume presented the work undertaken between

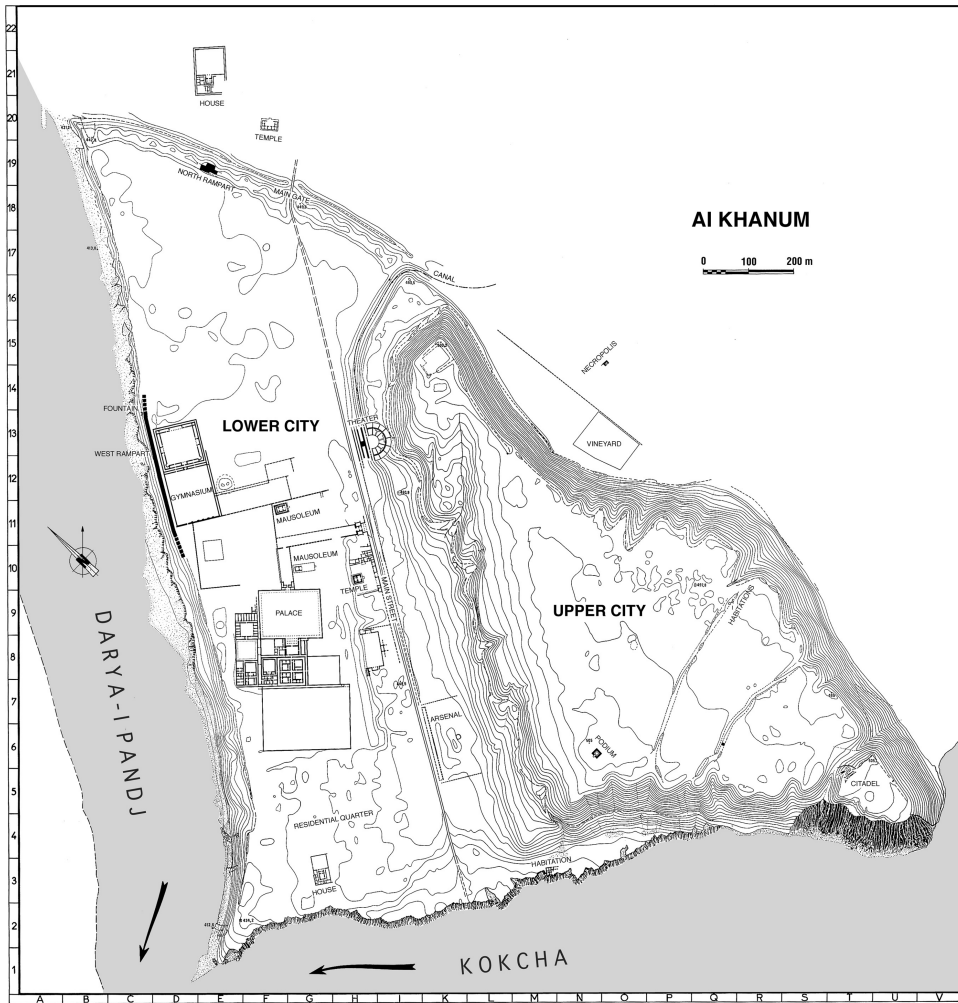


Figure 10.4 Plan of Ai Khanoum (DAFA / J. C. Liger – G. Lecuyot).

1965 and 1968 at the palace and the Heroon of Kineas, the tomb of an important figure (Bernard et al. 1973). Seven other volumes concern the propylaea (Guillaume 1983), the fortifications (Leriche 1986), the gymnasium (Veuve 1987), the palace treasury (Rapin 1992), the objects coming from the sanctuary of the lower town (Francfort 1984), the coins found during the excavation (Bernard 1985) and the objects coming from various areas of the city (Guillaume, Rougeulle 1987). All the excavation campaigns gave rise to preliminary reports, published in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (CRAI) and in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (BEFEO). Although slowed down for several years, research continues as evidenced by the publication on the habitat by G. Lecuyot (Lecuyot 2013; Lecuyot in this volume) and the study of the main sanctuary (Martinez-Sève 2018b; forthcoming a; forthcoming b; forthcoming c).

These discoveries were all the more sensational as they highlighted the strength of the links that the inhabitants of the city maintained with the Greek world and its culture. They were attached to distinctive practices such as bathing, and decorated their monuments with Corinthian or Doric colonnades, tiles and antefixes. About 50 inscriptions attest that they used fine Greek and received a scholarly and literary education (Rougemont 2012, nos. 97–150). In the decades following its discovery, Ai Khanoum was therefore considered as a centre for the conservation and even diffusion of Greek culture, and as a case study for cultural contacts, then essentially understood in terms of Hellenization. Since the historiographical renewal initiated by postcolonial studies, the understanding of these phenomena has become more precise. These studies highlight the ability of people to reappropriate and redesign foreign cultural elements, which gives rise to mixing and hybridization situations. An attempt is also made to define what Greek culture could have represented for Central Asian populations (Rougemont 2014; Mairs 2014, 57–101; 2015; and in this volume; Martinez-Sève 2016).

Recent work also enabled the chronology of the city to be clarified, using coins and ceramics (Kritt 1996; 2001; 2016; Lerner 2003/4; 2005; 2010; Lyonnet 2012; 2013; Martinez-Sève 2015). Because B. Lyonnet was able to refine the pottery classification, the ceramic produced during the 3rd century is now easier to distinguish from that of the 2nd century BC. First vases predominated which were made with the same fabric as during the Achaemenid period according to ancient techniques. Some “Achaemenid” shapes were still produced but most were new vases, adapted to individual uses, which reflects an evolution in consumption patterns and social practices. A profound renewal took place at the beginning of the 2nd century BC, during Period IV of the ceramic typology. The shapes became more varied and enriched by luxurious vases, sometimes very similar to those produced in Mediterranean regions, including Megarian bowls for example. Manufacturing techniques also underwent transformations which caused changes in the colour and appearance of the fabric.

It now appears that the city’s oldest known monuments do not predate the reign of Antiochos I, who played an essential role in its foundation and construction. The town was conceived as a large royal city, called to play an essential role in ensuring Seleukid domination in Bactria. But except for the lower city sanctuary, the Heroon of Kineas and the ramparts, none of the excavated buildings can be dated to this period, including the palace. Most of them were built or reconstructed at the time when Ai Khanoum became a Graeco-Bactrian kings’ residence, more precisely during the reign of Eukratides I, who may have used it as his main capital under the name of Eukratideia. The town underwent a major population growth and was then conceived as one of the great capitals of the Hellenistic world, provided with a royal district including a very large palace, a theatre and a gymnasium (Nielsen 1999; Martinez-Sève 2014). We also have a better understanding of the end of the city, which was probably occupied longer than the 145 BC date originally suggested (Martinez-Sève 2018a). The city’s growth is also marked by the development of a large suburban area, as evidenced by H. P. Francfort (Gardin 1998, 41–42, fig. 3.4). The urban area itself extended beyond the ramparts along the roads leading to the city. This area was densely occupied and covered nearly 150 hectares, doubling the size of the city (Figure 10.7). Further on, there was an even larger semi-urban area

covering nearly 300 hectares, occupied by gardens, orchards but also villas, smaller houses and probably other kinds of buildings.

Bactra

The agglomeration of Bactra included a lower town that reached its largest area after the Hellenistic period (more than 400 hectares) and an upper town known as the Bala Hissar, which was circular in shape and extended over approximately 120 hectares (Figure 10.5). The latter was powerfully fortified, with a citadel in its southeastern part (Staviskij 1986, 263–264). According to M. Le Berre, the earliest city dated back to the Greek period (City I) and included the upper town and Tepe Zargaran, located in an isolated position to the southeast (Le Berre, Schlumberger 1964). A relatively small lower town protected by a rampart would have been formed in a second phase, with Tepe Zargaran remaining outside the fortified area. The new excavations have led to revise these conclusions. They showed that the Bala Hissar was occupied at least from the second half of the 2nd millennium BC, even possibly earlier. The lower city may have extended over a larger area as early as the Achaemenid period (Marquis 2018, 164), but some elements could suggest that the fortifications were built at the beginning of the Hellenistic one (Lhuillier, Bendezu-Sarmiento, Marquis forthcoming). The Hellenistic city developed south and southeast of the Bala Hissar

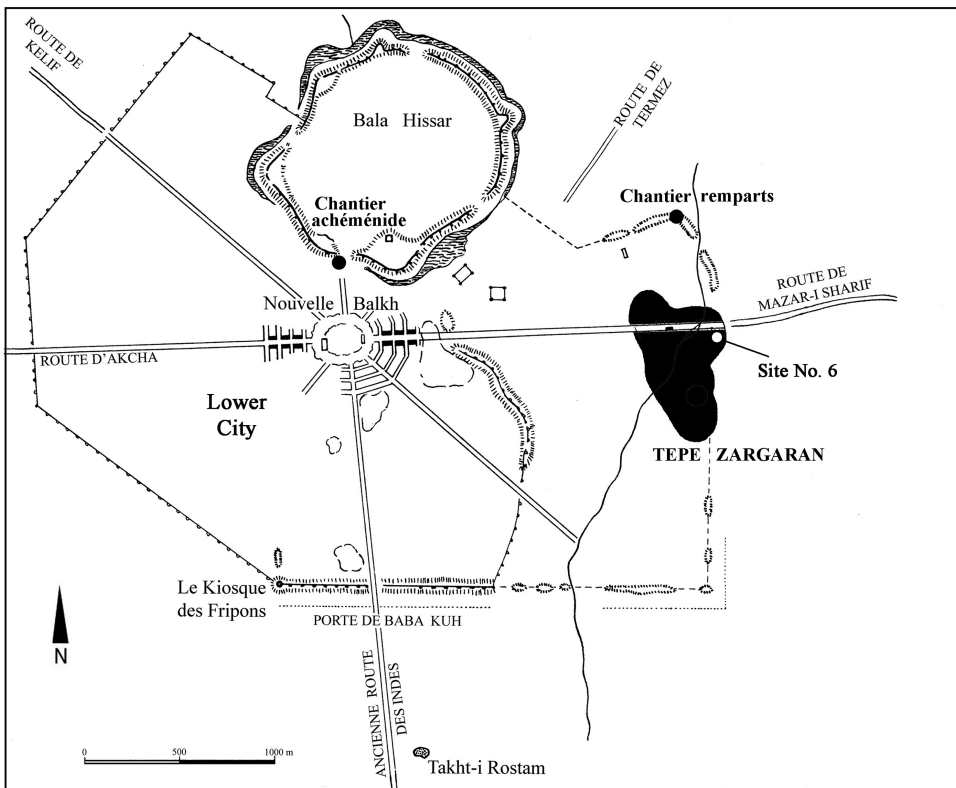


Figure 10.5 Plan of Bactra (DAFA / M. Le Berre).

and included Tepe Zargaran within its boundaries (Marquis 2018, 166–168). These excavations have also confirmed the importance of this tepe, where Greek occupation levels were identified in the eastern sector (Site 6), but not excavated (Fouache, Marquis, Besenval 2009, 1019–1021). In a deep sounding, these layers surmounted human bones taken from the bodies of at least eight individuals and mixed with animal bones. This assemblage was placed in a funeral pit at the end of the Achaemenid period or at the very beginning of the Hellenistic one and testifies to the persistence of Central Asian funeral practices (Bendezu-Sarmiento et al. 2018). The discovery of carved stone blocks, including several Corinthian and Ionic capitals, an Attic base and even an Ephesian one (Figure 10.6), also shows that Tepe Zargaran was an important sector of Bactra in Hellenistic times. Prestigious public monuments decorated in the Greek style were built there, probably by the kings themselves. They were dismantled under the Kushan kings to form the banks of a canal (Besenval, Bernard, Jarrige, 2002, 1403–1411; Bernard, Besenval, Marquis 2006, 1178, 1188–1206).

These excavations have also helped to improve pottery classification (Maxwell-Jones 2015; also Houal 2016). Despite sharing many common characteristics with the pottery found in Ai Khanoum, the pottery of Bactra differs in several respects. Vases made of grey-black paste, that appeared during Period IV of Ai Khanoum and were produced from the beginning of the 2nd century BC, are more unusual, such as luxurious vases in general. Megarian bowls, for example, are unknown. The forms are also less varied. The material of Ai Khanoum therefore seems exceptional (Maxwell-Jones 2015, 495), which may be due to the peculiar status of the city during the Graeco-Bactrian period. However, we need to remain cautious since very little is known about Hellenistic Bactra.



Figure 10.6 Ephesian column base from Bactra (© DAFA).

IRRIGATION AND CULTIVATION

The most accurate information on the agricultural exploitation of Bactrian territories and its fluctuations over time is mainly available for eastern Bactria thanks to the surveys conducted by J. C. Gardin and his team (Gardin, Lyonnet 1978–1979; Lyonnet 1997; Gardin 1998; Lyonnet in Allchin, Ball, Hammond 2019, 117–125 and 268–272). As the authors themselves point out, the results should nevertheless be used cautiously (Gardin 1998, 21–28, 125–129). This work was not complemented by excavations, which would be necessary to clarify the function and the chronology of the nearly 800 identified sites. To have a fully representative overview of occupation is also difficult, as the sites located near watercourses often disappeared, since these areas are easy to irrigate and have been constantly cultivated. This work was also pioneering and could not be based on earlier studies. Several periods have been distinguished between the Chalcolithic and Islamic times, including the Hellenistic one between 330 and 145 BC (Period G, called ‘Graeco-Bactrian’). Compared to the Middle Bronze Age (Period B, 2500–1500 BC), the subsequent Phase P (from 1500 to 330 BC), or the Kushan period (Period K, 1st–5th centuries AD), the Hellenistic period covers only two centuries, which introduces a bias in assessing the extent of the transformations that occurred at that time. The imprecise duration of Period P, which covers different moments in the history of Central Asia, is also a problem. Despite B. Lyonnet’s efforts and as she herself states (Lyonnet 1997, 109–115), the remains of the Achaemenid period are difficult to isolate (Francfort 2005, 316–325; see now, however, Lhuillier 2018). Gardin stressed the importance of the continuity of phenomena: the only notable change would be the founding of the city of Ai Khanoum (Gardin 1998, 112–114). This position has often led him to minimize the impact of the Greek presence (e. g. Gardin 1998, 59), which should be nuanced. B. Lyonnet has thus calculated that the irrigated areas reached their maximum during the Hellenistic period (Lyonnet 1997, compare Tab. X, XVI, XX, XXII, XXXVI).

The territory of Ai Khanoum

Ai Khanoum is located southwest of the Dasht-i Qala Plain, which was the main part of its territory. The latter extended west and south along the Panj and Kokcha rivers, and to the Rustaq hills in the east and north (Figure 10.7). This well-defined area covers 220 square kilometres, even 300 square kilometres when adding the hill-sides and the spaces located on the riverside (Gentelle 1978, 15). The hills provided additional resources (pastures, woods), such as the *jangal* a typical vegetal formation covering the riverbanks. It was inhabited by various animals that could be hunted or fished and some zones could also be cultivated or used for livestock (Gentelle 1978, 23–25, 191–193; Francfort 2013, fig. 66). When the first inhabitants of Ai Khanoum settled there, the plain had been irrigated for a long time except in the highest lands located on the eastern foothills. In addition to Kohna Qala, where a large part of the population was concentrated, people mostly lived in four or five villages (Gentelle 1989; Gardin 1998, 45–46, fig. 3.9).

Important changes occurred during the Hellenistic period, which was a time of intense exploitation. A canal was dug at the foot of the eastern hills, from the Kokcha to the north of the plain, to supply water to the highest land that could not be irrigated

otherwise (AK1). Its high position testifies to the superior technical knowledge of the Bactrian engineers who now served the Graeco-Bactrian kings. The new irrigated area was less extensive than the one cultivated from the more ancient canals (4,200 hectares against 12,800 hectares), but the scale of the work reveals that the new masters wished to exploit all the available spaces (Gentelle 1978, 92–101). The settlement organization also underwent some changes, although the few villages previously inhabited may have remained occupied. The situation of Kohna Qala is poorly known. It may have been replaced by a guard post, 200 metres long by 120 metres wide, that was built near the Panj a few kilometres upstream, and the modern village of Arab Kakul (Gardin 1998, Gardin 1998, 43, 114, no. 158; Ball 2019, no. 509; Figure 10.3, 10.7). This construction, which was modest in appearance compared to Kohna Qala, helped to monitor the river and its crossing. A settlement known as Kokul was moreover located on the other side, in Tajik territory, near the confluence with the Kyzyl Su and a few kilometres upstream of Arab Kakul. It was inhabited during the Graeco-Bactrian period and was 1.5 kilometre long by 300 metres wide (Staviskij 1986, 91). The plain was also covered with a dispersed habitat, in the form of many isolated farms, which was a new development (Gardin 1998, fig. 3.10). J. C. Gardin has listed 113 sites, about twice the number of those known for the previous period. Two of them were excavated (Francfort 2013, 161–178).

These evolutions are even more remarkable if we take into account the brevity of the Hellenistic period compared to Period P, which preceded it and lasted almost a thousand years. They actually occurred over an even shorter period of time. The ceramic study shows that the intensification of land use, the digging of the new canal, and the expansion of the dispersed habitat over the plain occurred only during the first half of the 2nd century BC (Ceramic Period IV). These phenomena are therefore contemporary with the growth of the city under the impetus of the Graeco-Bactrian kings and probably a consequence of this growth.

The plain of Khwaja Ghar which extended on the right bank of the Kokcha, opposite Ai Khanoum, was probably part of the town's territory too (Figure 10.7). A bridge over the Kokcha was located near the current bridge, about 12 kilometres upstream of Ai Khanoum, and near the head of the canals irrigating the Dasht-i Qala Plain (Gardin 1998, 50, fig. 4.4). The earliest traces of irrigation are dated to the Graeco-Bactrian period and were concentrated near the bridge. Water was supplied from the Rud-i Shahrawan River, which originated in the Taluqan region and flowed along the foothills before reaching the Panj two kilometres after the confluence with the Kokcha. A hamlet, which was the most important site on the plain from the Bronze Age onwards, grew near the bridge and was rebuilt during the Graeco-Bactrian period (Gardin 1998, 50, no. 413). Other sites have been identified nearby which suggest that the occupation was concentrated in this area.

The other plains of Eastern Bactria

The plains explored by J. C. Gardin and his team are located along the Panj, upstream and downstream of Ai Khanoum or further inland in eastern Bactria. They were prospected less intensively than that of Ai Khanoum, with the main objective of retracing and dating irrigation networks. Patterns of occupation and exploitation were not identical everywhere, particularly along the Panj Valley, where water was

supplied from its tributaries and not from the Panj itself. After its course through the Pamir and Badakhshan mountains, the Panj emerges into the small Samti Plain and then passes through the larger Yangi Qala Plain (Figure 10.3). As its slope decreases significantly, the river deposits a lot of alluvia and divides into several channels wandering into marshy areas. They can be crossed easily at the ford of Samti, perhaps the place where Zoroaster had the vision of Vohu Manu, the Good Spirit (Grenet 2002; 2015, 22–24). Further downstream, the Darqad Island also provides a passage. The archaeologists of the DAFA saw many sites there, without permission to access them (Gardin 1998, 38). This route leads to the area of the current city of Parkhar in Tajikistan, near which several Graeco-Bactrian and Kushan sites are known, including Saksanokhur (Staviskij 1986, 87–88). However, neither the Samti nor the Yangi Qala plains seem to have been actually inhabited during the Hellenistic period. The sites located near the river, where it was also possible to cultivate with rudimentary irrigation techniques, may have been destroyed by the violent floods and divagations of the Panj (Gardin 1998, 37–38). However, both plains were more densely populated before the Hellenistic period, which means that some evolutions took place at that time. The population was possibly concentrated on the left bank of the river, in the plain between Parkhar and Kuliab, a region that could be controlled from Ai Khanoum.

Downstream of Ai Khanoum, the Panj successively runs along the Archi and then the Imam Sahib plains. If the latter had perhaps been irrigated in previous periods, this no longer seems to be the case during the Hellenistic one (Gardin 1998, 64–65, *contra* Lyonnet 1997, fig. 37). The situation was very different in the Archi Plain that began west of the confluence with the Kokcha (Figure 10.8), forming a narrow corridor and then opening widely into an old meander of the Panj (Gardin 1998, 53–60). The earliest irrigation canals were there dug at the end of the 2nd millennium BC, but exploitation increased greatly during the Hellenistic period. The irrigation network was developed to reach areas that had not yet been cultivated in the southern sector of the plain and near the foothills. Elevated canals were built to bring water from the Rud-i Shahrawan into high and difficult-to-access areas. A canal (TK), about 20 kilometres long, arrived from the neighbouring Kwaja Ghar Plain, flowing around the hills that separated it from the Archi plain, where it supplied water to the north-eastern lands (Gardin 1998, 48–50). An even more ambitious canal (HB2) originated east of the Ambar Koh massif in a narrow valley followed by the Rud-i Shahrawan (Gardin 1998, 50–52). This canal flowed westward cutting through the lower slopes of the Ambar Koh and emerged south of the Archi Plain irrigating the southeastern foothills. The southern and southeastern foothills were also irrigated from the capture of the torrents descending the slopes of the Ambar Koh, including the Ab-i Shor. The intensification of exploitation, as in the Ai Khanoum Plain, involved the creation of new canals that required sophisticated techniques and significant investment. It was also necessary to coordinate efforts on a regional scale because these canals covered long distances between different areas, which was probably done under the control of royal officers.

These changes are also reflected in an increase in the number of inhabited sites, spread all over the plain. Some were isolated farms, others were larger hamlets. One of them was located near the current village of Karluk (Gardin 1998, 55, nos. 14–15; Ball 2019, no. 917), a second one near Archi (Gardin 1998, 55, nos. 23–32,

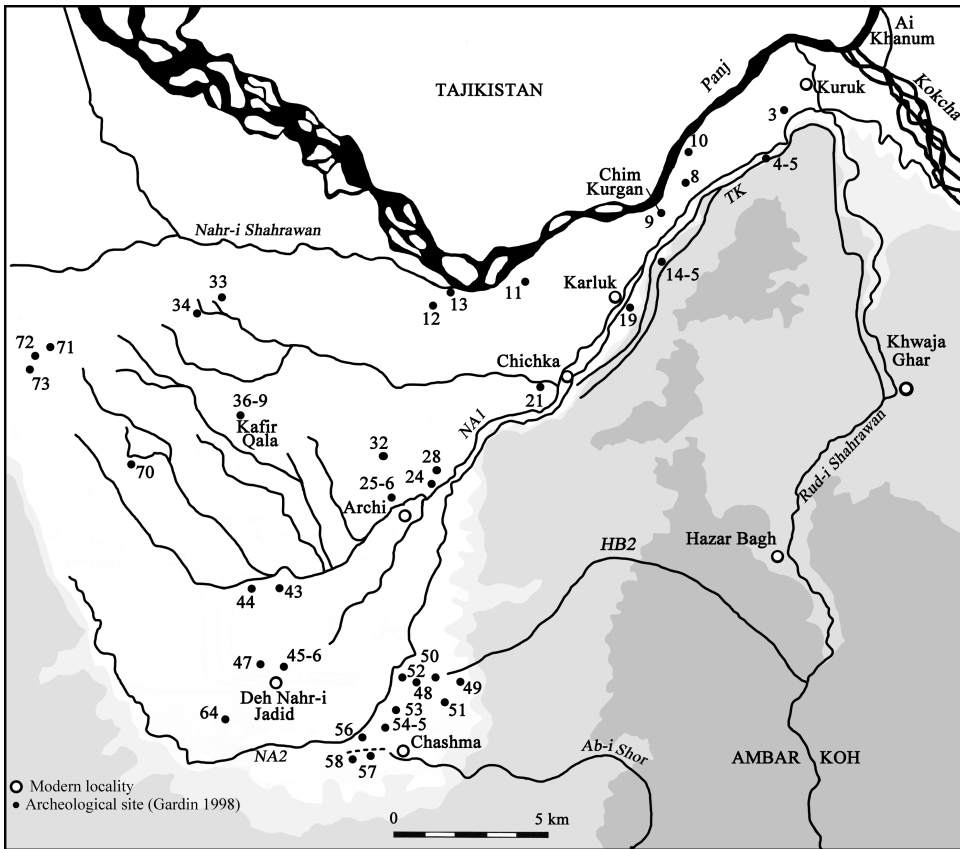


Figure 10.8 Plain of Archi during the Hellenistic period (L. Martinez-Sève, from Gardin 1998, 6.15).

fig. 6.5; Ball 2019, no. 54). Houses and gardens with irrigation ditches were also found in the southeast of the plain near Chashma, sometimes over large areas (almost 100 hectares; Gardin 1998, 58, F; Ball 2019, no. 182). The plain was controlled from the fortress of Kafir Qala (fig. 10.9), centrally positioned and surrounded by a town whose remains extended over 100 ha (Gardin 1998, 56, nos. 36–39; Ball 2019, no. 487). The settlement had existed since the end of the 2nd millennium BC, but Graeco-Bactrian ceramics were abundant, and it is perhaps from this time that it began to grow. The fortress occupied an area of about 17 hectares (450 metres by 375 metres). On its north side the rampart was preserved up to eight metres high and about ten towers were still visible. About 500 metres east of the fortress another construction (no. 36, 200 metres by 200 metres) was standing which was built during the Graeco-Bactrian period. The fortress probably included monuments decorated in Greek style since an Attic column base was found there (Gardin 1998, fig. 6.7). Other stone architectural elements came from the plain, including two slabs from a threshold found with Graeco-Bactrian pottery on a small tepe located four kilometres southwest of Kafir Qala (Gardin 1998, 57, no. 70), and two column bases coming from the vicinity of Deh Nahr-i Jadid, south of the plain. Two fortified sites

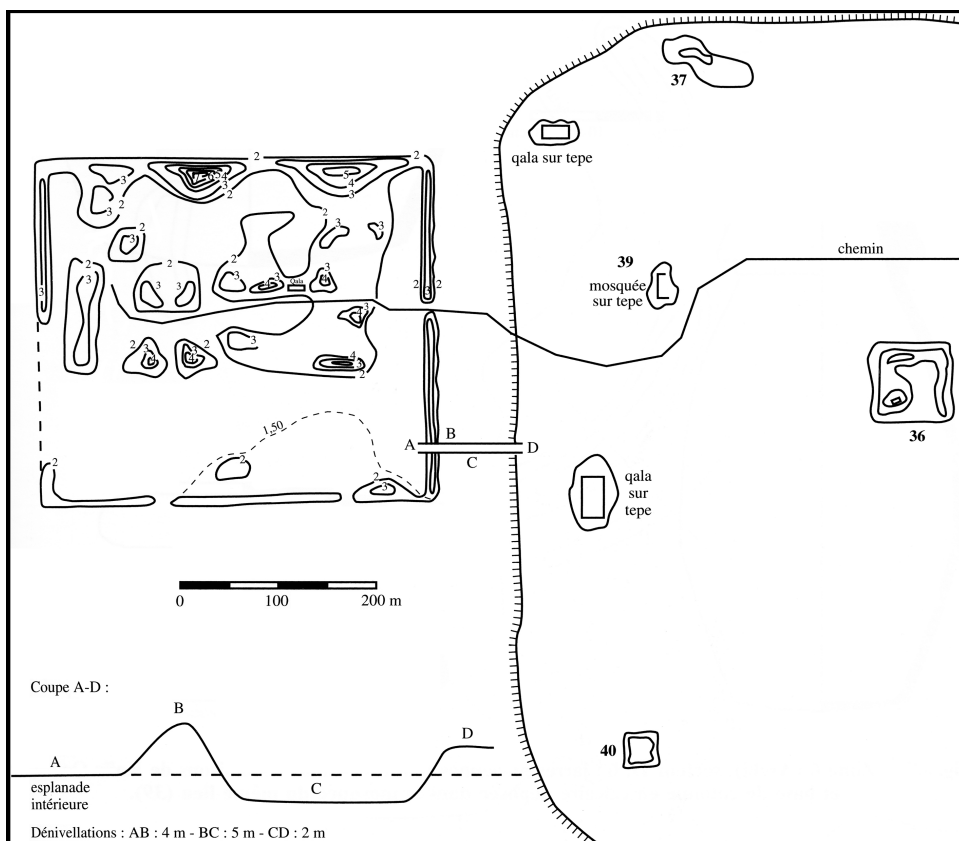


Figure 10.9 Fortress of Kafir Qala, Archi Plain (from Gardin 1998, 6.6).

were also identified nearby (Gardin 1998, 57, nos. 45–47; Ball 2019, nos. 288, 933). One was located one kilometre north-northeast of this village and had the form of a poorly preserved circular enclosure preceded by a ditch, protecting a settlement of 9.5 hectares (350 metres in diameter). The wall, 4 metres wide, was built with square mud bricks measuring 40 centimetres wide by 11–12 centimetres thick, a dimension characteristic of the bricks dated to the Hellenistic period at Ai Khanoum. Fragments of a limestone base was found in the second site (100 metres by 60 metres), located 200 metres to the northeast of the previous one. A third site, one kilometre further west, was protected by a double line of much eroded fortification of a pentagonal shape, possibly reinforced with towers. It extended over an area of 12.5 hectares. This rampart was also built with square mud bricks of Hellenistic type (38–41 centimetres by 10–12 centimetres) and a stone column base was found there as well. Gardin considered, however, that it was older (Gardin 1998, 59, 143 table 20).

Along the Panj, human occupation was therefore concentrated in both the Ai Khanoum and Archi plains. Agricultural exploitation there increased greatly during the Hellenistic period, resulting in an extension of irrigated and cultivated areas, notably in foothill zones. There were also many more sites in the form of individual farms and villages. The Archi Plain also included several fortified small towns

probably forming secondary administrative units which, although they could not compete with Ai Khanoum, had monumental buildings. According to the pottery, the development of the Archi Plain occurred during the Graeco-Bactrian period and was therefore contemporary with that of the plain of Ai Khanoum (Lyonnet 1997, 148). Both phenomena were probably related and caused by the growth of Ai Khanoum. We can even assume that the Archi Plain was part of the territories directly controlled from this city.

The Kunduz and Taluqan plains, located further south, showed slightly different features. Aornos/Kunduz was the main urban centre in this region. It was located 70 kilometres south of the Panj Valley, in a vast plain watered by the Kunduz and Khanabad rivers, which join their waters 30 kilometres downstream from the city. The Kunduz River formed the western boundary of the territories surveyed by the DAFA. The old city of Kunduz is located at the Bala Hissar, on the northwestern periphery of the current city (Gardin 1998, 79, no. 490, fig. 10.16; Ball 2019, no. 931). The settlement was founded on a natural mound of roughly ovoid shape, covering an area of 19 hectares (600 metres by 400 metres), surrounded by a rampart preceded by a large moat. A citadel occupied the eastern part (70 metres by 40 metres) and dominated the plain by about 15 metres. The earliest pottery is dated to the end of the 2nd millennium BC, the probable foundation date of the settlement. It was then constantly inhabited until Islamic times, including the Hellenistic period, as evidenced by large amounts of pottery.

According to the number of identified sites, the Hellenistic period seems to have been a time of reduced activity in the surrounding plain (Figure 10.10), especially when compared with the number of sites dated to earlier periods or to the Kushan period (Gardin 1998, 81). The only place with a higher density of remains was the Asqalan Plateau, a high area northeast of Kunduz on the foothills of the Ambar Koh massif. It was nevertheless irrigated at an ancient date (Bronze Age?) thanks to a canal that came from the Khanabad River, far enough away so that it could climb the ten-metre difference in altitude that separated the plateau from the plain. This place seems to have been densely occupied during the Graeco-Bactrian period (Gardin 1998, 83–85), under the protection of the small fortified site of Choq Tepe (120 metres by 100 metres) standing on the edge of the terrace, four kilometre south-east of Asqalan (Gardin 1998, 84, no. 485, fig. 11.5). Gardin has concluded that the entire plain was probably also irrigated. In his opinion, undertaking major works to supply water to these highlands only made sense if the plain was already irrigated in order to increase the areas already available, as it happened in the vicinity of Ai Khanoum. But the situation here was different, because the canals providing water to the Asqalan Plateau had been dug before the Hellenistic period and they just had to be reactivated. The plateau had perhaps natural or defensive advantages, favoured by its inhabitants who preferred to settle here rather than in the plain. Two other sites were identified on the southern foothills of the plain, in another high area (nos. 450 and 452). This zone was irrigated by a canal built in an elevated position from the Bangui River, which flows about 15 kilometres further east (Gardin 1998, 80). These two sites are perhaps not sufficient in number to conclude that the canal was really active during the Hellenistic period, especially since the area could be used for dry crops. In any case, we can observe that the inhabitants of the plain willingly settled on the highest points. The city of Kunduz was nevertheless active and occupied by a relatively large

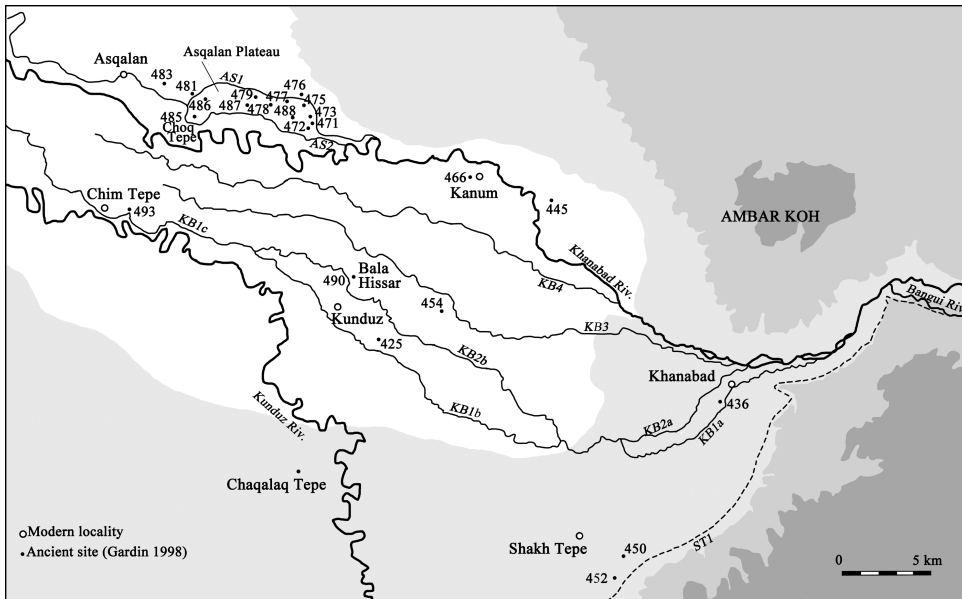


Figure 10.10 Plain of Kunduz during the Hellenistic period (L. Martinez-Sève, from Gardin 1998, 10.21 and 10.22).

population, suggesting that the plain was indeed cultivated. However, only six sites have provided about 20 Graeco-Bactrian pottery sherds, which is not a lot. A small fortified settlement, 100 metres large, was also located on the banks of the Khanabad River, near the present-day village of Kanum, ten kilometres northeast of Kunduz (Gardin 1998, 79, no. 466 fig. 10.12; Ball 2019, no. 525).

The land west of the Kunduz River is less known, but the situation does not seem any different. One can only mention the small settlement of Chaqalaq tepe, located 11 kilometres south of Kunduz and protected by two successive walls. It was excavated by a Japanese mission in the 1960s (Ball 2019, no. 172) and may have been inhabited during Hellenistic times.

The plain was therefore occupied in ways that differ from those observed in the Ai Khanoum and Archi plains, where dispersed habitat was far more frequent. The habitat was here concentrated in a few and easy to protect areas, which implies a different organization and suggests that the security conditions were less favourable or perceived as such.

The situation appears to be quite similar in the Taluqan Plain that extends east of the Ambar Koh massif between the foothills of the Badakhshan and Hindu Kush Mountains, well-watered by the Taluqan River (Figure 10.11). This name is used here to designate the future Khanabad River. Although relatively isolated, this plain played an important role in communications. The most direct route between Kunduz and Ai Khanoum passes there before running along the eastern foot of the Ambar Koh via the Rud-i Shahrawan Valley, as the route linking Qunduz to Fayzabad, on which several pathways leading to different high altitude passes in the Hindu Kush and Badakhshan were connected (Figure 10.3). Except for a very poorly preserved

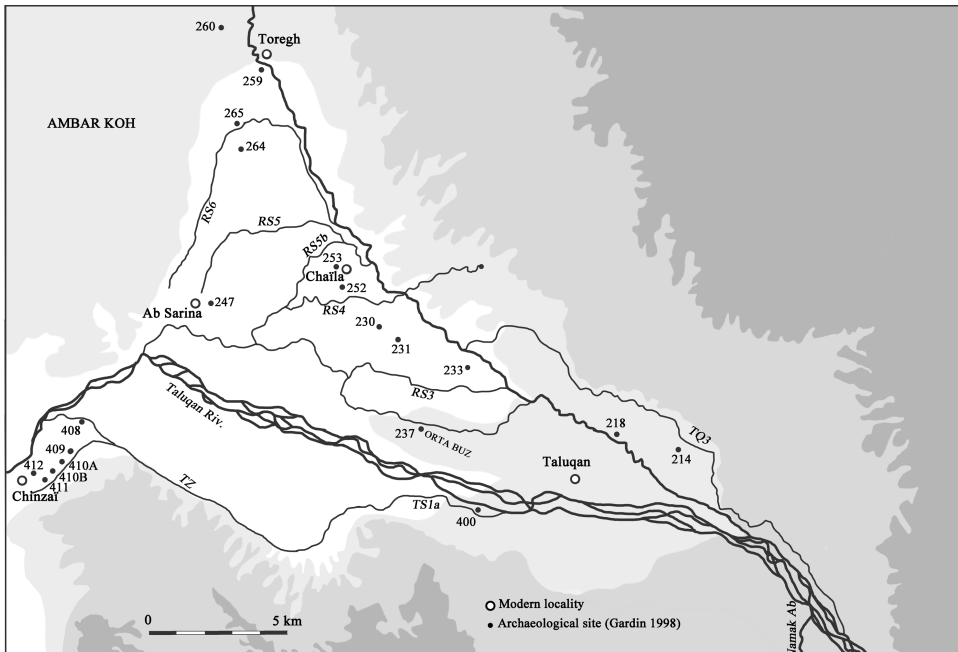


Figure 10.11 Plain of Taluqan during the Hellenistic period (L. Martinez-Sève, from Gardin 1998, 8.12 and 9.1).

circular fortification 200 metres in diameter, set on the right bank of the Taluqan River (Gardin 1998, 75, no. 400, fig. 9.3; Ball 2019, no. 937), there is no evidence of an ancient town in the plain. Most of it was irrigated and cultivated during the Hellenistic period, thanks to several canals that originated in the Taluqan or Rud-i Shahrawan rivers. A number of sites were concentrated on a high terrace located at the western end of the plain, near the present village of Chinzaï, irrigated by an elevated canal (TZ) apparently built from the Taluqan River during the Hellenistic period. Occupation was far less dense elsewhere, in contrast to the previous period or the Kushan one, even if the sites are a little more numerous than in the Kunduz Plain.

Western Bactrian oases

Despite the work of the DAFA and the Soviet-Afghan archaeological mission, we have more difficulty understanding how the oases of western Bactria were cultivated and occupied during the Hellenistic period. No information is available for the Andkhoi Oasis, which appears to have been sparsely populated. The others are better known, especially the oasis of Bactra. As already observed for the Kunduz and Taluqan plains, remains from the Hellenistic period are less numerous and less easily identifiable than those dating from the Achaemenid and Kushan periods (Marquis 2018). The irrigation network underwent a first phase of development during the Achaemenid period. It was then defended by a network of major military sites such as Altyn Dilyar and Cheshme Shafa (Figure 10.12). The same phenomenon occurred during the Kushan era, when the network was expanded westward and then extended

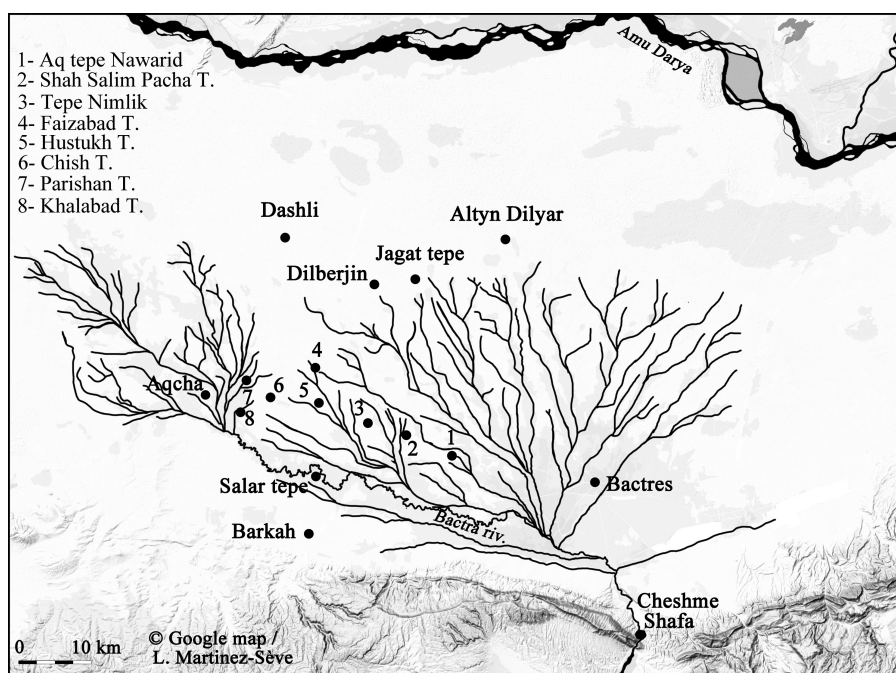


Figure 10.12 Oasis of Bactra during the Hellenistic period (Google map / L. Martinez-Sève).

to its maximum size. The great protective wall built at the northern limit of the oasis dates back to this period (Kruglikova 2005, 349–361; Fouache, Marquis, Besenval 2009, 1056–1057; Fouache et al. 2012, 11–12; Marquis 2018, 168–169). Nothing similar is known for the Hellenistic period. Moreover, the main Achaemenid settlements seem to be no longer inhabited as well. This is observed at Altyn Dilyar (Kruglikova 2005, 344–345, no. 196; Ball 2019, no. 38), Cheshme Shafa (Besenval, Marquis 2007, 1870–1871; Besenval, Marquis, 2008, 982–989; Fouache, Marquis, Besenval 2009, 1026–1032; Besenval, Engel, Marquis 2011, 181–186, Ball 2019, nos. 186), or for sites in the Dashli region (Kruglikova 2005, 326–331, 344–345).

These observations should be interpreted with caution, however, because the political importance of Bactra makes it unlikely that the area under cultivation during the Hellenistic period declined significantly. Some sites dated to the Achaemenid period may have remained inhabited during the Seleukid one, at a time when ceramics from the Achaemenid period were still being produced. This can induce errors when pottery sherds are the main chronological markers. Sites identified as Kushan may also be earlier (Munchaev, Koshelenko, Gaibov 2014). The Hellenistic and Kushan periods were not always distinguished from each other, moreover (Kruglikova 2005). Significantly, however, the recent surveys conducted by the DAFA have not changed this assessment, even though the ceramics are now better known (Marquis 2018, 166–168). Several Hellenistic sites were nevertheless identified, some of which are relatively important. The earliest layers of Tepe Nimlik, for example, provided material from this period. This town, located 35 kilometres west of Balkh, was briefly explored by D. Schlumberger who found a sherd inscribed with the end of a Greek word, --ατρος, probably an anthroponym (Schlumberger 1947; Rougemont 2012,

no. 90, 188–189; Ball 2019, no. 776). The site included a circular citadel 300 metre in diameter, surrounded by a lower fortified town of rectangular plan.

This plan is also that of Dilberjin, an important Kushan city located 40 kilometres northwest of Bactra, which was excavated between 1970 and 1977 (Kruglikova 1974; Kruglikova, Pugachenkova 1977; Dolgorukov 1984; Kruglikova 2001; Kruglikova 2005, 331, no. 84; Munchaev, Koshelenko, Gaibov 2014, 30–40; Ball 2019, no. 295). Its circular citadel was 185 metres in diameter and located in the centre of a square city about 420 metres on each side (Figure 10.13). The date of its foundation was debated. The most recent publications suggest that the citadel was built during the Achaemenid period. It was then defended by a rampart made of pakhsa, renovated in the 4th century BC. It was redesigned during the Seleukid period by the construction of a large platform intended to support a monumental structure, but left unachieved. The lower town, protected by a rampart reinforced with square towers, is assumed to have been built during the Graeco-Bactrian period. The foundation of the so-called ‘Dioscuri’ temple, located in the northeast corner of the city, is also dated to the late Graeco-Bactrian period, but its chronology has remained uncertain (Kruglikova 1986; Lo Muzio 1999; Shenkar 2011, 124–126). It included a barlong cella surrounded by three narrow and elongated rooms and was entered through a parvis flanked by two rooms only accessible from outside the building. A second temple, called the ‘Western Temple’ and composed of a cella flanked by two adjoining rooms, may have been built at the same time (Kruglikova 1977, 421; Kruglikova 1999; Munchaev, Koshelenko, Gaibov 2014, 35–36).

About 5.5 kilometres east of Dilberjin was located Jiga or Jagat tepe, another important but less well-known city, excavated in 1974 and 1976–1977 (Pugachenkova



Figure 10.13 Plan of Dilberjin (I. Kruglikova).

1979; Pidaev 1984; Kruglikova 2004; Kruglikova 2005, 331–332, no. 85; Munchaev, Koshelenko, Gaibov 2014, 28–30; Ball 2019, no. 475). It also included a circular fortress 200 metres in diameter, in the centre of which was standing a circular structure 55 metres in diameter. All around extended a city of rectangular plan covering an area of 70 hectares. The fortress, founded at the end of the Achaemenid period, was protected by a gallery rampart made of pakhsa and reinforced with semi-circular towers. Ceramics of Hellenistic facture close to that of Ai Khanoum (Pidaev 1984), three Graeco-Bactrian coins (Kruglikova 2004, 554–555 nos. 20, 49 and 559 no. 22), and a fragmentary Greek inscription attest that the site remained inhabited during the Graeco-Bactrian period. The inscription was an epigram composed using dactylic hexameters or elegiac couplets, engraved before firing on a terracotta plate (Kruglikova 1977, 425–426; Rougemont 2012, no. 91, 189–190). The poem commemorated an individual named Diogenes and presents reminiscences of Homeric poetry.

The other reported sites are located west of Bactra, as was Tepe Nimlik. All are foundations from the Hellenistic period, which could suggest that the irrigation network was then extended in this direction, a hypothesis that does not agree with those formulated after the work of the DAFA (Fouache et al. 2012, 3426; but see Marquis 2018, 161). Most of them were identified by M. Le Berre and located near roads, particularly the one linking Balkh and Aqcha (Aq tepe Nawarid, Faizabad tepe, Hustukh tepe, Khalabad tepe, Parishan tepe, Salar tepe, Shah Salim Pacha tepe, Chish tepe: Ball 2019, nos. 49, 316, 437, 550, 800, 975, 1055, 1175). It can therefore be assumed that other unidentified sites were located in less accessible areas, as the recently identified site of Barkah located to the southwest of Bactra (Ball 2019, no. 2013). These sites were of various shapes and sizes, but several were relatively important, such as Ak tepe Nawarid or Khalabad tepe. Both included a citadel, protected by a fortified enclosure 100–120 metres by 100–120 metres (Ball 2019, nos. 49, 550). They certainly helped to monitor the territory and the irrigation network.

The other oases were smaller and perhaps less densely populated than the one of Bactra. In the Shibergan area, the most important site was Emshi tepe, a town excavated in 1969 and 1970 located four kilometres northeast of the Shibergan town centre, not far from the famous Tillja tepe necropolis (fig. 10.2; Kruglikova, Sarianidi 1971, 162–167; Kruglikova 1973; Kruglikova 2005, 322–323, no. 24; Munchaev, Koshelenko, Gaibov 2014, 26–28; Ball 2019, no. 314). Surrounded by a rampart, it was circular in shape and measured approximately 560 metres in diameter for an area of 18 hectares. The date of its foundation is unsure (Achaemenid period?), but it was inhabited during the Hellenistic period. The site provided Greek ceramics, including an inscribed sherd with the name of a certain Diodoros or Diodotos (Διοδω-- or Διοδο--; Rougemont 2012, 187, no. 89). Two small sites located about ten kilometres to the north also produced ceramics of Graeco-Bactrian date (Kruglikova 2005, 323, nos. 28, 30).

More settlements are known in the oasis of Khulm (fig. 10.14). The town of Khulmi was probably located at Old Khulm, an imposing but unexcavated site located seven kilometres north of Tashkurgan (Ball 2019, no. 628; Bernard 1996, 482). Six or seven other sites that were inhabited during the Hellenistic period are reported. They are situated relatively far from the heart of the oasis, sometimes close to dune areas, to the northeast (Ayatan tepe: Ball 2019, no. 65), northwest (Siah

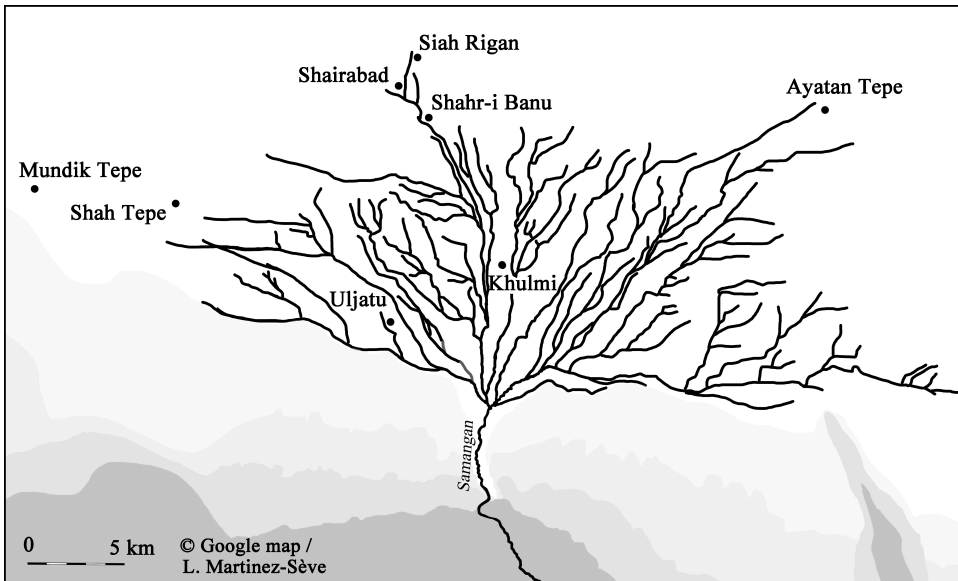


Figure 10.14 Oasis of Khulm during the Hellenistic period (Google map / L. Martinez-Sève).

Rigan: Ball 2019, no. 1101; Shahr-i Banu and Shairabad: Ball 2019, nos. 1034/1036, 1061 = Kruglikova 2005, 283–284, 364–366;) as well as to the west (Uljatu: Ball 2019, no. 1212 = Kruglikova 2005, 362, no. 254; Shah tepe: Ball 2019, no. 1056 = Kruglikova 2005, 362, no. 255; Mundik tepe: Ball 2019, no. 745). Their location, on the periphery of the oasis, reveals the importance of the irrigation network, which apparently extended over the entire available area. All these sites were already occupied in earlier periods, sometimes since the end of the 2nd millennium BC. Here too, the Greek authorities have therefore taken advantage of the hydraulic installations of their predecessors.

A NETWORK OF FORTRESSES AND MILITARY POSTS

Several sites mentioned above were fortified and used to protect agricultural lands and the people who lived therein. Some were probably also places where military forces and administrative officers were stationed. Other military sites controlled land and fluvial communication routes. They were placed along the main roads but along secondary itineraries of strategic value too (Figure 10.3). Most were reported in eastern Bactria (Leriche 2007, 131), but we can assume that they were present everywhere. Some of them were founded before the Hellenistic period and only reused by the Graeco-Bactrian power.

A number of them were located on the banks of the Panj and Amu Darya rivers to monitor movement along them and the crossing of fords. The fortress of Kohne Qala in the plain of Ai Khanoum had this function, as did the small fortified post of Arab Kakul, which replaced it in the Graeco-Bactrian period. Others were situated downstream, in the narrow part of the Archi Plain (Figure 10.8). The most important was Chim Kurgan, extending over approximately 17 hectares, that was founded before

the Hellenistic period (Gardin 1998, 55, no. 9; Ball 2019, no. 209). A semi-circular enclosure measuring 800 metres in diameter protected an apparently sparsely built space, with a citadel in its centre overlooking the river (Figure 10.15). A watch post placed two kilometres upstream on the cliff of the riverbank completed the military device (Gardin 1998, 55, no. 10). Another site was located five kilometres downstream of Chim Kurgan, slightly inland from the river and on the side of the modern road (Gardin 1998, 55, no. 11; Ball 2019, no. 1032A). This mound measured 100 metres by 80 metres with a height of 10–12 metres, but was originally more extensive. Another site consisting of two levelled mounds was located three kilometres downstream of the previous one, still near the modern road and near the head of a modern canal. The latter flows westward towards the plain of Imam Sahib and may follow the course of an ancient canal (Gardin 1998, 55, nos. 12–13; Ball 2019, no. 1032B). Except for Chim Kurgan, the earliest pottery collected on all these sites dates from the Graeco-Bactrian period. Although all of them did not have a military function, their location near communication routes is significant. Two other fortresses are known further downstream, in the plain of Imam Sahib. They were built before the Hellenistic period but remained in use. The first one when descending the river is located two kilometres northeast of Khatun Qala, on the edge of the Panj terrace (Gardin 1998, 64, no. 146; Ball 2019, no. 611). The site, covering an area of one hectare, included a citadel (80 metres by 65 metres) protected by a rampart (110 metres by 90 metres). The second one was located approximately in the middle of the plain at Qurghan Tepe, 4.5 kilometres northeast of Imam Sahib. It was built not near the river itself, which flows about six kilometre further north, but on the edge of the alluvial terrace overlooking the swamps of the *jungal* (Gardin 1998, 63, nos.

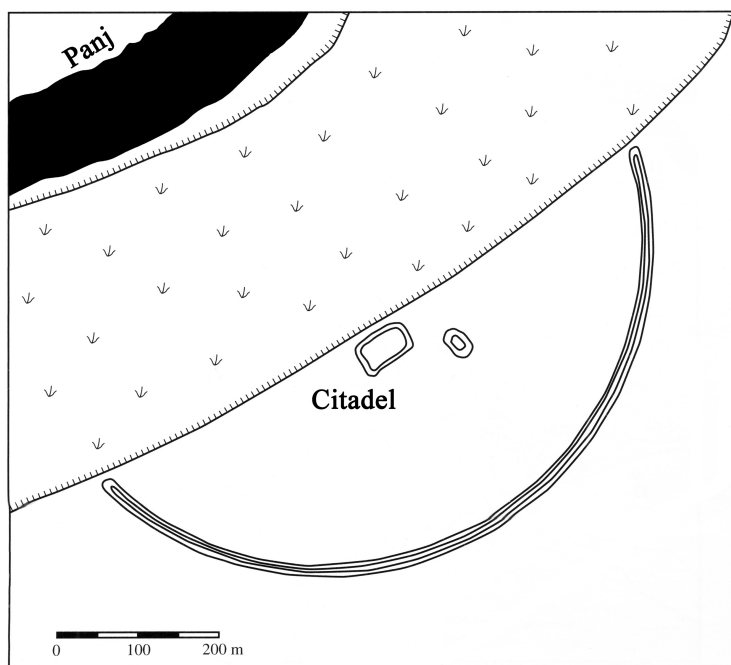


Figure 10.15 Fortress of Chim Kurgan, Archi Plain (from Gardin 1998, 6.3).

137–141; Ball 2019, no. 936). The site covered an area of 1.5 hectares and had the same organization as the first one: a citadel (40 metres by 40 metres) protected by a square fortification (120 metres on each side). As in Chim Kurgan, the fortress may have been surrounded in addition by a semi-circular enclosure joining both edges of the terrace.

Two other sites were found on the banks of the Amu Darya, not far from the large Kushan city of Qala-i Zal, in an area where occupation seems to have developed in the late Graeco-Bactrian period. The most prominent was Khisht Tepe located between the confluence with the Kunduz River and the one with the Kafirnigan River, a tributary on the right side of the Amu Darya. The riverbank formed a mound protruding into the river, 15 metres above it, which provided a good observation post over the valley. This is where the so-called Kunduz treasure was found, composed of 628 tetradrachms minted by Seleukid and Graeco-Bactrian kings, and probably buried during the 1st century BC (Curiel, Fussman 1965). But the site was already functioning in Graeco-Bactrian times. A relatively large but highly destroyed site was also found at Kulukh tepe, about three kilometres from the confluence with the Kunduz River (Gardin 1998, 87, no. 504, Fig. 13.2; Ball 2019, no. 640).

Other establishments controlled inland itineraries and the crossing of mountain passes. They were placed at strategic points, particularly at road junctions. On the road between Pul-i Khumri and Aornos/Kunduz, six kilometres south of Baghlan, a small fortress newly built in Hellenistic times controlled the southern exit of a narrow passage followed by the Kunduz River before reaching the Baghlan Plain, as well as the junction with a route leading to western Bactria (Ball 2019, no. 148). Just before Kunduz, another secondary road branched off to Khulm/Tashkurgan in an almost direct line. At the point where it left the plain to enter a mountainous pass, about 22 kilometres west of Kunduz, the road was controlled by a small fort located near the current Irganakh (Ball 2019, no. 442). Several military posts also controlled the paths leading to the mountainous areas of Badakhshan. These itineraries passed through inhabited narrow valleys or plateaus, and these military settlements also ensured the safety of the people who lived there. This phenomenon was not new in the Hellenistic era, but it seems that some places were more populated than before. Leaving the Taluqan Plain east to reach Keshem and beyond Fayzabad, one reaches a bifurcation: one route follows the valley of the Taluqan River which here becomes the Farkhar River and leads southeast to the city of Farkhar; another one follows a tributary of the river and leads to Keshem through the Kalafgan Plateau. Four sites are known in the vicinity of Kalafgan, including one called Bala Hissar which may have had a military function (Gardin 1998, 93–94, no. 302; Ball 2019, no. 510). Little pottery was collected in the Farkhar Valley over the twenty or so sites identified, but Greek presence is documented (Gardin 1998, 96). When leaving the Taluqan Plain westward towards Khanabad, the Taluqan River received water from the Bangui River, a left bank tributary whose valley was populated during the Graeco-Bactrian period. One of the reported sites was situated at a crossroads with the secondary valley of the Ishqamesh River, which was a strategic axis. Another site, located 500 metres nearby, included a monumental building of which two column bases were found (Gardin 1998, 97, nos. 354–357, fig. 18.6–7; Ball 2019, no. 135A). Both are inspired by Achaemenid architecture (bell-shaped base and three-stepped plinth), but such bases were still carved during the Hellenistic period and this is not an indisputable

dating criterion. The valley of the Ishqamesh River was also inhabited during the Graeco-Bactrian period, as well as the well-watered Ishqamesh Plateau to which it leads. The population seems to have increased there. The most important site was the Bala Hissar of Ishqamesh, a square fortress (340 metres by 340 metres), probably built during the Graeco-Bactrian period with a rampart reinforced by towers (fig. 10.16). A rectangular citadel (150 metres by 100 metres) occupied the eastern corner and dominated the surroundings by about 20 metres (Gardin 1998, 100, no. 398, fig. 19.12; Ball 2019, no. 447). This installation protected the surrounding dwellings, but also served to control communication. Ishqamesh is an important crossroads where the road that runs through the valley of the Ishqamesh River, one that arrives from the Kunduz Plain and a third that reaches Nahrin to the south converge. From this point, it is also possible to reach the high passes crossing the Hindu Kush, including the Khawak pass.

Similar observations were made in the valley of the Rustaq River, which is the most easterly point surveyed by the DAFA. It leads from the plain of Yangi Qala to the present-day small town of Rustaq, and from there to the Kokcha Valley and the road to Fayzabab. The most important occupation was identified in the vicinity of Rustaq, downstream of the city and along the modern road where several small sites were located. They were protected by the fortress of Kafir Qala (200 metres by 100 metres, Gardin 1998, 91, fig. 15.2, no. 506; Ball 2019, no. 495), that stood at the junction with a secondary road from the west, which allowed relatively easy access to the plain of Ai Khanoum. Downstream, about 30 kilometres from Rustaq, a road branched off to reach the Chaïab Plateau and continued directly to the plain and

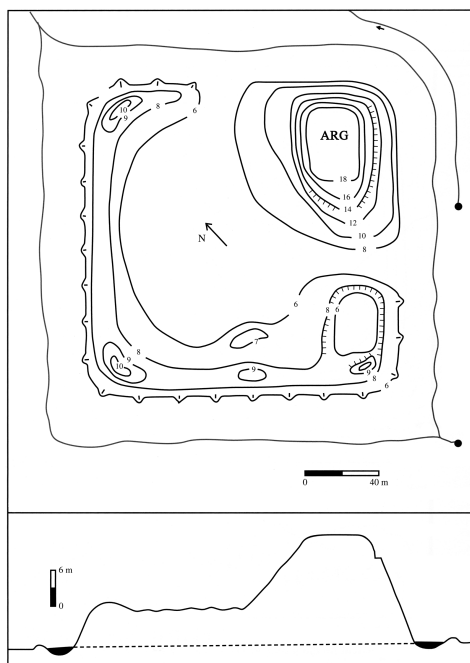


Figure 10.16 Bala Hissar of Ishqamesh (from Gardin 1998, 19.10).

ford of Samti. A small fortress was built at Chaïab in Islamic times, but some pottery sherds attest a Greek presence on a rocky promontory, the Qala-i Hissar, which was a good watching point (Gardin 1998, 90, no. 535; Ball 2019, no. 1132A).

The high valleys of Badakhshan and Pamir were not prospected, but they were probably monitored in the same manner since the routes leading to Tashkurgan on the Chinese border, and from there to Chinese Turkestan, or to Chitral and Gilgit in Pakistan passed there (Lerner 2016; Falk 2018). The Wakhan Valley was notably a strategic axis. Several fortresses there are well known and may have been operational as early as the Hellenistic period, in particular those of Kaakhka, Namdgut, Yamchun and Langar (Lerner 2016).

Although archaeological research in Afghanistan began in the first decades of the 20th century, Hellenistic Bactria remains largely unknown. Few sites except Ai Khanoum were excavated long enough to produce significant documentation. As its lower city was inhabited during a short period of time, Hellenistic levels were easier to reach than those on the long occupied sites, where archaeological layers accumulated. Ai Khanoum is therefore a reference site from which other discoveries have been understood. But it constitutes in many respects an exception, a situation that should encourage caution since phenomena did not necessarily occur elsewhere in the same way.

Bactria was firmly controlled by the Seleukid and Graeco-Bactrian kings, who reused the military and political infrastructure built by their predecessors, but the impact of their domination is not reflected in the same way on the ground. In general, material traces of the Seleukid power are difficult to grasp. The new forms of vases that appeared at the beginning of the 3rd century BC nevertheless attest to the reality of the sociocultural transformations that took place at that time. But change in the structure of population and agricultural exploitation are much more difficult to highlight. Only in the foundation of Ai Khanoum was an element of rupture detected, but the city seems not to have developed much. Real transformations occurred mainly from the beginning of the 2nd century, when the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom became a fully sovereign state. This applies especially to Ai Khanoum and the surrounding region, which underwent exceptional development, resulting in the extension of irrigated areas using complex techniques, a population growth and the development of a dispersed habitat unrecognized elsewhere.

REFERENCES

- Allchin R., Ball W. and Hammond, N. (eds.) (2019) *The Archaeology of Afghanistan: From Earliest Times to the Timurid Period. Revised and Updated Edition*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ball W. (2019) *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. Revised Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bendezu-Sarmiento J., Marquis P., Lhuillier J. and Monchot, H. (2018) 'A sepulchral pit from the Late Iron Age in Bactra. The site of Tepe Zargaran (Afghanistan)'. In J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka (eds.) *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*, AIT 17 and MDFA XXXV, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 319–331.
- Bernard P. (1978) 'Le nom de la ville grecque du tepe Ai Khanoum'. In P. Bernard and H. P. Francfort (eds.) *Études de Géographie historique sur la plaine d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 3–15.

- Bernard P. (1985) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV, Les monnaies hors trésor. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne*, MDAFA XXVIII, Paris: De Boccard.
- Bernard P. (1996) 'L'Aornos bactrien et l'Aornos indien. Philostrate et Taxila: géographie, mythe et réalité', *Topoi* 2, 475-530.
- Bernard P. (2007) 'La mission d'Alfred Foucher en Afghanistan', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1797-1845.
- Bernard P. (2009) 'La découverte et la fouille du site hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum en Afghanistan: comment elles se sont faites', *Parthica* 11, 33-56.
- Bernard P., Besenval R. and Marquis, P. (2006) 'Du "mirage bactrien" aux réalités archéologiques: nouvelles fouilles de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA) à Bactres (2004-2005)', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1175-1248.
- Bernard P., et al. (1973) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum I. (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968)*, MDAFA XXI, Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Besenval R., Bernard P., Jarrige J.-F. (2002) 'Carnet de route en images d'un voyage sur les sites archéologiques de la Bactriane afghane', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1385-1428.
- Besenval R., Engel N. and Marquis, P. (2011) 'Les travaux de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan', *Bulletin de la SFAC, Revue Archéologique* fasc. 1, 172-188.
- Besenval R. and Marquis, P. (2007) 'Le rêve accompli d'Alfred Foucher à Bactres: nouvelles fouilles de la DAFA 2002-2007', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1847-1874.
- Besenval R. and Marquis, P. (2008) 'Les travaux de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA): résultats des campagnes de l'automne 2007- printemps 2008 en Bactriane et à Kaboul', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* fasc. 3, 973-995.
- Cohen G.M. (2013) *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India*, Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Curiel R. and Fussman G. (1965) *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz*. MDAFA XX, Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Dolgorukov V.S. (1984) 'Oboronitel'nye sooruzhenija Dil'berdzhina'. In I.T. Kruglikova (ed.) *Drevnjaja Baktriya. Materialy sovetsko-afganiskoj arxeologicheskoi ekspedicii* 3, Moscow: Nauka, 58-92.
- Falk H. (2018) 'The Five Yabghus of the Yuezhi', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 28, 1-43.
- Fouache E., Marquis P. and Besenval, R. (2009) 'Nouvelles découvertes en Bactriane 2007-2009', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* fasc. 3, 1019-1061.
- Fouache E., et al. (2012) 'Paleochannels of the Balkh river (northern Afghanistan) and human occupation since the Bronze Age period', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, 3415-3427.
- Francfort H. P. (1984) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum III. Le sanctuaire du temple à niches indentées, 2. Les trouvailles*, MDAFA XXVII, Paris: De Boccard.
- Francfort H. P. (2005) 'Asie Centrale'. In P. Briant and R. Boucharlat (eds.) *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches*, Paris: De Boccard, 313-352.
- Francfort H. P. (2013) 'Habitat rural achéménide, hellénistique et kouchan dans la plaine d'Aï Khanoum-Shortugai'. In G. Lecuyot (ed.) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IX. L'habitat*, MDAFA XXXIV, Paris: De Boccard, 157-178.
- Fraser P.M. (1996) *Cities of Alexander the Great*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Foucher A. (1942) *La vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, vol. I. MDAFA I, Paris: Éditions d'art et d'histoire.
- Gardin J. C. (1957) *La céramique de Bactres*, MDAFA XV, Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Gardin J. C. (1998) *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974-1978)*, vol. 3, *Description des sites et notes de synthèse*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS.

- Gardin J. C. and Gentelle, P. (1976) 'III. Irrigation et peuplement dans la plaine d'Aï Khanoum, de l'époque achéménide à l'époque musulmane', *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 63, 59–110.
- Gardin J. C. and Lyonnet, B. (1978–1979) 'La prospection archéologique de la Bactriane orientale (1974–1978): premiers résultats', *Mesopotamia* 13–14, 99–154.
- Gentelle P. (1978) *Etude géographique de la plaine d'Aï Khanoum et de son irrigation depuis les temps antiques*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS.
- Gentelle P. (1989) *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974–1978)*, vol. 1, *Données paléographiques et fondements de l'irrigation*, Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Grenet F. (1995) 'Drapsaka', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 7/5, 537.
- Grenet F. (2002) 'Zoroastre au Badakhshan', *Studia Iranica* 31: 193–214.
- Grenet F. (2015) 'Zarathustra's time and homeland. Geographical perspectives'. In M. Stausberg and Y.S.-D. Vevaina (eds.) *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 21–29.
- Grenet F. and Rapin, C. (2001) 'Alexander, Aï Khanoum, Termez: Remarks on the Spring Campaign of 328', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12, 79–89.
- Guillaume O. (1983) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum II. Les propylées de la rue principale*, MDFA XXVI, Paris: De Boccard.
- Guillaume O. and A. Rougeulle (1987) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum VII. Les petits objets*, MDFA XXXI, Paris: De Boccard.
- Henkelman W. (2018) 'Bactrians in Persepolis – Persians in Bactra'. In J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka (eds.) *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014)*, MDFA XXXV, Berlin: D. Reimer Verlag, 223–255.
- Houal J. B. (2016) 'The Hellenistic period through the ceramics of Termez (Uzbekistan) and Balkh (Afghanistan)'. In S. Japp and P. Kögler (eds.) *Traditions and Innovations. Tracking the Development of Pottery from the Late Classical to the Early Imperial Periods*, IARPOHP vol. 1, Wien: Phoibos Verlag, 465–478.
- Koshelenko G.A., Munchaev R.M. and Gaibov, V.A. (2010) 'Sovietsko-Afganskaja arxeologicheskaja ekspedicija: dva jubileja', *Rossijskaja Arxeologija* 4, 149–158.
- Koshelenko G.A., Munchaev R.M. and Gaibov, V.A. (2014) *Arxeologija Afganistana v dni mira i dni vojny*, Moscow: Institut arxeologii RAN.
- Kritt B. (1996) *Seleucid Coins of Bactria*, *Classical Numismatic Studies* no 1, Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Kritt B. (2001) *Dynastic Transitions in the Coinage of Bactria*, *Classical Numismatic Studies* no 4, Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Kritt B. (2016) *The Seleucid Mint of Aï Khanoum*, *Classical Numismatic Studies* no 9, Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Kruglikova I.T. (1973) 'Gorodishche Emshi-tepe v Severnom Afganistane', *Kratkie soobshchenija Instituta arxeologii* 136, 104–112.
- Kruglikova I.T. (1974) *Dil'berdzhin (raskopki 1970–1972 gg)*, 1, Moscow: Nauka.
- Kruglikova I.T. (eds.) (1976) *Drevnjaja Baktrija. Materialy sovietsko-afganiskoj arxeologicheskoi ekspedicii 1969–1973 gg* 1, Moscow: Nauka.
- Kruglikova I.T. (1977) 'Les fouilles de la mission archéologique soviéto-afghane sur le site gréco-kushan de Dilberdjïn en Bactriane (Afghanistan)', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 407–427.
- Kruglikova I.T. (eds.) (1979) *Drevnjaja Baktrija. Materialy sovietsko-afganiskoj arxeologicheskoi ekspedicii 2*, Moscow: Nauka.
- Kruglikova I.T. (ed.) (1984) *Drevnjaja Baktrija. Materialy sovietsko-afganiskoj arxeologicheskoi ekspedicii 3*, Moscow: Nauka.

- Kruglikova I.T. (1986) *Dil'berdzhin. Xram Dioskurov*, Moscow: Nauka.
- Kruglikova I.T. (1999) 'Raskopki zapadnogo xrama v Dil'berdzhine (Afganistan) v 1974–1977 gg', *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury* 7, 1–60.
- Kruglikova I.T. (2001) 'Citadel' Dil'berdzhina', *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury* 10, 312–413.
- Kruglikova I.T. (2004) 'Dzhagat-tepe', *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury* 14, 479–561.
- Kruglikova I.T. (2005) 'Razvedka arxeologicheskix pamjatnikov, provodivshajasja sotrudnikami sovetско-afganskoj arxeologicheskoi ekspedicii (SAË) na severe i severo-zapade Afganistana v 1969–1976 gg', *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury* 15, 309–437.
- Kruglikova I.T. and Pugachenkova, G.A. (1977) *Dil'berdzhin (raskopki 1970–1973 gg)*, 2, Moscow: Nauka.
- Kruglikova I.T. and Sarianidi, V.I. (1971) 'Drevnjaja Baktrija v svete novyx arxeologicheskix otkrytij', *Sovetskaja Arxeologija* 4, 154–177.
- Le Berre M. and Schlumberger, D. (1964) 'Observations sur les remparts de Bactres'. In B. Dagens, M. Le Berre and D. Schlumberger (eds.) *Monuments préislamiques d'Afghanistan*, MDAFA XIX, Paris: C. Klincksieck, 61–104.
- Lecuyot G. (2013) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IX. L'habitat*, MDAFA XXXIV, Paris: De Boccard.
- Lecuyot G. ed. (2014) *Il y a 50 ans...la découverte d'Aï Khanoum*, Paris: De Boccard.
- Leriche P. (1986) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum V. Les remparts et les monuments associés*, MDAFA XXIX, Paris: De Boccard.
- Leriche P. (2007) 'Bactria, land of a thousand cities'. In J. Cribb and G. Herrmann (eds.) *After Alexander. Central Asia Before Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 121–153.
- Lerner J.D. (2003/4) 'Correcting the early history of Āy Kānoum', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 35–36: 373–410.
- Lerner J.D. (2005) 'Greek ceramic period IV of Aï Khanoum'. In E.A. Antonova and T.K. Mkrtichev (eds.) *Central'naja Azija: istochniki, istorija, kul'tura*, Moscow: "Vostochnaja Literatura" RAN, 464–476.
- Lerner J.D. (2010) 'Revising the chronologies of the Hellenistic colonies of Samarkand-Marakanda (Afrasiab II-III) and Aï Khanoum (Northeastern Afghanistan)', *Anabasis* 1, 58–79.
- Lerner J.D. (2016) 'The emergence of Wakhan fortresses in the Hellenistic period', *Anabasis* 7, 107–130.
- Lhuillier J. (2018) 'Central Asia during the Achaemenid period in archaeological perspective'. In S. Gondet and E. Haerinck (eds.) *L'Orient est son jardin. Hommage à Rémy Bouchardat*, Leuven: Peeters, 257–271.
- Lhuillier J., Bendezu-Sarmiento J. and Marquis, P. (forthcoming) 'Ancient Bactra: New elements on the Iron Age occupation of Bactra oasis'. In J. Lhuillier and M. Wagner (eds.) *Archaeology of Central Asia During the First Millennium BC, from the Beginning of the Iron Age to the Hellenistic Period. Proceedings of the Workshop held at 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, OREA series/RDAFA* (Vienne).
- Lo Muzio C. (1999) 'The Dioscuri at Dilberjin (Northern Afghanistan): Reviewing their chronology and significance', *Studia Iranica* 28, 41–71.
- Lyonnet B. (1997) *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974–1978) vol. 2, Céramique et peuplement du Chalcolithique à la conquête arabe*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Lyonnet B. (2012) 'Questions on the date of the Hellenistic pottery from Central Asia (Aï Khanoum, Marakanda and Koktepe)', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 18, 143–173.
- Lyonnet B. (2013) 'La céramique de la maison du quartier sud-ouest d'Aï Khanoum'. In G. Lecuyot (ed.) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IX. L'habitat*, MDAFA XXXIV, Paris: De Boccard, 179–191.

- Mairs R. (2011) *The Archaeology of the Hellenistic Far East. A Survey*, Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Mairs R. (2014) *The Hellenistic Far East. Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia*, Oakland: University of California Press.
- Mairs R. (2015) 'Heroes and Philosophers? Greek personal names and their bearers in Hellenistic Bactria'. In N.W. Mariko and J.P. Ito-Adler (eds.) *The Silk Road: Interwoven History 1. Long-Distance, Trade, Culture, and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge Institutes Press, 71–100.
- Marquis P. (2018) 'The Balkh oasis. A huge potential'. In J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka (eds.) *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23-25, 2014)*, MDFA XXXV, Berlin: D. Reimer Verlag, 159–170.
- Martinez-Sève L. (2014) 'The spatial organization of Ai Khanoum, a Greek City in Afghanistan', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2(118), 267–283.
- Martinez-Sève L. (2015) 'Ai Khanoum and Greek domination in Central Asia', *Electrum* 22, 17–46.
- Martinez-Sève L. (2016) 'Ai Khanoum. Échanges et résistances'. In M. Espagne, et al. (eds.) *Asie Centrale. Transferts culturels le long de la route de la soie*, Paris: Vendémiaire, 97–114.
- Martinez-Sève L. (2018a) 'Ai Khanoum after 145 BC: The post-palatial occupation'. In A. Ivantchik and M. Minardi (eds.) *Ancient Chorasmia, Central Asia and the Steppes. Cultural Relations and Exchanges from the Achaemenids to the Arabs. Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24, 354–419.
- Martinez-Sève L. (2018b) 'Vie religieuse et imaginaire des habitants de la Bactriane hellénistique, une contribution'. In S. Gondet and E. Haerinck (eds.) *L'Orient est son jardin. Hommage à Rémy Bouchardat*, Leuven: Peeters, 273–292.
- Martinez-Sève, L. (forthcoming a). *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum III. Le sanctuaire du temple à niches indentées, 1. Architecture et histoire*, Paris: De Boccard.
- Martinez-Sève L. (forthcoming b). 'The chapels of the main sanctuary in Ai Khanoum'. In J. Lhuillier and M. Wagner (eds.) *Archaeology of Central Asia During the First Millennium BC, from the Beginning of the Iron Age to the Hellenistic Period. Proceedings of the Workshop held at 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, OREA series/RDAFA* (Vienne).
- Martinez-Sève L. (forthcoming c) 'The sanctuary of the Temple à redans in Ai Khanoum (Hellenistic Bactria): cults and ritual practices'. In G. Lindström (ed.) *Ritual Matters. Archaeology and Religion in Hellenistic Central Asia*, HCARN 2nd International Conference, Berlin.
- Martinez-Sève L. and Sève, M. (2016) 'In memoriam Paul Bernard (1919–2015)', *Revue Archéologique* 62/2, 409–421.
- Maxwell-Jones C.E. (2015) *Typology and chronology of ceramics of Bactra, Afghanistan 600 BCE–500 CE. A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Classical Art and Archaeology) in the University of Michigan*.
- Munchaev R.M., Koshelenko G.A. and V.A. Gaibov (2014) 'Kushanskij gorod Baktrii', *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1, 24–45.
- Naveh J. and S. Shaked (2012) *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria from the Khalili Collections*, London: The Khalili Family Trust.
- Nielsen I. (1999) *Hellenistic Palaces*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Olivier-Utard F. (1997) *Politique et archéologie. Histoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (1922–1982)*, Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Pidaev Sh.R. (1984) 'Keramika Dzhiga-tepe'. In I.T. Kruglikova (ed.) *Drevnjaja Baktrija. Materialy sovetsko-afganskij arxeologicheskij ekspedicii* 3, Moscow: Nauka, 112–124.

- Pugachenkova G.A. (1976) 'K poznaniju Antichoj i Rannesrednevekovoј arxitektury Severnogo Afganistana'. In I.T. Kruglikova (ed.) *Drevnjaja Baktريا. Materialy sovetsko-afganiskoj arxeologicheskoy èkspedicii 1969-1973 gg* 1, Moskow: Nauka, 125-162.
- Pugachenkova G.A. (1979) 'Zhiga-Tepe (Raskopki 1974 g.)'. In I.T. Kruglikova (ed.) *Drevnjaja Baktريا. Materialy sovetsko-afganiskoj arxeologicheskoy èkspedicii* 2, Moskow: Nauka, 63-94.
- Rapin Cl. (1992) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum VIII. La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum*. MDAFA XXXIII, Paris: De Boccard.
- Rapin Cl. (2005) 'L'Afghanistan et l'Asie centrale dans la géographie mythique des historiens d'Alexandre et dans la toponymie des géographes gréco-romains. Notes sur la route d'Hérat à Bégam'. In O. Bopearachchi and M. F. Boussac (eds.) *Afghanistan. Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, Turnhout: Brepols, 143-172.
- Rapin C. (2013) 'On the way to Roxane. The route of Alexander the Great in Bactria and Sogdiana (328-327 BC)'. In G. Lindström, S. Hansen, A. Wiczorck and M. Tellenbach (eds.) *Zwischen Ost und West, Neue Forschungen zum Antiken Zentralasien*, Darmstadt: P. von Zabern, 43-82.
- Rapin C. (2018) 'On the way to Roxane 2. Satraps and hyparchs between Bactra and Zariaspa-Maracanda'. In J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka (eds.) *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*, AIT 17 and MDAFA XXXV, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 257-298.
- Rougemont G. (2012) *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie Centrale, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* 2.1, London: An International Committee.
- Rougemont G. (2014) 'Grecs et non Grecs dans les inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale', *Studia Iranica* 43: 7-39.
- Schlumberger D. (1947) 'Nouvelles de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, fragment de poterie avec inscription grecque', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* fasc. 1, 241-242.
- Schlumberger D. (1949) 'Prospection archéologique de Bactres (printemps 1947). Rapport sommaire', *Syria* 26(3-4), 173-190.
- Shenkar M. (2011) 'Temple architecture in the Iranian world in the Hellenistic period'. In A. Kouremenos, S. Chandrasekaran and R. Rossi (eds.) *From Pella to Gandhara. Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 117-139.
- Sims-Williams N. (2000) *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan. I Legal and Economic Documents, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* 2.6.1, Oxford: Nour Foundation.
- Staviskij B. Ja. (1986) *La Bactriane sous les Kushans. Problème d'histoire et de culture*, Paris: Maisonneuve.
- Veuve S. (1987) *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum VI. Le gymnase*, MDAFA XXX, Paris: De Boccard.
- Young R.S. (1955) 'The south wall of Balkh-Bactra', *American Journal of Archaeology* 4(59), 267-276.

CHAPTER 11

SOUTHERN UZBEKISTAN¹



Ladislav Stančo

INTRODUCTION

Today, the Surkhan Darya region represents the southernmost administrative unit of Uzbekistan, which is from the point of view of physical geography a clearly delimited territory. According to the Greek literary sources, in antiquity this area formed a buffer zone between two important historical regions, those of Bactria and Sogdiana (Strabo 11.11.1–2). The correct assignment of this region to one of the two aforementioned entities poses, at least in the so-called Hellenistic period,² a complicated historical-geographical problem that remains unresolved despite being addressed repeatedly by numerous scholars (P'yankov 1982, 34–39; Masson 1985, 250; Rtveladze 1990, 4–5; Abdullaev 1997; Rapin 2013; 2018) and the present author has no ambition to do this in the following pages either. However, to understand the history of the region in question in the 3rd–2nd centuries BC, it is necessary to put it into a broader context of developments in southern Central Asia in the Early Iron Age, and to set it against the realities of the Late Achaemenid period. In the following pages, I am going to characterise this particular part of the eastern Hellenistic world using predominantly archaeological and numismatic sources without any claims to present more general conclusions of a historical nature, concerning the whole of Bactria, still less the entire 'Hellenized East'. See Figure 11.1.

GEOGRAPHY

The Surkhan Darya region is very clearly delimited and closed to the outer world by natural boundaries formed by the impressive mountain ridges of Kugitang Tau (3139 metres above sea level [m.a.s.l.]) in the west, Baysun Tau (4425 m.a.s.l.) and Hissar (4643 m.a.s.l.) in the north (all of these being western spurs of the Pamir-Alai system), and by the comparatively lower Babatag ridge (2292 m.a.s.l.) in the east.³ It is opened only towards the south, where the natural division represents the river of Amu Darya, the ancient Oxus, separating the southernmost region of Uzbekistan from the sun-burned sand deserts of the Afghan provinces of Balkh and Samangan. The principal north–south axis of the Surkhan Darya Region is represented by the river of the same name (175 kilometres long), that forms an elongated and rather narrow fertile valley, emptying its waters into the Amu Darya at Termez, which is both

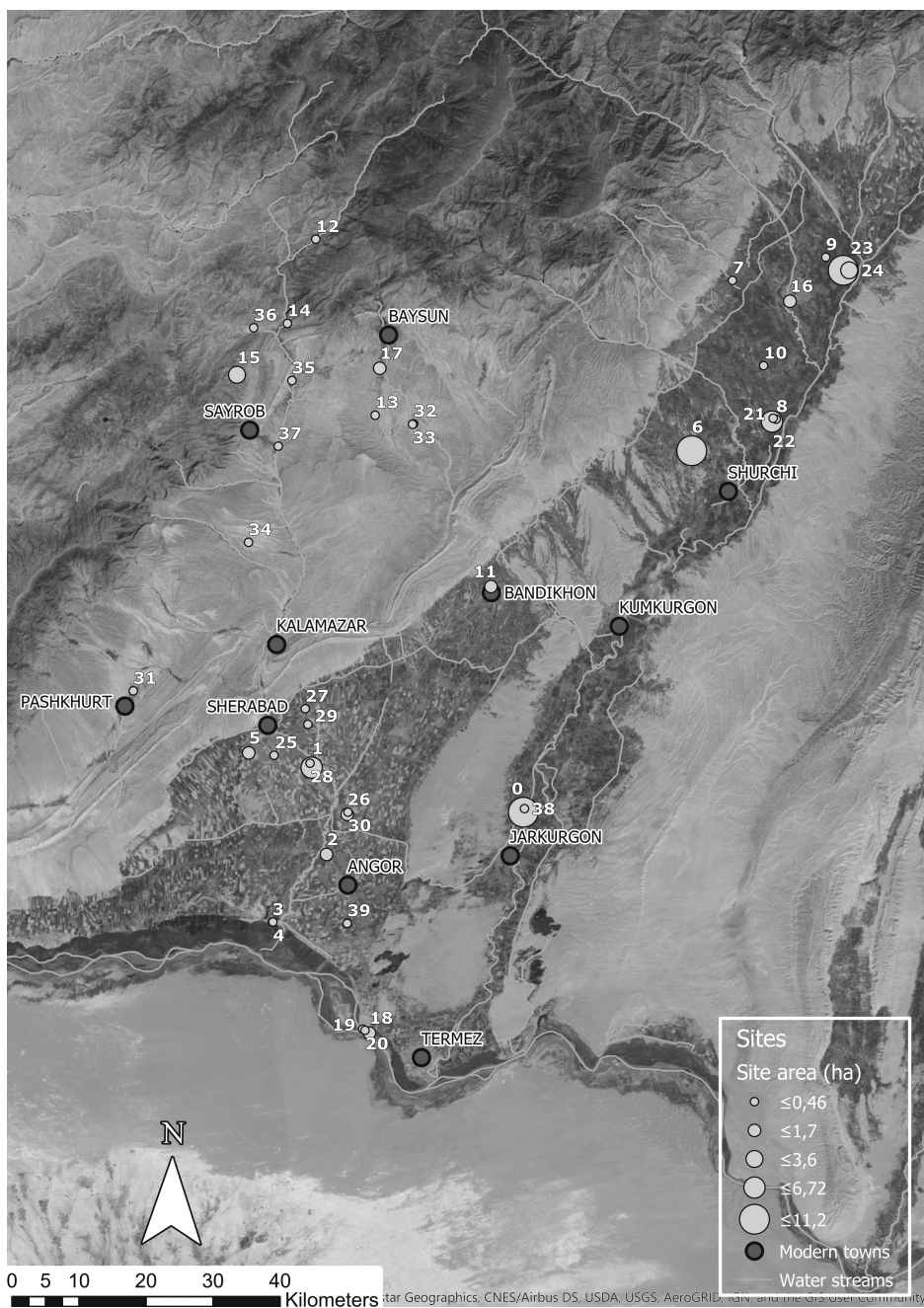


Figure 11.1 Map of the Surkhan Darya Region with archaeological sites of the Hellenistic period. Map by the author, based partly on Havlík 2018. ○ – Khaytabad, 1 – Jandavlat Tapa, 2 – Shor Tapa, 3 – Kampyr Tapa – Citadel, 4 – Kampyr Tapa – Shakhristan, 5 – Chopan Ata Tapa, 6 – Kyzyl Tapa, 7 – Supra Tapa II, 8 – Jurabay Tapa, 9 – Mayda Tapa, 10 – Kira Kira B, 11 – Yalangtush Tapa, 12 – Machay Kurgan, 13 – Kurganzol, 14 – Kapchigay, 15 – Uzundara, 16 – Kurgan Tapa,

(Continued)

Figure 11.1 Continued

17 – Payon Kurgan, 18 – Termez – Citadel, 19 – Termez – Chingiz Tapa, 20 – Termez – military camp, 21 – Dal’verzin Tapa – Shakhristan, 22 – Dal’verzin Tapa – Citadel, 23 – Khalchayan (Khanaka Tapa), 24 – Khalchayan (Karabag Tapa), 25 – Yalangoyokota Tapa, 26 – Aysari Tapa, 27 – Pastak Tapa, 28 – No name 21, 29 – No name 7, 30 – No name 53, 31 – Gisht Tapa, 32 – Munchak Tapa 1, 33 – Munchak Tapa 2, 34 – Iskandar Tapa, 35 – Daganajam Tapa, 36 – Darband Wall, 37 – Munchak Tapa, 38 – Zang Canal, 39 – Zar Tapa.

the historical and the modern capital of the region. The region borders internally with the Kashka Darya to the north-west, and with Turkmenistan to the west, Tajikistan to the east, and Afghanistan to the south. In this way, the local landscape can be divided into three basic natural environments: 1) lowlands in the river alluvia, typically artificially irrigated⁴ (Surkhan Darya valley, Sherabad Darya valley and their tributaries) and reaching its maximum elevation c. 500 masl ; 2) dry piedmont steppe typically up to c. 1000 m.a.s.l. (foothills of the Kugitang, Baysun Tau, and almost all of the Babatag, as well as the entire Haudag ridge in the central part of the valley), and 3) higher mountains of alpine landscape mentioned above. The first type of landscape is best suited primarily to sedentary agriculture centred in several oases, the third predominantly to seasonal nomadic pastoralism, while the second allows for an effective combination of both of these principal subsistence strategies. Such natural conditions determined settlement strategies of both prehistoric and historical populations.

FIELD WORK

Along with other regions of the former Soviet Union, the Surkhan Darya region has been a target of archaeological investigations for many decades, and arguably, it is comparatively the best researched area in the entire Hellenistic Far East, with the possible exception of the Ai Khanoum plain in north-east Afghanistan. The region has been subject to several extensive surface surveys as well as numerous large-scale excavation projects. The leading role in research has been played for a long time by the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences in Tashkent focusing on the study of antiquity in southern Uzbekistan, be it on the Hellenistic or the Kushan period. During the course of regular expeditions to the area in question, G. A. Pugachenkova and E. V. Rtveladze, leading archaeologists of the Tashkent team, excavated the first two sites with substantial Hellenistic occupation strata, both located in the upper Surkhan valley, even if the Hellenistic period was not their primary research goal at that time. These two sites were the large urban unfortified settlement of Khalchayan (Khanaka Tapa), excavated in 1959–1963 (Pugachenkova 1966), and the walled rectangular town of Dal’verzin Tapa, investigated thoroughly in 1962–1963 and again in 1967–1974 (Pugachenkova – Rtveladze 1978). From the very beginning of the excavation works it became clear that exploration of the Hellenistic remains would be complicated by the typical settlement pattern, with the relevant layers overlaid by later ones, typically of the Kushan period. Hence the Hellenistic layers were accessible mainly in the stratigraphic sections of both sites (Pugachenkova 1966, 30–44). Pugachenkova – Rtveladze 1978, 12–20). Meanwhile, Rtveladze, while conducting an extensive surface survey in the southern part of the region, discovered several other sites, among them the fortress of Kampyr Tapa situated on the right bank of

Amu Darya c. 30 kilometres downstream from Termez (Figure 11.2), which turned out to be one of the key sites for our understanding of both the Hellenistic and the following transitional period. Rtveladze claims that he already discovered the site in 1972; the first excavations, however, were conducted by S. Pidaev in 1977 (Rtveladze 2017, 14). Since 1979 Kampyr Tepa has been extensively excavated by the Institute of Art History and praiseworthily published in a separate series of the excavation reports (*Materialy tokharsitanskoy ekspeditsii*). The field work continues as an international Uzbek-Russian project with some interruption (1993–1999) to the present day with Rtveladze still in charge (Rtveladze 2017), and with S. Bolelov (Oriental Art Museum, Moscow; Bolelov 2011) and especially N. Dvurechenskaya (Russian Academy of Sciences) publishing extensively on the Hellenistic contexts of the fort (Dvurechenskaya 2011; 2012; 2013; 2016).

Meanwhile, Old Termez – the other important riverbank settlement – has become subject to archaeological investigation by the French–Uzbekistani team (MAFOuz of Bactria) led by P. Leriche together with T. Annaev and later S. Pidaev (Leriche 2007b; 2009; 2010; 2015; Leriche and Pidaev 2008). As stated by Leriche, “the aim of this new expedition was to find, identify and study the ancient Greek settlements in the Surkhan Darya region” (Leriche 2007b, 179). Since 1993, the team has investigated two areas within ancient Termez dating from the Hellenistic period (Fig. 11.3), resuming the previous work of S. Pidaev (Pidaev 1991). The first area

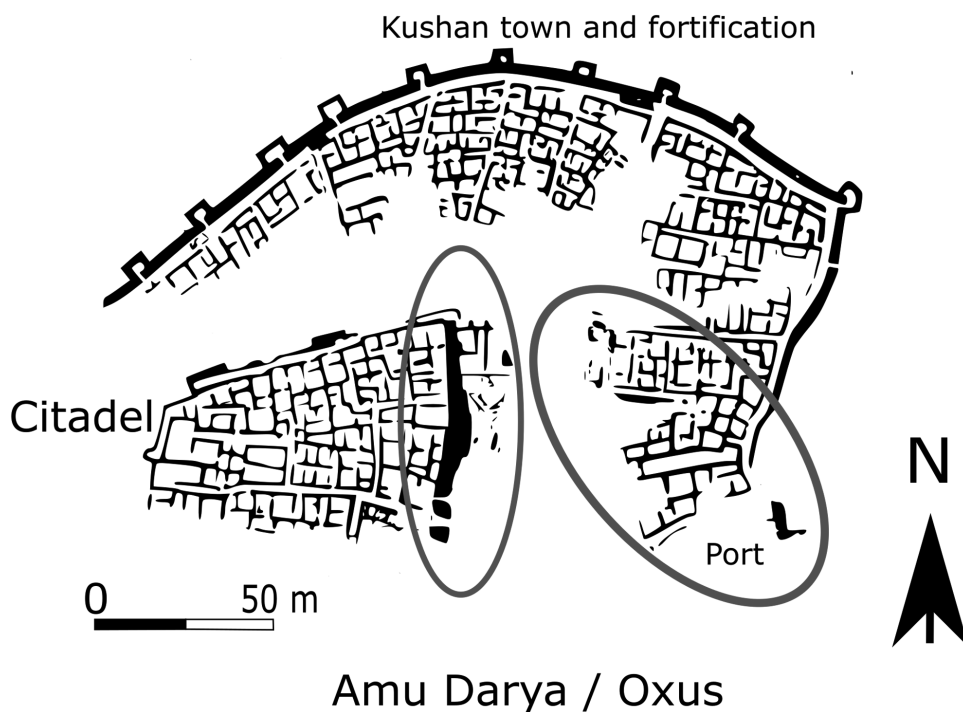


Figure 11.2 Kampyr Tepa, simplified ground plan of the fortress with areas, where the Hellenistic remains were studied highlighted, by author after Bolelov 2011, ris. 1.

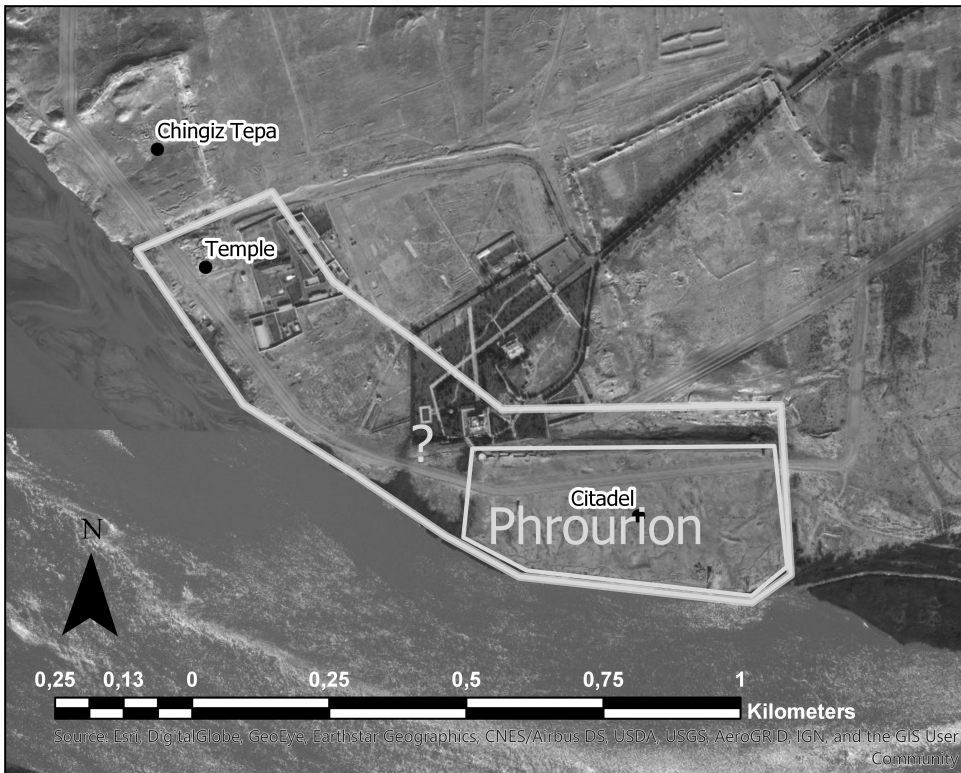


Figure 11.3 Hellenistic Termez – probable extent of the city with phrourion (citadel) in the east, by author based on Leriche 2010, fig. 10.

investigated was the southern part of the so-called citadel, already recognized as a Hellenistic monument in 1983 (Leriche 2010, 157). The Hellenistic strata here were detected about 12 metres deep under the surface in a stratigraphic trench 50 metres long and reach as much as 2.5 metres of accumulations with architecture built of square mudbricks. According to Leriche, the earliest strata date to before 280 BC. The estimated extent of the walled settlement identified as a *phrourion* i.e. a fortress functioning as an observation point is c. one hectare (Leriche 2010, 157). The second area investigated was a ‘cultic complex’, either a palace or a building with a religious function, with the earliest strata dated to the mid-3rd century BC. The dating is based on the discovery of a coin of Euthydemus and a sculptural fragment of a lion stylistically close to Aśokan plastic art (Leriche 2007b, 193–200). Under the aegis of this project, two other Hellenistic sites elsewhere in Surkhan Darya were briefly studied. First, the isolated multicultural settlement of Khaitabad Tepa in the Surkhan Darya valley (in the Jarkurgan District) was preliminarily surveyed and two trenches were opened: one at the citadel and another on the rampart (Leriche 1994). As a second site, the settlement of Payon (or Tuman) Kurgan just outside the town of Baysun in the northwest of the region was partly excavated by K. Abdullaev in 1997–2001.

Unfortunately, only brief preliminary reports and selected finds have been published (Abdullaev 1999; 2001; 2002) showing no early Hellenistic material.

The other French-Uzbekistani team focused on an investigation of the so-called Darband Wall – a singular monument of the borderlands that was originally discovered by Parfyonov in 1930 (Rakhmanov and Rapin 1998, 5) and then ‘rediscovered’ by Rtveladze as a presumed Kushan structure in 1986 (Rtveladze 1986). Rakhmanov and Rapin – the leaders of the Darband archaeological team (*Darbandskiy arkhéologicheskii otryad*) – opened several trenches (sections of the wall and excavations of towers) in 1996–2001 and found out that the massive fortification had been founded in the Greco-Bactrian period, only to be later repeatedly reinforced by the Kushans (Rakhmanov and Rapin 2003; Rapin et al. 2006).

The last two decades bear witness to an increasing interest in the Hellenistic period in the Surkhan Darya, especially in its north-western margin, the present-day Baysun district. First, a small Hellenistic fortress at Kurganzol was discovered in 2003 by the Baysun Expedition (a Russian-Uzbekistani collaboration) in the foothills of the Baysun Tau (Mokroborodov 2005). The principal part of the site – the fort itself – was fully unearthed by L. Sverchkov in 2004 and 2008. Excavations have brought to light immensely important stratified archaeological data, since Kurganzol was the first known site in the Surkhan Darya, whose Hellenistic strata had not been disturbed or overlaid by a later occupation phase (Sverchkov 2005a; 2007; 2008; 2013). Sverchkov also turned his attention to an extensive surface survey, focusing predominantly on the Baysun District. Doing so, he was able to recognize two other Hellenistic sites – Kapchigay, in the modern village of Darband (Sverchkov 2005b, 13–14), and Machay Kurgan – an elevated watch-post in the central part of the remote Machay valley north of Baysun (Sverchkov 2005b, 10, n. 4).

The second fortress, Uzundara, appears to have been an even more important site. It was briefly investigated by Rtveladze in 1991 at an even more remote location, high up the Susiztag mountain ridge in the vicinity of the Sairob village and dated initially to the Kushan period (Rtveladze 2002, 103–104). It was only Rakhmanov and Rapin, who in 1997 recognized – based on the surface pottery finds – that this fortress with 13 defensive towers does not belong to the Kushan period, as previously thought, but predominantly to the Hellenistic period (Rakhmanov – Rapin 1998, 30). Regular intensive excavations of the Russian-Uzbekistani team led by N. Dvurechenskaya (RAS, Moscow) started at Uzundara in 2013 and continues to the present day regularly revealing numerous remarkable finds and contexts (Rtveladze – Dvurechenskaya 2015; Dvurechenskaya 2015a; 2018; Dvurechenskaya et al. 2016).

The latest chapter in the study of the Hellenistic borderlands has been written by the Czech-Uzbekistani team led by the present author, surveying various parts of the steppe belt of the Kugitang-Baysun Tau piedmonts. Extensive surface surveys in 2017 and 2018 resulted in the discovery of several previously unknown Hellenistic sites (Iskandar Tepa, Daganajam) or the correct dating of already known, but misunderstood sites (Munchak Tepa I and II in the village of Kofrun) (Stančo et al. 2019). Impressive Hellenistic material was also earlier gained by the Czech-Uzbek team from the stratigraphic trench on the site of Jandavlat Tepa, a central settlement of the Sherabad Oasis. Unfortunately, this data – unlike Yaz I and II strata (Abdullaev 2018) – remains so far unpublished (Abdullaev and Stančo 2004, 21–23).

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Lack of administrative documents or written sources of any kind dealing with the region in question limits any attempt to reconstruct settlement structure, hierarchy and the strategies of Greco-Bactrian rulers concerning the spatial organization of the Bactro-Sogdian borderlands. How then does this state of knowledge relate to the famous statement of Pompeius Trogus describing Bactria under Diodotos as a land of a thousand cities (Justin 41.1; 4)? The previous paragraphs clearly show that archaeological research in the Surkhan Darya region – or north-western Bactria – have provided heterogeneous data on the history of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. The spatial distribution of the archaeological sites of the Hellenistic period and its serious analysis, however, has been neglected by scholars until quite recently. Except for the very brief analysis based only on previous scholarly literature (Koshelenko and Serditykh 1987), the first serious evaluation of the data that deals with the region as a whole comes to the conclusion that there were only about 20 sites belonging to both the Hellenistic and Transitional (Yue-Zhi) periods (Stride 2004, I, 307). Havlík, on the other hand, who recently put forward a new overview of settlements in Hellenistic Bactria, deals with 30 sites of the period, dispersed unevenly throughout the Surkhan Darya. Some of these new sites were added by dividing larger sites into several parts (Havlík 2018), while the rest represent newly detected settlements in the Sherabad plain (Stančo and Tušlová eds. 2018). More thorough analysis of the data from the Sherabad oasis shows 1) a continuity and comparable range of the occupied sites during the Yaz III/Achaemenid period, but 2) striking differences during the following Kushan period: If we know a total of eight sites in the oasis in the former period, their number increases rapidly reaching as much as 51 in the latter (Stančo 2019, 362–366). This sharp increase has been interpreted as the result of a complete change in settlement patterns due to the construction of a large irrigation system in the Kushan period (Stančo 2019, 366–371). This picture, however, may be caused or at least strongly influenced by the current state of research, which does not fully mirror the complexity of the historical landscape, since the remains of a certain number of rural sites may be obscured by later (Kushan and/or Medieval) deposits, as attested only recently by a secondary survey (Stančo et al. 2019, 146). Elsewhere, Greco-Bactrian sites were considered to be Kushan based on an incorrect attribution of the pottery assemblage, as was the case in Munchak Tepa I and II in Kofrun, for instance (Stančo et al. 2019, 159). In any case, the oasis seems not to have been very extensively settled, having only one larger settlement in its centre – Jandavlat Tepa. Comparison with the Achaemenid settlement pattern indicates an abandonment of the rural sites in close proximity to this central site (Stančo 2018a, esp. 184–187), which is also well attested elsewhere in the Sherabad Darya region, especially at Kyzyl Tepa in Mirshade oasis (Fig. 11.4), where the central site also survived the turbulent period of Alexander and continued its existence for several decades, unlike its satellites – small farmsteads in its vicinity (Wu 2018, 207–212). These case studies further corroborate the general picture sketched by Stride (2004) and well rendered by Havlík, who states that 92% of Achaemenid settlements in the Surkhan Darya region ceased to exist (while in eastern Bactria only 58% did so!) and in Bactria as a whole it was 68.6%, i.e. 127 out of 185 sites (Havlík 2018, 129). After this initial destruction, however, due to which in the Surkhan Darya of the Hellenistic period, there survived only five settlement sites



Figure 11.4 Kyzyl Tapa, citadel, photo by author.

out of the 56 known sites of the Achaemenid phase, Havlik sees a new consolidation in the 3rd century BC,⁵ even if the number of sites (30) did not reach its previous state (Havlik 2018, 102–103). Thus, if Jandavlat Tapa remained an important centre of one of the oases, new – even larger – centres grew in other parts of region during the 3rd century BC. These were situated in the Surkhan Darya river valley and distributed from north to south at Khalchayan⁶ – especially at Khanaka Tapa and Karabag Tapa (Pugachenkova 1966, 31–36, 100–106), Dal’verzin Tapa (Pugachenkova and Rtveladze eds. 1978, 12–19), and Khaitabad Tapa (Leriche 1994). To evaluate the validity of this theory about the central settlement and its rural hinterland, further research, especially intensive surface surveys in the environs of the aforementioned sites, is necessary. Note that all of these larger settlements are situated on the right bank of a river (be it Surkhan Darya or Sherabad Darya), some several hundred meters to 1.5 kilometres away from the river bed.

Apart from the larger settlement sites in lowland river valleys (Khalchayan, Dal’verzin, Khaitabad, Jandavlat, Yalangtush), which were arguably administrative centres inheriting or directly prolonging their function from the Late Achaemenid centres (Kyzyl, Jandavlat, Bandikhan), there were smaller sites of a different nature located in the second zone – in the piedmonts. The site of Daganajam Tapa is situated on the right bank of upper Sherabad Darya overlooking a narrow, but fertile valley stretching about three to four kilometres to the north and south (Stančo et al 2019, 151). It functioned as an agricultural settlement, as it seems, but also as a strategical watch-post with a good view of the entire valley. There is no evidence for fortifications of any kind, but future excavations may show otherwise. A similar choice of location and general characteristics seem to be repeated at the twin settlement of Munchak

Tepa I and II in Kofrun, at Machay Kurgan and at Iskandar Tepa near Loylagan (see map in Figure 11.1). The striking similarity in the disposition of the foothill sites may suggest the existence of an intentional foundation of a network of such stations along the small rivers, with a multi-purpose plan. They might have served as the agricultural hinterland for a group of borderland forts, as watch-posts and as signaling points (hence the elevation of most of them). The primarily defensive function of the sites, both at the Amu Darya and in the piedmonts of Baysun Tau, is discussed further below. Only serious future research, however, will be able to answer these hypotheses responsibly.

ANCIENT PLACE NAMES

There were various attempts to identify the important riverside outposts of Termez and Kampyr Tepa with the names of sites occurring in the ancient written sources, especially those that were connected with the earliest phase of the post-Achaemenid period. Thus, the former has been tentatively identified with Alexandria Oxeiana of Ptolemy (Pidaev 1992, 53–55; Grenet and Rapin 1998, 83; Rtveladze, Bernard by Leriche 2007b, 181), or as the Marginia of Curtius Rufus (Grenet and Rapin 1998, 82–83), or even Demetrias. Moreover, Grenet and Rapin suggest that Termez, founded as Alexandria Oxeiana, was later – under Seleukid rule – renamed as Antiochia, finally receiving the etymologically more familiar name of Tarmita in the Kushan period (Grenet and Rapin 1998, 83). The identification of Termez as Alexandria Oxeiana was also questioned and rejected (Sverchkov 2013, 149–150). Kampyr Tepa, however, was also declared to be Pandokheion (Rtveladze 2002, 46–53) or Alexandria Oxeiana (Leriche 2007a, 133; Leriche 2010, 187; Rtveladze 2017). Marginia was alternatively identified with the cluster of sites in Bandykhan (Sverchkov 2013, 134–135). Alexandria Oxeiana found its newest home in the Sherabad oasis, as considered by Rapin to be a site in its central part, such as Jandavlat Tepa (Rapin 2018, 282). It is obvious even from this confusing overview how difficult and complex it is to identify a name in the sources with an actual site: we should not forget that Alexandria on the Oxus has been proposed not only to be Termez, Kampyr and “a site in Sherabad area”, but above all the distant city of Ai Khanoum (Koshelenko and Serditykh 1987, 55).

Kyzyl Tepa, on the other hand, which was abandoned during the late 4th/early 3rd centuries BC (Wu 2018, 200–202), was tentatively identified with the city of Gazaba, the place where the wedding of Alexander and Roxane may have taken place (Rapin 2018, 293), and therefore did not play any role in later Greco-Bactrian developments.

One of the favourite riddles among scholars studying the toponymy of Central Asia is represented by the famous town of the Branchidae, where Greeks from Didyma were reportedly relocated by Xerxes from western Asia Minor to the Bactrian-Sogdian borderlands (Curtius Rufus 7.5.27–35). The story is far from being accepted as an historical event by many scholars (Rapin 2018, 280–282). Those who believe it, however, propose various places as the ‘crime scene’ of the famous massacre. Among other solutions proposed by Rtveladze, such as Er Kurgan in Kashka Darya (Rtveladze 2002, 73–74), more recently he has suggested Talashkan Tepa I in the Sherabad plains of the Surkhan Darya (Sagdullaev and Rtveladze 1983, 50–60), only to refute it later himself (Rtveladze 2002, 70; see *ibid*

66–84 for a complete discussion and bibliography on the topic), while Sagdullaev speculated for the first time about Jandavlat Tepa as the correct answer (Sagdullaev in the foreword to Rtveladze 2002, 9; see also Stančo and Tušlová 2018, 364–365). The site of Mudin Tepa near Akrobat has been added to the list recently, reportedly because it is supposed to be located on the route from Kelif to Kashka Darya and passing the Kugitang Tau from the west (Sverchkov 2013, 147). Be that as it may, even if we accept the historicity of Curtius' narrative, for our purpose it is irrelevant, since once destroyed by Alexander, the town was never rebuilt and played no further role in later Hellenistic developments.

As a matter of fact, there is no direct evidence for either of these places and their names and we are far from certain in these identifications. The confidence with which scholars themselves approach this issue is reflected, among other things, in the fact that sites in maps of Bactria are usually labelled by their modern names.

Considering the region as a whole and its administrative organization, the present-day Surkhan Darya basically belonged to the greater satrapy of Bactria during the Achaemenid period, but at the same time, it represented the southern part of the minor satrapy of Sogdiana (Jacobs 2001). As we mentioned earlier, ambiguity persists in the scholarly debate on the question about which of the historical regions and former satrapies of Bactria or Sogdiana Surkhan Darya belonged to in the Greco-Bactrian period. Taking into account the above-mentioned subdivision of the eastern satrapies, it might have formed a part of both great Bactria (covering almost all of southern Central Asia) and Sogdiana, its southern part, at the same time. Jacobs, on the other hand, suggests that Margiana (Merv) was an integral part of the central satrapy of Bactria (not only of great Bactria). In this case, Sogdiana would really be the north-eastern neighbour of the central satrapy of Bactria, and the river of Oxus would have formed the border between the two on the relatively long stretch of its course, i.e. the middle reaches. Be that as it may, the region is large enough to bear a historical name of its own. Rtveladze tried to identify all the territory from around Akrobat down to the Amu Darya, including the Kugitang mountains and its piedmonts (i.e. the most western periphery of the Surkhan Darya region), with a historical entity called Gazaba (Rtveladze 2002, 85–94; see map *ibid.* p. 23). Sverchkov disagrees on this point with Rtveladze, proposing a different area instead of Kugitang. According to him, Gazaba should be searched for much closer to Nautaka, most probably around the confluence of Ura Darya and Kichik Ura Darya (Sverchkov 2013, 148). Gazaba, as it happens, is the same toponym which has been used by Rapin for the Kyzyl Tepa oasis (see above). Rtveladze, moreover, takes it for granted that the land of Paraetacians known from Greek sources (Arrian 4.21) has to be identical not with the Surkhan Darya and Kafirnigan valley in south-western Tajikistan (following Grigoriev, P'yankov and some other scholars), but with the foothills of north-western Surkhan Darya alone (Rtveladze 2002, 129–136). Kyzyl Tepa, in this case, would have been the capital of Paraetacenae, as Rtveladze claims (2002, 133). Sverchkov later defined Paraetacenae as only the upper Surkhan Darya valley (the region around Denau) (Sverchkov 2013, 146). More recently, the place name Oxeiana (inhabited by Oxeianoi) has been employed by Rapin to refer to the Sherabad oasis (Rapin 2018, 282). We shall close this section with the rather pessimistic conclusion that we cannot be sure of either of the proposed regional identifications.

THE CROSSING OF THE OXUS

The question concerning the crossing of the mighty Central Asian river, the Oxus, has been crucial in the research of E. V. Rtveladze, who proposed several locations suitable for the transport of people and goods across the river, among them Termez, Chushka Guzar and Shurob (Rtveladze 2002, 28–39; see the map *ibid.*, 29). Recently he decided on the place located between the Kampyr Tapa and Shurob Kurgan as the one that was frequented in the Hellenistic period (Rtveladze 2017, 13). Leriche, on the other hand, believes that the description of Curtius Rufus (7.5) allows us to locate the crossing used by Alexander at the only point on the left river bank which is significantly elevated, i.e. the territory around Kerki/Kelif. Claiming this, he says that the army marched along a much safer and easier route along the (western?) foothills of the Kugitang towards Samarkand (Leriche 2010, 185).

INDIVIDUAL GRECO-BACTRIAN CENTRES

The current state of research allows us to speak, considering the 34 known sites, of less than a dozen sites throughout the Surkhan Darya as Greco-Bactrian centres, be they administrative centres (small walled towns?) or purely military sites (forts and fortresses). Note that there is no evidence here for a larger settlement or a city comparable in any way to those of Ai Khanoum, Takht-i Sangin or Bactra. The first group consists exclusively of sites that were settled continuously after the collapse of the Greco-Bactrian realm, especially in the subsequent Transitional (Yue-zhi) and Kushan periods. These are comparatively larger settlements (as opposed to smaller purely rural settlements) at the sites of Dal'verzin Tapa, Jandavlat Tapa, Khaitabad, and Khalchayan, as well as smaller ones at Talashkan Tapa II (Sherobod), Shor Tapa (Angor), and Yalangtush Tapa (Bandykhan). These sites seem to be quite evenly distributed across the region.

In the second group can be listed such sites as the citadel of Old Termez, Kampyr Tapa, Uzundara, Kurganzol, and perhaps also the less known site of Kapchigay in Darband. Their rather smaller size, specific location and above all the key role of fortification in their ground plan and architecture leaves no doubt about their function: these were founded as forts defending outer borders or strategic points at the crossings of Amu Darya.

According to Leriche, the Seleukid/Greco-Bactrian settlement of Old Termez was originally established as a Seleukid military colony (*phrourion/φρούριον*) – smaller than Kampyr Tapa – in order to control one of the few river crossings on the Amu Darya (Leriche 2007b, 209); he uses the same designation also for Kelif, Kerki and Mirzabek (Leriche 2007a, 133). The term has recently also been used by Rtveladze when describing Kampyr Tapa (Rtveladze 2017), although the same author argued earlier for the classification of the fort as a military colony (*katoikia*) (Rtveladze 2001a, 17). Recently, the fortress of Uzundara has also been described as a military colony or *phrourion* by the excavators (Dvuechenskaya 2018, 17). As a matter of fact, we do not have evidence for the use of either of the proposed terms in Bactria. Classical sources, such as Thucydides or Diodorus Siculus use this as a military term for fortified bases (Nielsen 2002, 52). It is very unlikely for the site to be a *phrourion* and a *polis* at the same time, at least in the Classical period. The only known

example, pointed out by Nielsen, is the city of Sestos in the Hellespont (Thucydides 8, 62, 3), “no other individual site classified as *phrourion* by Classical sources was a Greek *polis* town and several are not given a name” (Nielsen 2002, 52). In the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, however, some former *poleis* were referred to as *phrouria*. Sometimes the term was used only for a specific purpose or time period of the existence of a given *polis* when it became besieged or otherwise endangered by the enemy’s army, as in the case of Mylai, Naupaktos, Stageira and others (Nielsen 2002, 59–61). Be that as it may, Greek cities that were newly founded in Bactria and Sogdiana and named after Alexander, Seleukids or Graeco-Bactrian kings (i.e. Demetrias and Eukratideia), are referred to by Strabo (11.11.2) as *poleis* (πόλεις), as are elsewhere (11.11.4) the eight unnamed cities founded in Bactria and Sogdiana by Alexander. Note, however, that for the town of the Branchidae, Strabo used word ἄστυ (ibid.). This is, however, not the case for smaller single-purpose forts, such as Uzundara, for instance, that can be very well described by the term *phrourion*.

HISTORY⁷

From Dareios III to Antiochos I

Unlike the Greek presence in these lands, which very likely predated the arrival of Philip II’s son, indisputable Greek rule over Bactria and neighbouring regions of southern Central Asia begins with the campaign of Alexander the Great. Study of the settlement dynamics shows clearly that many of the Achaemenid settlements were abandoned, as Alexander marched north of Oxus pursuing the ‘king slayer’ Bessos. Abandonment, however, does not mean intentional destruction. The local population might have run away in the face of a foreign army of seasoned Macedonian warriors, taking hasty refuge in the mountainous area of the Bactria–Sogdiana borderlands. Alexander obviously initiated resettlement and fortification of particular locations that were crucial for the safety and further advancement of the army and for the securing of the regions already subdued. Suggested possibilities for identifying some newly established cities and fortresses from this period with names in the Greek written sources have been discussed above. We do not know much about the subsequent developments taking place in the Surkhan Darya during both the governorship of the Cypriote Stasanor of Soloi in Bactria (321–306 BC) (Mendoza Sanahuja 2017), and Seleukid rule over Bactria and Sogdiana that started with the eastern campaign of Seleucos I (306–c. 250 BC). Greek settlers from beyond the Oxus most likely took an active part in the revolts against their distant Macedonian rulers, aiming to return home in 325 and 323 BC, but what consequences this episode brought to the borderlands themselves, we do not know. During this time, only several sites retained the same function held during the Achaemenid period. These included both larger walled sites at Jandavlat Tapa, Khaitabad Tapa and Kyzyl Tapa, but also smaller rural settlements in their hinterlands: Yalangoyokota Tapa, Ghisht Tapa and Surpa Tapa II (Havlik 2018, 102), while some exceptional settlements were newly founded. An exceptional place among these belongs to the fort of Kurganzol, which was founded in 328 BC according to dendrochronological data (Hauschner – Boroffka 2013). 328 BC is supposedly the cutting date of the juniper wood used for the fort’s construction. Unlike the dendrochronological data that perfectly fits the

historical narrative, analysis from the C14 samples gave rather confusing dates ranging from 805–380 BC according to one laboratory and 430–405 BC according to the other. Such a result is very difficult to explain (Haussner – Boroffka 2013, 184), but it is by no means unique: similar issues also arose in the analysis of samples from Kyzyl Tepa, where again the dendrochronological dating seems to be much too early compared to the archaeological material (Wu Xin 2018, 202). The very specific circular ground-plan of Kurganzol fort (Sverchkov 2013, 19. ris. 11), so different from any other Greek fortification in the East, resembling rather earlier structures in the region, such as Talashkan Tepa I, gives the impression that it was designed by a local builder and not by Greek newcomers (Fig. 11.8). Since the masonry does not look hastily constructed, it is likely that the whole fort – if the dating is correct – was built on the command of Alexander by some loyal local noble.

Archaeology is much more eloquent when it comes to the turn of the 4th and 3rd century BC. According to the results of recent excavations, we are able to say that during the reign of Seleukos I – or rather at the time when his son, Antiochos I, was exercising the office of Bactrian governor (Holt 1999, 26) and later, when he became king and his Bactrian position was gradually assumed by the Seleukid princes Seleukos and Antiochos – there was founded a group of new settlements. Thus, the military bases of Kampyr Tepa, Old Termez, and Uzundara were newly built under Antiochos I, as was perhaps also Payon Kurgan. More specifically, according to Bolelov, the earliest strata of pit-houses (esp. no. 3) at Kampyr Tepa have been dated on the basis of C14 to the second half of the 4th c. More precisely, two samples gave dates of 351–299 and 357–282 BC respectively (Bolelov 2013). Concerning Payon Kurgan, note that such early material from Payon Kurgan has never been published, it is only briefly mentioned (Leriche 2007a, 132; Abdullaev 2001a, 28). Besides, coin finds (Soter Megas and later) suggest a rather later dating for the site, too (Abdullaev 2001a, 30).

The founding of forts at strategically important river-crossings was a proven Seleukid policy, as shown by examples of forts at Dura Europos and Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, safeguarding fords or ferries over this Mesopotamian river. It is remarkable that in the case of the fortresses on the Euphrates, these were placed on its west bank, that is, on the bank within the core of the empire, with the boundaries of the western and eastern Seleukid provinces passing through them. Old Termez and Kampyr Tepa, on the other hand, were erected on the north bank of the Oxus, as if ensuring the possibility to cross the Amu Darya safely and to enter an uncertain area. Unlike with the case of Dura and Jebel Khalid, which were obviously well fortified both towards the river and to the hinterland, we do not know these details in the case of Old Termez, but at least Kampyr Tepa was fortified along the same lines (Dvurechenskaya 2013; 2016). Last but not least, Antiochos I began to strike coins in Bactra and Ai Khanoum in the name of his father and in his own, establishing a monetary economy in Central Asia for the first time (Holt 1999, 37). The amount of coin finds is, however, currently growing at a high rate, changing progressively our view of the nature of coin circulation (see below).

Graeco-Bactrian period

Now, which of the scarce notes of Greek and Latin authors (essentially Polybios, Strabo and Justin) on Bactria and Sogdiana may pertain to the territory of Surkhan

Darya and help us to elucidate local history in the second half of the 3rd century BC? The thoroughly-researched period of the revolt of the Bactrian satrap Diodotos against his Seleukid overlords around 250 BC (Justin 41.4; Strabo 11.11.1) is particularly difficult to capture in archaeological sources north of Oxus. It is generally agreed that at that time, Graeco-Bactrian rulers kept control over both Bactria and Sogdiana, thus also dominating the Surkhan Darya in between.

Polybios' reference to nomads approaching Bactria during the war between Euthydemos I, the Bactrian king of Magnesians (Asia Minor) origin, and the Seleukid king Antiochos III (c. 208–206 BC), and gravely endangering both parties, concerns with all probability nomads coming from the north, across the Sogdian–Bactrian border. If so, the territory of the Surkhan Darya and the mountains beyond must have been perceived as a buffer zone, where the nomads had to be stopped. It is rather unlikely that the sophisticated defence system of the Bactrian–Sogdian borderlands was designed and built during the siege of Bactra: at that time, Euthydemos had a more serious threat at hand. But after the peace treaty with Antiochos had been signed and the Seleukid armies had finally departed to India in 206 BC, the Graeco-Bactrian king at last had free hands to take such measures as would prevent nomadic incursions into Bactrian territory. The protection of the northern border of the independent Bactrian kingdom, as well as of the former Seleukid satrapy of Bactria must have been an issue before the campaign of Antiochos III, even before the ascent of Euthydemos to the throne. But the threat must have had to intensify somehow towards the end of the 3rd century BC to become the decisive argument in the peace negotiations (Polybios 11.6.34). Some of the military facilities in the northern Bactrian borderlands obviously had predecessors in those founded originally by Antiochos I during his governorship back in the 280s BC and later. These were now most likely simply repaired and reinforced, and of course occupied by a strong garrison. In order to confirm and elucidate these developments, we can use both archaeological and numismatic data. The best example of an outpost in the borderlands is represented by the fortress of Uzundara situated on the eastern hillside of the Susiztag mountain ridge, near the present-day village of Sairob, that was constructed with a single purpose: to block the way through the mountains between Sogdiana and Bactria (Figures 11.5 and 11.6). There the Russian team uncovered a few Seleukid coins attesting to its existence in the first half of the 3rd century BC, and even two specimens of coins imitating Alexander the Great that were issued shortly after his death (at least one of them in Lampsacus), but the main body of finds belongs to the reign of Euthydemos (Tab. 1). The prevailing copper coin type is that of this king, with Herakles' head to the right depicted on the obverse and a prancing horse to the right on the reverse. As many as 79 of these coins have been found so far at Uzundara (Dvurechenskaya 2018, 18), but the number is growing significantly every year, making up moreover half of the overall amount of numismatic finds at this site (Dvurechenskaya 2018, 18), and dwarfing all the other site finds of Euthydemos coins combined (Rtveladze – Gorin 2015, 165–166), unless we count hoards. Currently, more of these coins come from Uzundara than from Ai Khanoum, from where only 57 specimens are known so far (Bernard 1985, 58–60, nos. 104–152). There is little doubt that they were used as payment for soldiers or even mercenaries: the large amount of coins implies many, well paid soldiers, especially compared to both earlier and later periods. The strong military presence and even the course of an armed conflict – an attempt to conquer the fortress – is further

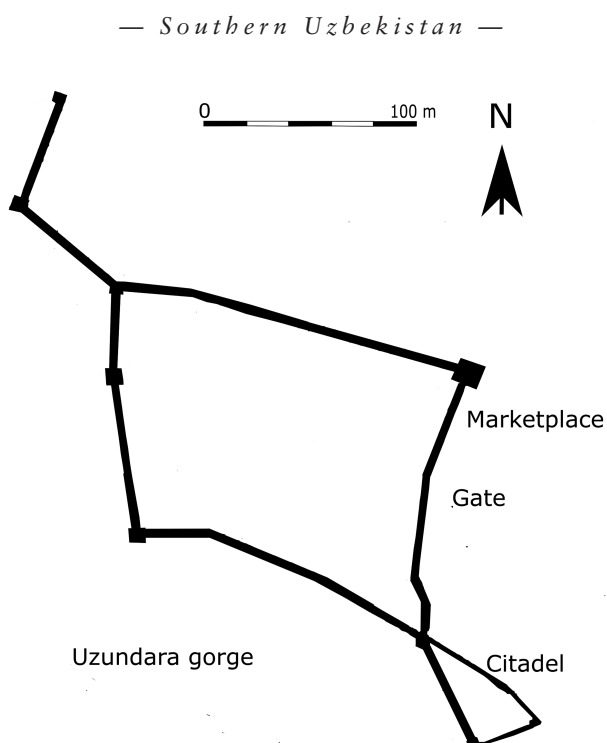


Figure 11.5 Uzundara, simplified ground plan of the fortress, by author after Dvurechenskaya 2015, 39, ris. 2.



Figure 11.6 Uzundara, view of the citadel from southwest. Photo by author.

corroborated by hundreds of arrow heads of various types found recently in and around Uzundara. A rough number of about 500 iron arrowheads from Uzundara has been reported by N. Dvurechenskaya and O. Dvurechensky after the 2018 field season, during a public presentation of the excavation results at Termez University, along with many slingshots, helmet cheekpieces and many other fragments of arms and armour. As for coin finds, by the end of 2018, about 150 coins were reported to have been found in and around the fortress itself. There were only 45 coins found in 2018, 41 of which were, moreover, Hellenistic (presentation available at URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DUT-LHPoUjg>).

If the mighty fortress of Uzundara was constructed earlier, and only reinforced during the reign of Euthydemus, the principal defence structure in the region – the famous Wall of Darband aka the Iron Gates – was, according to the current state of research, newly built in this particular period (Rapin 2013, 65; Stančo et al. 2019, 148–150). The fortification here once closed the main road leading from the Surkhan Darya to the Kashka Darya, one of few communication corridors linking ancient Bactria and Sogdiana. There is not attested elsewhere as impressive a fortress complex as at Uzundara: the Darband Wall consists of a long wall (c. 1.6–1.7 kilometres long) made originally of stone and reinforced by several individual towers along its course (Figure 11.7), and of a small fort in the southern central part where the ancient road most probably passed by. The earliest coin finds from the surface at of the wall belong to Euthydemus (Stančo et al., in preparation), although a coin of the period of Alexander was also reported here, which was found c. 800 metres to the east of the wall next to the Shurob Say (Rapin 2013, 65). The two principal fortifications were complemented by several other defensive structures in the immediate



Figure 11.7 Darband Wall, view from the north. Photo by author.

neighbourhood, about which we unfortunately know much less. The Russian team discovered two long stone ramparts closing the eastern hillsides of Susiztag in the vicinity of Uzundara and interpreted them as part of the sophisticated fortification system protecting inhabitants of the Surkhan Darya from nomadic incursions from Sogdiana. Nevertheless, any evidence, confirming this interpretation has not yet been published. To the west of the Darband Wall, there was a settlement in the village of the same name, well situated on a low hill, overlooking the entrance to the Machay Gorge and thus controlling an alternative road to/from the north. This site, called Kapchigay, which was probably also fortified, has not yielded any coins so far, but the pottery finds point to the second half of the 3rd century BC (Sverchkov 2005b, 13–14; Martinez-Sève 2017, 289–290; Stančo et al. 2019, 145–148.).

Although the way in which the Darband Wall, as well as the Uzundara fortress, were used seems to be clear – in words of P. Leriche, “the Iron Gates site could have served as a frontier for the Greco-Bactrian kingdom in periods during which the Greeks were not in control of Samarkand” (Leriche 2007a, 133) – one cannot ignore the possibility of an alternative interpretation of the entire defence system around the ‘Iron Gates’. The long lasting controversy about the fortress of Eleutherai in Attica, Greece, and especially the question of who actually built it – whether the Boiotians against Attica or vice versa (for recent additions and arguments concerning this dispute and a complete literature see Fachard 2013) – leads us to not accept the primary explanation of the whole Darband system so easily. The Darband Wall is a linear fortification that may well protect defenders from either side, while the location of Uzundara is quite suspicious from a tactical point of view: it spreads over a ravine on the eastern slope of Susiztag below the rocks and the summit of the ridge, having – on the other hand – a great view over the foothill steppe beneath it to the east. Based on that, one would expect an enemy coming uphill from the eastern side. This assumption is also strongly corroborated by the results of an intensive metal-detector surface survey conducted very responsibly by the Russian team. The presence of fierce fighting has been documented by hundreds of arrowheads found at the fortress – on the eastern side. It does not make sense from a tactical point of view to have attacked the fortress from below (i.e. from the east) when the attacker had just shortly beforehand been positioned above it (in the west) and would have had to circumvent it somehow, as has been suggested recently by excavators (<https://archaeologynewsnetwork.blogspot.com/2019/02/bactrian-fortress-reveals-how-an-ancient.html#yS4C5oAffGVRe4bp.97>). It is much more likely that Uzundara served some power against Bactria, at least for some part of its history. Still, the ground plan leaves no doubt that the fortress was a Greek installation. But what would be its precise purpose, if intended to protect a Greek power in the north-west against a (Greek) power in the south-east? One possible explanation – bearing in mind that the soldiers were being paid with large quantities of Herakles head/horse type coins of Euthydemus – is that it could have been Euthydemus himself, who in the initial phase dominated Sogdiana (Lerner speaks of Graeco-Sogdian kingdom founded by Euthydemus in this respect, see Lerner 1996), who fought against the Diodotids using Uzundara as military outpost and base, only to invade Bactria and defeat Diodotos II a little later, when his time came at last. It should be noted in this respect that the prevailing coin type found at Uzundara (judging from the examples published so far) is a copper coin with thick flan, no monogram, and a bevelled edge, regarded as an earlier

one in Euthydemos career (Glenn 2015, 134–136). This would have meant that soldiers serving at Uzundara were definitely paid with these coins before the siege of Bactra. Having been attacked by Antiochos III a couple of years later and besieged for almost three years in Bactra, Euthydemos could have lost Sogdiana for good as suggested by Atakhodjaev (Atakhodjaev 2013, 244; see also Rtveladze and Gorin 2015, 146–147). Other possible scenarios concerning the relations between Bactria and Sogdiana in the Seleukid and Graeco-Bactrian period were drawn by Naymark (2005, 116–118). The Iron Gate system might have been turned upside down to be now used against the north-west, to defend the buffer zone of the Graeco-Bactrian possessions. Martinez-Seve takes the view that a complex system of fortifications in the north arose in any case before the arrival of Antiochos III (Martinez-Séve 2017, 291–292). Be that as it may, Greek frontier fortifications were only rarely intended to serve a passive defence. On the contrary, a fort or fortress would have been used as a watch-point, a garrison for patrolling units, at the same time also fulfilling certain symbolic functions in the liminal zone of the borderlands. Anyone who wished to stop the invasion of nomads from the north would have met them in the field anyway, and done so with a strong cavalry force, if possible.

Unlike Uzundara and the Darband Wall, the third recently-investigated Hellenistic fort in the surroundings of Baysun did not, according to the most recent publication of its excavator L. Sverchkov, function in the Graeco-Bactrian period, since it was already abandoned by the end of the 4th century BC (Sverchkov 2013, 152), i.e. after Stasanor's governorship. Recent numismatic data, however, clearly proves that the fort was not abandoned at least before the reign of the Seleukid king of partial Bactrian origin, Antiochos I, whose coins were detected in front of the fort (Stančo et al. in preparation). Altogether four periods were at first evidenced at Kurganzol, covering the time from the late 4th century BC down to the first half of the 2nd century BC (Sverchkov 2008), while more recently only two main periods of occupation were presented (Sverchkov 2013). The earlier publications of the excavation results allow for a later dating of the last two occupation phases, KZ3 and KZ4 (Sverchkov 2008, 186–187). Accordingly, the phase KZ3 might have belonged to the reign of Euthydemos, when the fort of Kurganzol could have served as a part of the defence system of this king. This was, however, most probably not the case of yet another Greek settlement in the Baysun area situated at the top of a hill locally called Machay Kurgan, as suggested by Sverchkov (Sverchkov 2008, 187), since even if it is well dated to the period in question, it does not block the road northwards to Sogdiana, being situated several kilometres to the side of the main route of communication passing the hamlet of Khojadaghyak. The only road leading further this way (from Machay to Kentala and Urugli Say) had difficult mountain passes (Kokkamar) at an altitude of at least 2700 m.a.s.l. connecting Machay valley with the northern Surkhan Darya valley via the Sangardak valley. Furthermore, the defensive function of this site has not been proven so far by any data. Moreover, it is not very likely that Kurganzol itself was founded as one of the five forts by Alexander, judging at least from its obviously local ground plan. Unlike Uzundara, a purely Greek structure in its disposition (Figure 11.8), Kurganzol must have been designed by a non-Greek builder.⁸

Written sources do not help much with the question of the extent of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom during the reigns of the individual successors of Euthydemos.

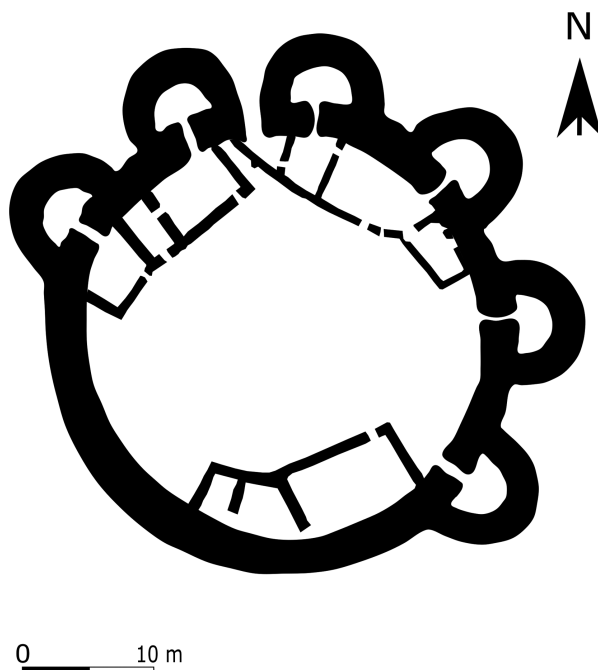


Figure 11.8 Kurganzol, simplified ground plan of the fort in its first construction phase, by author after Sverchkov 2008, 19, ris. 11.

The occurrence and distribution of the coins issued by respective kings, especially copper ones (Naymark 2005, 135), indicating regular monetary circulation (Pugachenkova and Rtveladze 1990, 45), is taken as basic evidence for historical geography. The success of such an approach depends heavily on the state of research: having only a few coins randomly dispersed across a large territory means little in terms of historical geography. The situation in the Surkhan Darya has considerably improved during the last few years, primarily due to the excavations and survey of Uzundara. Dvurechenskaya claims that coin types for all the Greek rulers of Bactria have been collected, starting with imitations of Alexander and ending with the last ruler Heliokles (Dvurechenskaya 2018, 18). The current state of research on the distribution of the coins of individual rulers is illustrated by graphs, tables and maps below (Figures 11.10–11.15; Table 11.1). These help us to compare the situation north of the Oxus in the (early) 2nd century BC, especially during the reign of Demetrios I and Eukratides I, with the situation in the 3rd century BC. Coin finds of the former ruler are not as numerous (26 so far) as those of his father Euthydemos (112 specimens) but are equally well distributed across the whole region. Moreover, among the Demetrius coins there frequently occur small silver denominations (obols). Judging from coin distribution alone (Figure 11.14; Table 11.1), we may cautiously assume that Greco-Bactrian control of the Surkhan Darya was basically the same as during the reign of his father. All of the substantial sites in the lowlands, such as Dal'verzin Tepa, Khalchayan, Jandavlat Tepa, and Kampyr Tepa were apparently occupied in the first half of the 2nd century. At the

Table 11.1 Overview of the coin finds from Surkhan Darya Region, by author based partially on Rtveladze – Gorin 2015, 165–166 and Abdullaev 2006.

SITE	Alexander type	Antiochos I	Antiochos II	Diodotos	Euthydemos	Demetrios I	Antimachus	Agathocles	Euthydemos II	Eukratides	Helioekles	OVERALL
Daganajam	1				3	1						5
Dal'verzin Tepa					2	1		1				4
Darband Wall					2	1						3
Iskandar Tepa			1		1	2						4
Jandavlat Tepa					2	1				1		4
Kampyr Tepa	2			4	10	5		1	1	5	1	29
Khalchayan						1						1
Kurganzol	3											3
Munchak Tepa						1						1
Old Termez	1			2	8	1	1			1		14
Shor Tepa					1							1
Uzundara	2	3	1	6	79	10			1	1		103
Zang Canal	1				1	1						3
(close to Khaitebad)												
Zar Tepa				1	1	1		1				5

same time, most of the forts and smaller settlements in the piedmont borderlands were still in use, too. Both numismatic and archaeological data seem to corroborate the fact that the Surkhan Darya, as a Bactrian borderland, experienced its peak of development at the turn of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

Archaeological sources, on the other hand, are silent on the question of Eukratides I (c. 171–145 BC), the founder of yet another Graeco-Macedonian dynasty in the east, and his presumed re-annexation of Sogdiana. According to Atakhodjaev, numismatic data does not confirm that Sogdiana belonged to Eukratides' domains: the finds of coins of this ruler are mostly stratigraphically later, essentially from burial contexts related to the nomad population (Atakhodjaev 2013, 244). If such a re-annexation took place, data from the Surkhan Darya offer little to elucidate it. Only eight coins of Eukratides I are known so far from the region, most of them from Kampyr Tepa (some more were most probably found at Uzundara quite recently, but not yet published), i.e. from the southernmost margin of the studied territory (Table 11.1), situated closer to the core of his Bactrian domains, where he reportedly founded the city of Eukratideia (Strabo 11.11.2). A more difficult to prove hypothesis is that Heliokles regained Bactria and Sogdia, which was occupied by Mithridates I of Parthia for a while (Tarn 1966, 222). Parthian presence in, and control of (part of) Bactria took place most probably only after the collapse of the Graeco-Bactrian realm (Rtveladze 2017, 107–125).

According to Leriche, the end of Greek rule over Bactria, including its north-western part, was not accompanied by any substantial destruction of settlements or fortresses. In other words, Greeks and Macedonians abandoned their positions at Termez and elsewhere of their own will, before any armed conflict could have taken place (Leriche 2010, 160). Indeed, we do not see any evidence of massive destruction throughout the Surkhan Darya. On the contrary, where archaeological contexts allow us to assess the relevant strata (Jandavlat Tepa, Dal'verzin Tepa, Khalchayan, Kampyr Tepa), we can observe continuity from the Graeco-Bactrian to the so-called Yuezhi or Transitional Period. Bearing in mind finds of early imitations of Greco-Bactrian coins, as well as, those of Early Kushan kings, the system of fortifications around Darband was still in use in the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, but we do not know to what degree it was maintained or repaired, with the exception of the Darband Wall itself, which reportedly served its purpose and was perpetually renewed during the Kushan Period (Rakhmanov and Rapin 2003; Rapin et al. 2006).

ECONOMY AND SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES

The subsistence strategies of the local population under Graeco-Bactrian rule remained only marginally studied until quite recently. Rare, valuable zooarchaeological data from the foothills of the Baysun Tau shows, however, that in these parts animal husbandry, in contrast to hunting, played a key role in the economy. One single excavation season at the early Hellenistic site of Kurganzol (2008) brought to light not less than 7500 animal bone fragments, more than 5000 of which have been determined to represent domestic mammals, i.e. sheep/goat (66%), cattle (26%) and pig (2.19%) (Figure 11.9). All of these species were kept in order to provide meat, with goat and sheep additionally providing milk. The age structure of the animals shows that wool

Zooarchaeological data from Surkhan Darya

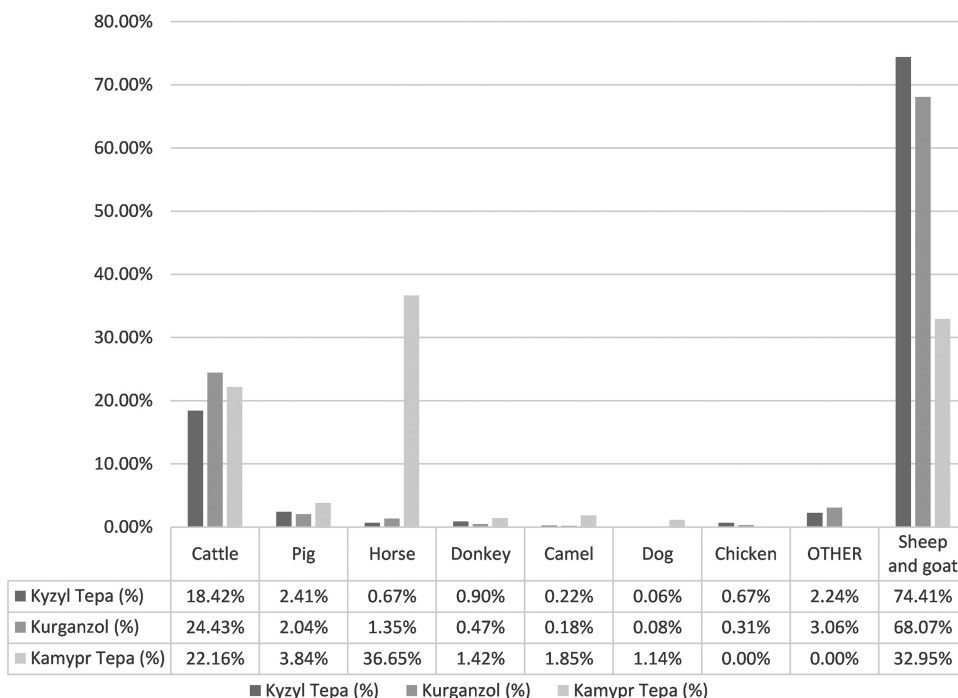


Figure 11.9 Graph comparing proportion of individual domestic animal species attested at Kyzyl Tapa (n=1786), Kurganzol (n=5096) and Kamypr Tapa (n=704)”, by author after Benecke 2013; Wu et al. 2015; Dvurechenskaya, S. O. 2016.

and hair production was rather marginal. A smaller proportion was represented by horse, donkey, camel (all transport animals), dog and chicken (Benecke 2013).

In order to put these data into their proper context, we set them against a similar data set from the Iron Age site of Kyzyl Tapa, presumably the main Achaemenid centre in the Surkhan Darya (Wu et al. 2015). If we disregard the total number of samples from both localities and focus on the percentage of species, we see a clear similarity, almost identity of the compared data sets. To understand fully the complex social and economic processes related to subsistence that took place in the region during the Hellenistic period, we would need at least another data set from a site, or better from two sites – one located in the foothills and the second in the lowlands – securely dated to the later part of the Greco-Bactrian phase, i.e. to the 2nd century BC.

Surprisingly, samples from Kamypr Tapa that were for a long time collected in various parts of the fortress by several scholars and published only quite recently, show a very different picture: the dominant component of the assemblage consists unexpectedly of horse bones (37% of domestic animals!), while sheep and goat combined form only 33%, with cattle in third place (22%) (Dvurechenskaya, S.O. 2016).

If correct, this may be caused by an uncommonly high proportion of horses needed for the function of the fortress itself, such as the predominant deployment of cavalry troops in the garrison. In this respect, future results from samples from Uzundara will be of great interest. What is also striking about the Kampyr Tepa material, taking into account that the site is situated on the largest river of Central Asia, is the fact that there are no fish bones documented here, which would be expected as an important constituent part of the diet.

Equally scarce is the currently available evidence to illuminate the paleo-environment from an archaeobotanical point of view. Kurganzol, again, has provided some basic data: hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and wheat (*Triticum* sp., *Triticum durum*) have been identified among samples from its contexts, as well as a few pistachio nuts and almonds. Vegetation cover – open xeric woodland – consisted also of juniper (used for constructions), willow/poplar, and tamarisk (Neef 2013).

As important as the question, ‘what was cultivated’ is the question, ‘how was it further processed?’ The rather limited evidence shows that grain processing in Surkhan Darya, unlike the situation in the eastern Bactrian plains, did not change in comparison with the Achaemenid period. During the early Hellenistic period, the Greek hand mill of the so-called Olynthus type was introduced to Ai Khanoum, but did not reach the agricultural oases north of the Oxus. A few finds of ‘Olynthus mills’ were documented in Ai Khanoum (Francfort 1984, 86–87 and pl. XXXVIII: IV), where they were, however, found side by side with the traditional saddle querns (ibid. pl. XXXVIII: I–II). Graeco-Bactrian agriculturalists relied on traditional techniques of grinding using prehistoric tools of saddle-quern stones (back-and-forth querns), as did their ancestors there for centuries (Stančo 2018b, 118–119). Examples of these have been recently documented at Kurganzol (Sverchkov 2013, 113 and 104 ris. 90: 4 and 5), and Iskandar Tepa (Stančo et al. 2020), both situated in the foothills of Kugitang and Baysun Tau. It is possible to hypothesize that farmers using traditional local technology were of local origin – eastern Iranian Bactrian peasants – rather than newcomers from the Mediterranean, who would perhaps use the Greek Olynthus-type mill, as did those in Ai Khanoum at the same time.

Another kind of economic activity newly evidenced in the Graeco-Bactrian borderlands is a commercial area or marketplace situated near the main gate of the Uzundara fortress, where a detailed surface survey attested vast number of various small finds along with many coins that were often of very small denominations, including a rare bronze hemichalkous suitable for exchange for common goods and small payments (Dvurechenskaya 2018, 18). Such small coins do not permit any doubt that monetary exchange was taking place in Bactria. Analogically, Atakhojaev admits the same for the region of Sogdiana (understood as the oases of Samarkand, Bukhara and Kashka Darya) also based on finds of small denominations (Atakhodjaev 2013, 244). In Bactria, one can imagine marketplaces organized in the same manner at the gates of other ‘phrouria’, especially riverside ones – Termez and Kampyr Tepa – as well as at the central sites of the oases – Jandavlat Tepa, Dal’verzin Tepa, and Khalchayan.

Despite numerous recent coin finds, so-called northern Bactria (or ‘southern Sogdiana’ using the preferred term of C. Rapin) lacks not only a significant Greek city comparable to Ai Khanoum, but also a mint: as far as we know, all Hellenistic coins of Bactrian origin were struck in Bactra or Ai Khanoum. To the north of

the mountains, there was most likely yet another mint organized in Maracanda/Samarkand by Euthydemos (Lerner 1996). Nevertheless, many of these coins found their way north of Oxus and were found at a number of archaeological sites. The Surkhan Darya thus offers the most complex assemblage of excavated coin finds, providing enormous data with far-reaching historical implications (Figure 11.10a and 11.10b; Table 11.1). The most complete overview of finds from Kampyr Tepa, a brief summary of all Hellenistic coins from the Surkhan Darya and a full bibliography has been recently published, showing that in all, 30 Hellenistic coins were found at Kampyr Tepa up until 2010, two of them belonging to Seleukid king Antiochos I, the remaining 28 to Graeco-Bactrian rulers (Rtveladze and Gorin 2015). There are a handful of sites with only a few discovered Seleukid and/or Graeco-Bactrian coins (as Dal'verzín Tepa, Jandavlat Tepa, Shor Tepa, Munchak Tepa), as well as isolated finds from places in between. Highly problematic are the coins of Diodotos I, Euthydemos I (both Æ) and a silver obol of Eukratides, all of them reportedly found at the site of Zar Tepa and now in the Hermitage Museum (Smirnova 2005, 180). A coin of Demetrios along with one more unspecified Graeco-Bactrian coin was mentioned also by Zav'yalov (Zav'yalov 2008, 151 and Appendix 2, 271, no. 1 and 273, no. 23) and one of Agathokles interpreted by Masson as early evidence of a foundation prior to the Kushan period (Masson 1977, 141, fig. 1.1). The site has so far not yielded any substantial archaeological material (pottery) of that early date. Numismatic evidence, on the other hand, leads us to reconsider the generally accepted dating of the site. The fact that the earliest object studied at Zar Tepa so far is a pit-house at the bottom of the stratigraphic trench (Masson 1977, 139) may be of some importance, since at Kampyr Tepa, too, the earliest phase is connected with three simple pit-houses (Bolelov 2013).

In addition, there are two sites that have yielded tens to hundreds of specimens: Kampyr Tepa and Uzundara. In this respect, the fact that during the excavations at Kurganzol that no single coin was found might be explained either by the excavator's bad luck or by the very specific status of the fort and/or its inhabitants, the nature of which demands further explanation. The following graphs (Figure 11.10a) illustrate the total amount of Hellenistic coins from different sites in the region being studied, including their attribution to individual rulers, while the maps (Figure 11.11–11.15) present the spatial distribution of numismatic finds across the region.

Pottery, as the most copious type of artefact found at any settlement site, offers an opportunity to study the exchange of goods and ideas on a local, as well as a trans-regional scale. Except for formal analyses, first attempts have been made in order to study provenance, production, and consumption patterns based on various archaeometric methods (thin-section petrography, XRF, XRD and SEM–EDS analysis) that were employed on the ceramic material from the excavations of Kampyr Tepa, Old Termez and Kurganzol (Martínez Ferreras et al. 2015; 2016). Among the results, it should be highlighted that the analysed pottery from Kurganzol was mainly made locally with only a few imports from elsewhere (a platter), perhaps from Oxus region sites (Kampyr, Old Termez). Thus at least two pottery production centres can be determined so far – that of the Oxus sites and that of the piedmont sites of the Kurganzol area. As Martínez Ferreras et al. put it: “This evidence reveals the existence of relationships between the military garrisons established at different points of ancient Bactria. Moreover, the technological processes involved in the manufacture

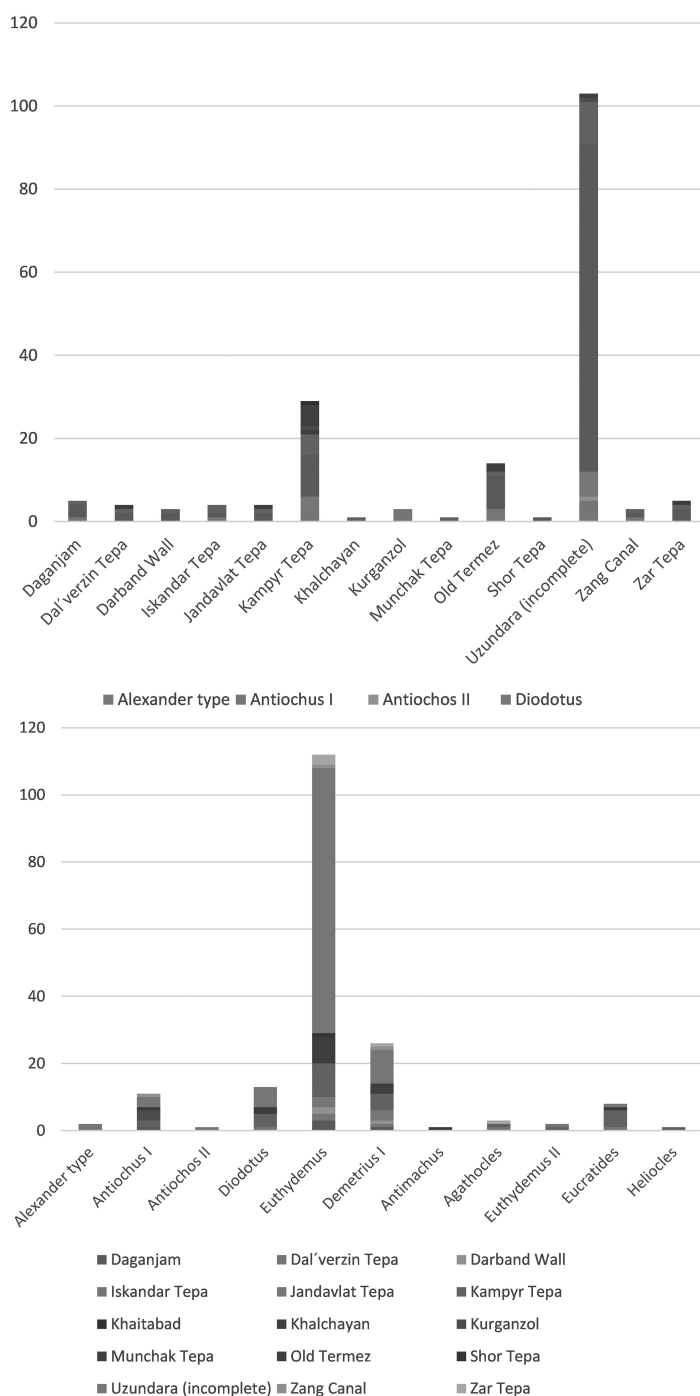


Figure 11.10 Graph presenting overview of the Hellenistic coins from archaeological contexts in Surkhan Darya with a) representation of individual sites b) attributions to the rulers, by author based partially on Rtveladze – Gorin 2015, 165–166 and Abdullaev 2006.

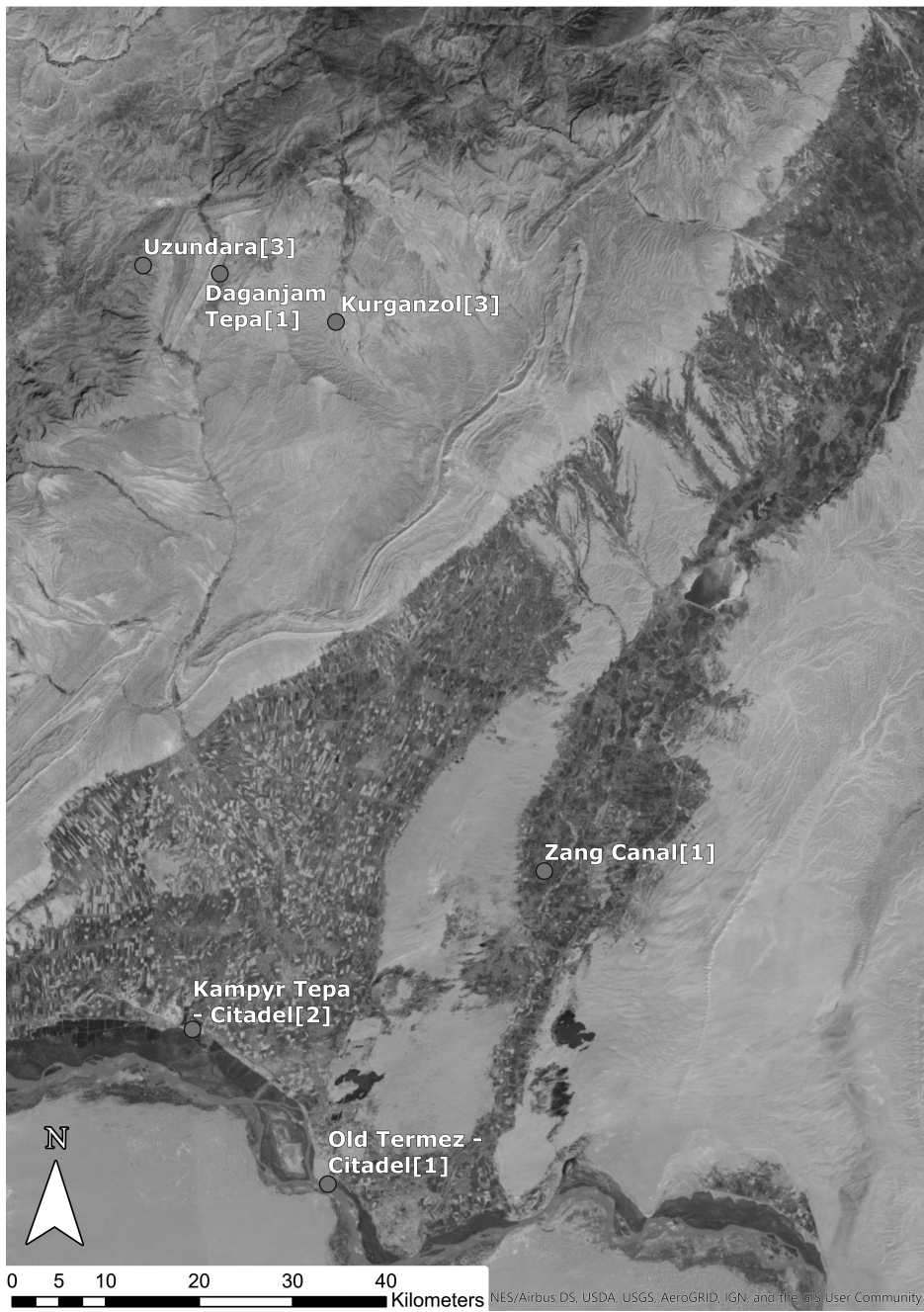


Figure 11.11 Distribution map of the Antiochos I coins in Surkhan Darya, by author.



Figure 11.12 Distribution map of the Diodotos I coins in Surkhan Darya, by author.

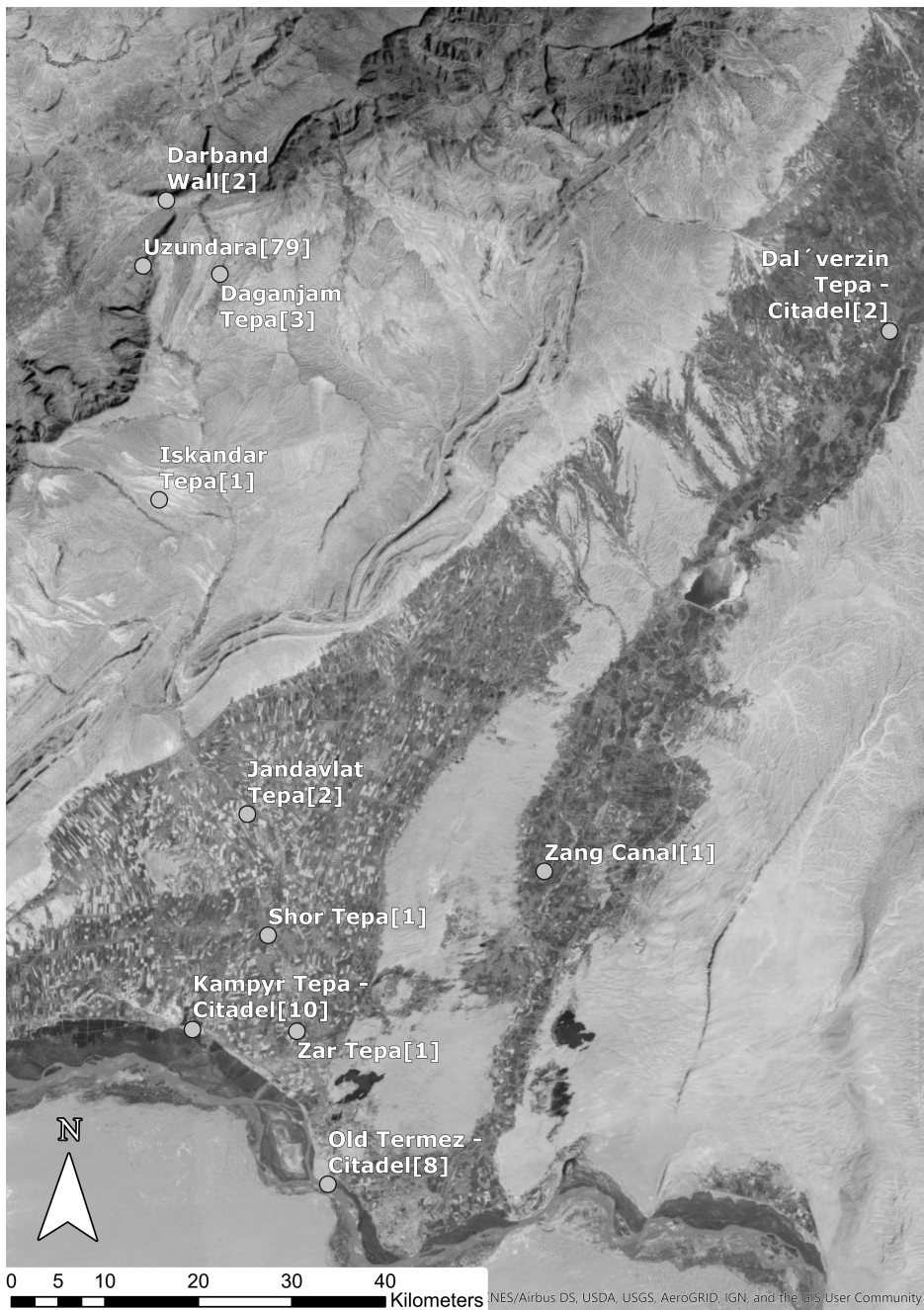


Figure 11.13 Distribution map of the Euthydemos I coins in Surkhan Darya, by author.

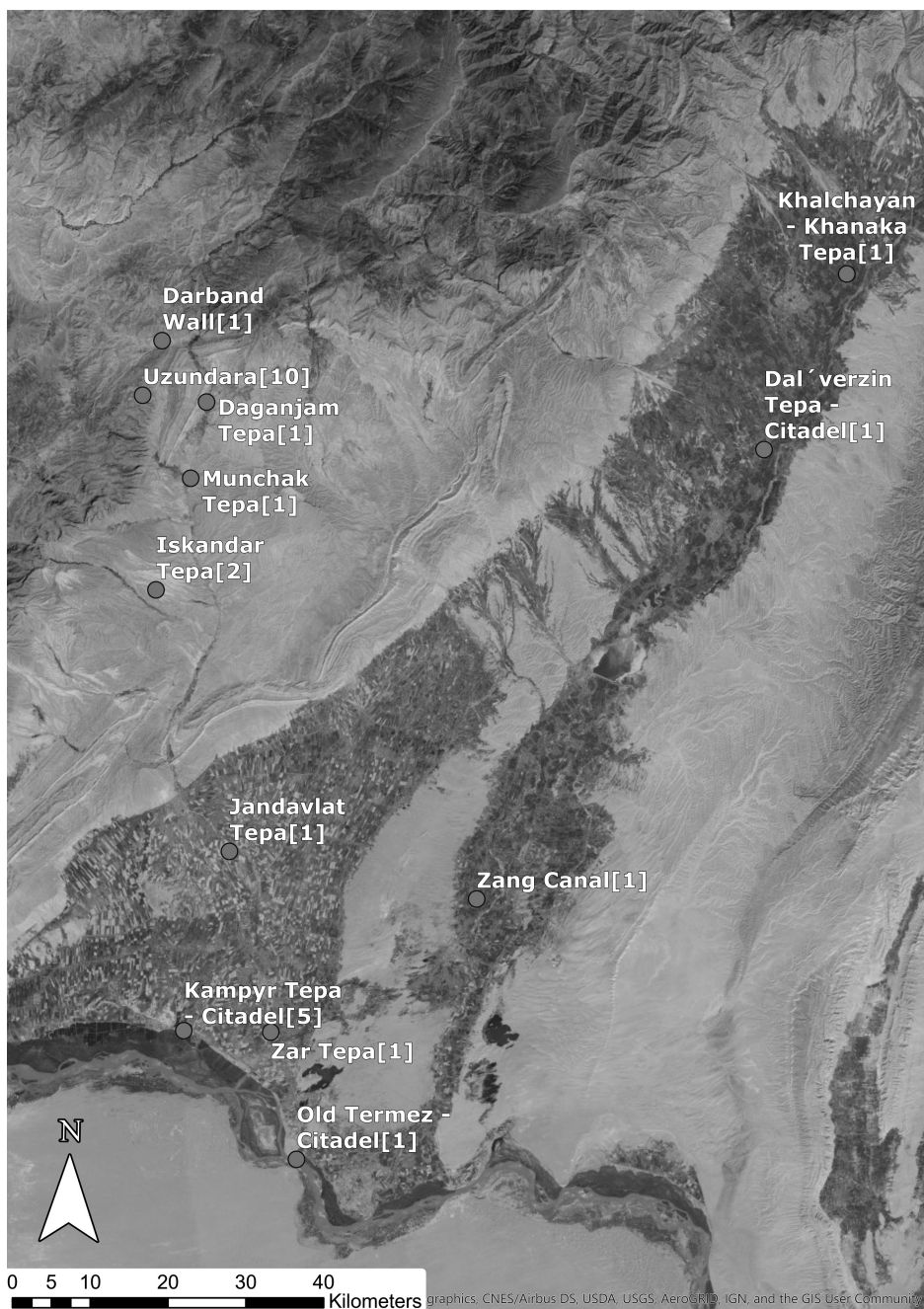


Figure 11.14 Distribution map of the Demetrios I coins in Surkhan Darya, by author.



Figure 11.15 Hellenistic coins in Surkhan Darya Region, general distribution map, by author.

of the vessels found in all these sites were highly standardised in terms of pastes (calcareous fine fabrics), vessels shapes and surface treatments” (Martínez Ferreras et al. 2016, 10–11). For the pottery material from Kampyr Tepa, direct Greek technological influence in the raw material processing (and to certain degree also in the surface treatment) has been deduced, even if the typical small and closed Greek pottery shapes used for the storage of oil and perfumes are almost absent here. Nevertheless, the larger shapes, those typically used as table ware (drinking cups, bowls, plates, kraters) have been attested (Martínez Ferreras et al. 2015, 761), but also other shapes of various functions: pyxis (Dvurechenskaya 2015b, 221, ris. 12), askos (Abdullaev 2001b) and amphora (Tsepova 2000, 108, 117, ris. 1, 1). Apart from direct results, a database of the pottery types has been created that allows for future provenance and production studies on an even firmer basis. At Kampyr Tepa, the ceramic production of the Hellenistic period itself has been studied in detail by S. Bolelov using evidence from the citadel and eastern living quarter; he arrives at the conclusion that there were both small home-workshops utilised for production of smaller shapes, and larger communal workshops working on a seasonal basis. These workshops, in turn produced larger shapes, such as pithoi (Bolelov 2011).

For our understanding of the location of settlements in the landscape, it is important to focus not only on water resources (see above ‘Settlement pattern’) and suitable agricultural land and pastures, but also on possible raw material resources. The exploitation of surface deposits of the metals around Baysun and Darband, as well as at the foot of the Kugitang in the Pashkhurt basin, is well attested only for the Middle Ages, but not for Early Antiquity (Sverchkov 2005b, 11; Stančo et al. 2018, 149; 152). The mining of salt in the western Pashkhurt basin seems to be of a very ancient date. This might have motivated to a certain degree the foundation of the site of Dabil Kurgan in Pashkhut village (Sverchkov 2013, 147), but we have no data whatsoever to prove this hypothesis: the salt mines are situated in the restricted border zone. Besides, the present author was not able to verify the early dating – be it either Achaemenid or Hellenistic – of the ‘lower layers’ of Dabil Kurgan, since the reported early material has not been published so far.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, current archaeological research of the Bactro-Sogdian borderlands has its strengths and weaknesses. There is much more data available now than 15 years ago, and there are also several promising ongoing projects. We have very good comparative material, especially numismatic, but also pottery assemblages and other small items. Research of fortresses allows the characterization of the military architecture of the period, which employed both foreign and native traditions, while new zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical studies allow for the basic reconstruction of household and regional economy and subsistence strategies (although more of these are required!) on the threshold of the historical period, combining apparently rather primitive agriculture (no irrigation systems attested) with small cattle-breeding. Moreover, due to the good accessibility of the region, new sites promising for the future research are being detected every year, especially in the piedmont steppe areas, characterized by a good state of preservation of both sites and finds. What remains to be done is first of all the publication of excavations and materials that are

essential for a better understanding of continuity and discontinuity, be it the transition from the Achaemenid period onwards, or from the Graeco-Bactrian period to the so-called Yuezhi and Kushan period. The former requires the publication of the stratigraphic trench of Jandavlat Tepa and the complete material from Kyzyl Tepa, especially the full publication of the Payon Kurgan excavations and materials combined with the nearby necropolis of Rabat. Necropolises, as it happens, are another of the weak points: we cannot say much about identity, social status and religious beliefs, without either quantitative or qualitative data from burial grounds of the studied period. There are, however, some isolated anthropological data, such as scattered human bones and skulls found in object no. 36 of the eastern part of Kampyr Tepa, for instance. These are, according to their find context, dated to the Seleukid/Graeco-Bactrian period, as the stratum immediately above it provided C14 dating of 154–114 BC (Dvurechenskaya 2012, 73–74). It can only be summed up in the words of P. Leriche, that the Surkhan Darya in the Greco-Bactrian period “appears to be a marginal area, situated on the margins of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom” (Leriche 2007a, 133).

NOTES

- 1 The work was supported by the European Regional Development Fund-Project “Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World” (No. CZ.02.1.01/0.0/0.0/16_019/0000734) and created with the financial support of Neuron – Benevolent fund for Support of Science.
- 2 The designation ‘Hellenistic period’, problematic as it may be, is used throughout this paper for the sake of simplification wherever the period between the campaign of Alexander the Great and the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom is meant, i.e. including pre-Seleukid (327–306 BC), Seleukid (306–c. 250 BC) and Graeco-Bactrian phases (c. 250 – c. 140 BC). Those, in their turn, are addressed by their respective names strictly when necessary.
- 3 For a general overview in terms of historical geography see Rrtveladze 1990; for an in-depth study of the archaeological geography of Surkhan Darya see Stride 2004, briefly summarized in Stride 2007, including a hierarchical definition of four basic spatial units: site, oasis, province/secondary river valley, Bactria/Upper Amu Darya basin (Stride 2007, 99).
- 4 This pertains to individual historical periods to various degree. Judging by the settlement pattern, farmers of the Hellenistic period did not exploit the full potential of the fertile soil in the lowlands of the Surkhan and Sherabad Darya, as becomes apparent in particular when compared to the Kushan period (Stančo 2019). At present, there is no reliable evidence for the construction of irrigation systems in the valleys of either of these rivers before the Great Kushan period.
- 5 This only confirms observations made much earlier by Koshelenko and Serditikh (Koshelenko and Serditikh 1987: 54), who, however, wrongly extrapolated a picture gained by rich data from north-eastern Afghanistan to the Surkhan Darya. The considerable differences have been shown clearly by Havlík (Havlík 2018, 130–135).
- 6 Note that Koshelenko and Serditikh classified among the urban settlements of Bactria only a single site in the Surkhan Darya – Khalchayan, since they adopted only one of many criteria – size. According to them, the dividing line between the categories “urban” and “rural” is at c. 4–6 hectare in extent (Koshelenko and Serditikh 1987, 55). For Havlík, who employed a more elaborate set of criteria, there was actually no urban site in the province, taking as cities only Ai Khanoum, Takh-i Sangin and Balkh/Bactra (Havlík 2018, 114–115).

- 7 For some reconstructions of Seleukid and Greco-Bactrian history see Tarn 1966 (now considerably outdated); Frye 1984, 177–197; Masson 1985; Pugachenkova and Rtveladze 1990, 41–46; Bernard 1994, 96–124.

REFERENCES

- Abdullaev 1997 = Абдуллаев, К. 1997: О северных рубежах государственной границы Бактрии в эллинистическую эпоху. *Российская археология* 4, 54–60.
- Abdullaev 1999 = Абдуллаев, К. 1999: Эллинистические мотивы в терракотовой пластике Паёнкургана. *История Материальной Культуры Узбекистана* 30, 126–132.
- Abdullaev 2001a = Абдуллаев, К. 2001a: Раскопки в Паёнкургане в Бойсунском районе (Северная Бактрия). *Археологические исследования в Узбекистане – 2000 год*, 25–30.
- Abdullaev 2001b = Абдуллаев, К. 2001b: Аск из Паёнкургана. К вопросу о греческих формах в керамике Бактрии. *История Материальной Культуры Узбекистана* 32, 78–80.
- Abdullaev 2002 = Абдуллаев, К. 2002: Работы Байсунского отряда на Паёнкургане в 2001 году. *Археологические исследования в Узбекистане – 2001 год*, 14–19.
- Abdullaev, K. 2018: Layers of Early Iron Age in Dzhandavlattepa (Sherabad District, Surkhandarya Region of Uzbekistan). In: N. Boroffka and J. Lhuillier (eds.), *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*. Berlin, 123–142.
- Abdullaev – Stančo 2004 = Абдуллаев, К. and Станчо, Л. 2004: Археологические работы на Джандавлатапе в 2004–2005 гг. Шерабадский район Сурхандарьинской области. In: Timur Shirinov (ed.), *Археологические Исследования в Узбекистане 2004–2005 годы*. Samarkand, 12–22.
- Atakhodjaev, A. 2013: Données numismatiques pour l’histoire politique de la Sogdiane (IVe – IIe siècles avant notre ère). *Revue numismatique* 6, 213–246.
- Benecke, R. 2013: Faunal Remains of Kurganzol. In: Sverchkov 2013, 172–178.
- Bernard, P. 1985: *Fouilles d’Aï Khanoum. IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d’histoire gréco-bactrienne*. MDAFA XXVIII. Paris.
- Bernard, P. 1994: The Greek Kingdoms of Central Asia. In: Harmatta, J. (ed.), *History of Civilization of Central Asia II: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*. Paris, 97–127.
- Bolelov 2011 = Болелов, С. Б. 2011: Производственный центр эпохи эллинизма на цитадели Кампыртепа. In: E. V. Rtveladze (ed.), *Материалы Тохаристанской экспедиции*. Вып. 8. Yelets, 48–79.
- Bolelov 2013 = Болелов, С. Б. 2013: Античная крепость на Оксе. <http://protestirui.ru/2012-12-19-17-24-52/167---->.
- Dvurechenskaya 2011 = Двуреченская, Н. Д. 2011: Ранееллинистический жилой комплекс бактрийской крепости Кампыртепа. *Труды всероссийского археологического съезда II (XVIII)*, 59–64.
- Dvurechenskaya 2012 = Двуреченская, Н. Д. 2012: Масштабное сооружение раннееллинистического периода на Кампыртепа. *Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры* 4(38), 69–80.
- Dvurechenskaya 2013 = Двуреченская, Н. Д. 2013: Юго-восточный узел фортификации крепости Кампыртепа (башня и входной комплекс-пристань). *Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры* 2, 338–370.
- Dvurechenskaya 2015a = Двуреченская, Н. Д. 2015a: Предварительные материалы археологических работ 2014 г. на крепости Узундара. *Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры* 1, 125–133.
- Dvurechenskaya 2015b = Двуреченская, Н. Д. 2015b: К вопросу о раннееллинистической керамике Бактрии (на основе закрытого комплекса террасного дома Кампыртепа). In: В. П. Никонорова и В. А. Алёхина (eds.), *Академическое востоковедение в России и странах*

- ближнего зарубежья (2007–2015). Археология, история, культура. Saint Petersburg, 195–225.
- Dvurechenskaya, S. O. 2016 = Двуреченская, С. О. 2016: Предварительные итоги изучения костных останков животных из раскопок на территории крепости Кампыртепа. *Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры* 2, 75–82.
- Dvurechenskaya, N. 2018: Results of the Excavations at the Bactrian Hellenistic Fortress of Uzundara (2013–2018). In: Stančo, L., Lindström, G., Mairs, R., Havlik, J., *Seen from Oxyartes Rock: Central Asia Under and After Alexander. Book of Abstracts of the international conference HCARN 3*, 14–16 November 2018. Prague, 17–18.
- Dvurechenskaya et al. 2016 = Двуреченская, Н. Д. – Горин, А. Н. – Шейко, К. А. 2016: Монеты из крепости Узундара (по результатам работ 2013–2014 гг.). *Scripta Antiqua* 5, 347–366.
- Fachard, S. 2013: Eleutherai as the Gates to Boeotia. *RÉMA* 6, 81–106.
- Francfort, H. P. 1984: *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum III. Le sanctuaire du temple à niches indentées. Les trouvailles*. Paris.
- Frye, R. N. 1984: *The History of Ancient Iran*. München.
- Glenn, S. 2015: *Royal Coinage in Hellenistic Bactria: A Die Study of Coins from Euthydemus I to Antimachus I*. Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford.
- Grenet, F. and Rapin, C. 1998: Alexander, Ai Khanum, Termez: Remarks on the Spring Campaign of 328. *Bulletin of Asian Institute* 12, 79–89.
- Hauschner, K. U. and Boroffka, N. 2013: Dendrochronological and Radiocarbon Dating of Samples from Kurganzol (Uzbekistan). In: Sverchkov L. 2013, 182–184.
- Havlik, J. 2018: *Vývoj osídlení v Baktrii v období helénismu* [Settlement Development in Bactria in the Hellenistic Period], in Czech. Unpublished Diploma-Thesis submitted at the Charles University, Prague.
- Holt, F. L. 1999: *Thundering Zeus. The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London.
- Jacobs, B. 2001: Achaemenid Satrapies. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2011, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/achaemenid-satrapies> (accessed on 20 September 2018).
- Koshelenko – Serditykh 1987 = Кошеленко, Г. А. – Сердитых, З. В. 1987: Типология и динамика развития системы расселения в Бактрии эллинистической эпохи. In: Г. А. Пугаченкова (ed.), *Городская культура Бактрии-Тохаристана и Согда. Античность, Раннее Средневековье. Материалы советско-французского colloquium*. Ташкент, 54–58.
- Leriche, P. 1994: Mission archéologique franco-ouzbègue de Bactriane septentrionale. Bilan de la campagne 1995. Programme de la campagne 1994, Paris.
- Leriche, P. 2007a: Bactria, Land of Thousand Cities. In: Cribb, J. and Herrmann, G. (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*. Oxford, 121–153.
- Leriche, P. 2007b: Termez in Antiquity. In: Cribb, J. and Herrmann, G. (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*. Oxford, 179–211.
- Leriche, P. 2009: Das Baktrien der 1000 Städte. In: Hansen, S. – Wiczorek, A. – Tellenbach, M. (eds.), *Alexander der Grosse und die Öffnung der Welt. Asiens Kulturen im Wandel*. Regensburg, 155–167.
- Leriche, P. 2010: L’Ancienne Termez dans l’Antiquité. *Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры* 1(27), 153–190.
- Leriche, P. 2015: La découverte de l’Ancienne Termez, métropole de la Bactriane du Nord, *Electrum* 22. Central Asia and Iran: Greeks, Parthians, Kushans and Sasanians, 47–85.
- Leriche, P. Pidaev, S. 2008: *Termez sur Oxus. Cité-capitale d’Asie centrale*. Paris.
- Lerner, J. 1996: Graeco-Sogdian Mint of Euthydemus. *Revue numismatique* 151, 77–94.

- Martínez Ferreras et al. 2015 = Martínez Ferreras, V., Gurt Esparraguera, J. M., Hein, A., Pidaev, S., Rtveladze, E. V., Bolelov, S. B. 2015: Tableware in the Hellenistic Tradition from the City of Kampyr Tepe in Ancient Bactria (Uzbekistan). *Archaeometry* 58/5, 736–764.
- Martínez Ferreras et al. 2016 = Martínez Ferreras, V., Angourakis, A., Hein, A., Gurt Esparraguera, J. M., Sverchkov, L. M., Sánchez del Corral, S. 2016: Pottery in Hellenistic Tradition from Ancient Bactria: The Kurganzol Fortress (Uzbekistan, Central Asia). *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 21, 1044–1054.
- Martinez-Sève, L. 2017: Les opérations d'Antiochos III en Bactriane-Sogdiane: l'apport de la documentation archéologique. In: Feyel, C., Graslin-Thomé, L. (eds.), *Antiochos III et l'Orient. Actes de la rencontre franco-allemande tenue à Nancy du 6 au 8 juin 2016*. Paris, 271–302.
- Masson 1977 = Массон, В. М. 1977: Зар-Тепе - кушанский город в северной Бактрии. In: Кобылина, М. М. (ed.), *История и культура античного мира*. Moscow, 138–143.
- Masson 1985 = Массон, В. М. 1985: Северная Бактрия. In: Кошеленко, Г. А. (ed.), *Древнейшее государство Кавказа и Средней Азии*. Moscow, 250–271.
- Mendoza Sanahuja, M. 2017: Stasanor of Soloi and the Government of Bactria During the Wars of the Diadochi. *Anabasis* 8, 44–70.
- Mokroborodov 2005 = Мокробородов, В. В. 2005: Раскопки крепости Курганзол в 2003 году. *Труды Байсунской научной экспедиции*. Вып. 2. Tashkent, 46–55.
- Naymark 2005 = Наймарк, А. И. 2005: Находки греческих монет в Согдиане. *Нумизматика и Эпиграфика* XVII, 116–138.
- Neef, R. 2013: Note on the Plant Remains from Kurganzol. In: Sverchkov 2013, 179–181.
- Nielsen, T. H. 2002: Phourion. A Note on the Term in Classical Sources and in Diodorus Siculus. In: Nielsen, T. H. (ed.), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Stoccarda, 49–64.
- Pidaev 1991 = Пидает, Ш. Р. 1991: Керамика греко-бактрийского времени с городища Старого Термеза. *Советская археология* 1, 210–224.
- Pidaev 1992 = Пидает Ш. Р. К вопросу о локализации Александрии на Оксе. *Istoriya material'noy kul'tury Uzbekistana* 26, 46–58.
- Pugachenkova 1966 = Ругаченкова, Г. А. 1966: *Халчаян. К проблеме художественной культуры северной Бактрии*. Ташкент.
- Pugachenkova – Rtveladze 1978 = Г. А. Ругаченкова, Э. В. Ртвеладзе 1978: *Дальверзинтепе — кушанский город на юге Узбекистана*. Ташкент.
- Pugachenkova and Rtveladze 1990 = Ругаченкова, Г. А., Ртвеладзе, Е. В. 1990: *Северная Бактрия-Тохаристан. Древность и Античность*. Ташкент.
- Р'уанков 1982 = Пьянков, И. В. 1982: *Бактрия в античной традиции: (Общие данные о стране: название и территория)*. Donish.
- Rakhmanov and Rapin 1998 = Рахманов, Ш. А. – Рапен, К. 1998: Отчет о работе Дарбандского археологического отряда за 1997 год. Archaeological Institute interim report no. Ф5-01-Д197, Samarkand.
- Rakhmanov and Rapin 2003 = Рахманов, Ш. – Рапен, К. 2003: Железные ворота. In: А. А. Хакимов (ed.), *Труды Байсунской научной экспедиции*, вып. 1. Tashkent, 22–32.
- Rapin, C. 2007: Nomads and the Shaping of Central Asia: From the Early Iron Age to the Kushan Period. In: Cribb, J. and Herrmann, G. (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*. Oxford, 29–72.
- Rapin, C. 2013: On the Way to Roxane: The Route of Alexander the Great in Bactria and Sogdiana (328–327 BC). In: G. Lindström, S. Hansen, A. Wiczorek, M. Tellenbach (eds.), *Zwischen Ost und West. Neue Forschungen zum antiken Zentralasien, Archäologie in Iran und Turan* 14, 43–82.

- Rapin, C. 2018: On the Way to Roxane 2. Satraps and Hyparchs between Bactra and Zariaspa-Maracanda. In: N. Boroffka, J. Lhuillier (eds.), *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*. Berlin, 257–298.
- Rapin et al. 2006 = Rapin, C., Baud, A., Grenet, F., Rakhmanov, S. A. 2006: Les recherches sur la région des Portes de Fer de Sogdiane: bref état des questions en 2005. *История Материальной культуры Узбекистана* 35, 91–112.
- Rtveladze 1986 = Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 1986: Стена Дарбанда бактрийского. *Общественные науки в узбекистане* 12, 34–39.
- Rtveladze, E. V. 1990: On the Historical Geography of Bactria-Tokharistan. *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 1, 2–33.
- Rtveladze 2001a = Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 2001: *Кампыртепа – структура, периодизация. Материалы тохаристанской экспедиции. Выпуск 10*. Tashkent, 5–18.
- Rtveladze 2001b = Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 2001: К вопросу о петрах. In: Rtveladze, E. V., Pidaev, Sh. (eds.), *Древняя и средневековая культура Сурхандарьи*. Tashkent, 7–11.
- Rtveladze 2002 = Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 2002: *Александр Македонский в Бактрии и Согдиане*. Ташкент.
- Rtveladze 2003 = Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 2003: Дар-и Ахании Дарбанд. In: A. A. Хакимов (ed.), *Труды Байсунской научной экспедиции*, вып. 1. Tashkent, вып. 1, 13–19.
- Rtveladze 2017 = Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 2017: *Кампыртепа-Александрия Оксианская: город-крепость на берегу Окса в эллинистическое и постэллинистическое время (конец IV в. до н. э.)*. Материалы тохаристанской экспедиции. Выпуск 10. Tashkent.
- Rtveladze and Dvurechenskaya 2015 = Ртвеладзе, Э. В., Двуреченская, Н. Д. 2015: Узундара – эллинистическая крепость в Бактрии (материалы рекогносцировочно-разведывательных работ 2013 г.). *Археология Узбекистана* 2/11, 37–46.
- Rtveladze, E. V. and Gorin, A. N. 2015 = Hellenistic Coins from Kamp rtepa. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 21, 120–182.
- Sagdullaev 2009 = Сагдуллаев, А. С. 2009: *Поход Александра Македонского в Согдиану*. Ташкент.
- Sagdullaev and Rtveladze 1983 = Сагдуллаев, А. С., Ртвеладзе, Э. В. 1983: *В стране золотого огня*. Tashkent.
- Smirnova 2005 = Смирнова, Н. М. 2005: Греко-бактрийские и индо-греческие монеты из собрания Государственного Эрмитажа. *Нумизматика и эпиграфика* XVII, 139–180.
- Stančo, L. 2018a: New Data on the Iron Age in the Sherabad District, South Uzbekistan. In: Lhuillier, J., Boroffka, N. (eds.), *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*. Dedicated to the memory of Viktor Ivanovič Sarianidi. *Proceedings of the Conference held in Berlin* (June 23–25, 2014). *Archäologie in Iran und Turan*, Band 17, 171–188.
- Stančo, L. 2018b: Getting Rotary: Introduction of Rotary Quern Stones in Ancient Bactria. In: Sagdullaev, A. S. (ed.), *The Problems of History, Archaeology and Ethnology of Central Asia*. Tashkent, 118–128.
- Stančo, L. 2019: The Oasis in Time and Space: Dynamics of the Settlement Pattern. In: Stančo, L. and Tušlová, P. (eds.), *Sherabad Oasis: Tracing Historical Landscape in Southern Uzbekistan*. Prague, 353–386.
- Stančo et al. in preparation = Stančo, L. – Militký, J. – Kmošek, M. – Bek, T.: New Hellenistic Coin Finds from the Baysun and Kugitang Piedmonts, Southern Uzbekistan. In preparation.
- Stančo, L. and Tušlová, P. (eds.) 2018: *Sherabad Oasis: Tracing Historical Landscape in Southern Uzbekistan*. Prague.
- Stančo et al. 2018 = Stančo, L., Shaydullaev, S., Augustinová, A., Havlík, J., Smělý, T., Shaydullaev, A., Khamidov, O., Novák, V. 2018: Preliminary Report for Archaeological Survey in the Baysun District (South Uzbekistan), Season 2017. *Studia Hercynia* XXII/1, 131–154.

- Stančo et al. 2019 = Stančo, L., Shaydullaev, S., Augustinová, A., Damašek, L., Bek, T., Khamidov, O. 2018: In the footsteps of Euthydemus. Preliminary report for archaeological survey in the Baysun District (South Uzbekistan), Season 2018. *Studia Hercynia* XXIII/1, 141–172.
- Stride, S. 2004: *La Géographie Archéologique de la Province du Surkhan Darya (Bactriane du Nord, Ouzbékistan du Sud)*. Unpublished dissertation at the Université Panthéon-Sorbonne (Paris), 5 vols.
- Stride, S. 2007: Regions and Territories in Southern central Asia: What Surkhan Darya Province Tells Us about Bactria. In: Cribb, J., Herrmann, G. (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*. Oxford, 99–117.
- Sverchkov 2005a = Сверчков, Л. М.: Еллинистическая крепость. In: Курганзол, К., Abdullaev, A. (eds.), *Материалы по античной культуре Узбекистана. К 70-летию МАКУз Геннадия Андреевича Кошеленко*. Samarkand, 84–101.
- Sverchkov, L. 2005b: Archaeological Sites of Baysun District. Review of Baysun Scientific Expedition. *Труды Байсунской научной экспедиции*, vol. 2. Tashkent, 10–20.
- Sverchkov 2007 = Сверчков, Л. М. 2007: Еллинистическая крепость Курганзол. Раскопки 2004 г. In: *Труды Байсунской экспедиции*, вып. 3. *Археология, история и этнография*, vol. 3. Moscow, 31–64.
- Sverchkov, L. M. 2008: The Kurganzol Fortress (on the History of Central Asia in the Hellenistic Era). *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 14, 123–191.
- Sverchkov 2013 = Сверчков, Л. М. 2013: *Курганзол. Крепость Александра на юге Узбекистана*. Tashkent.
- Tarn, W. W. 1966: *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge.
- Tsepova 2000 = Цепова, О. 2000: Декорированная керамика Кампыртепа. In: Rtveladze, E. V. – Il'yasov, Dzh. (eds.), *Материалы Тохаристанской экспедиции*. Вып. 1. Tashkent, 107–122.
- Wu, X. 2018: Exploiting the Virgin Land: Kyzyltepa and the effects of the Achaemenid Persian Empire on Its Central Asian Frontier. In: Lhuillier, J. – Boroffka, N. (eds.), *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*. Dedicated to the Memory of Viktor Ivanovič Sarianidi. *Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014)*. *Archäologie in Iran und Turan*, Band 17, 189–214.
- Wu et al. 2015 = Wu, X., Miller, N. F., Crabtree, P. 2015: Agro-Pastoral Strategies and Food Production on the Achaemenid Frontier in Central Asia: A Case Study of Kyzyltepa in Southern Uzbekistan. *Iran* 53, 93–117.
- Zav'yalov 2008 = Завьялов, В. А. 2008: *Кушаниахр при Сасанидах. По материалам раскопок городища Зармена*. St Petersburg.

CHAPTER 12

SOUTHERN TAJIKISTAN

—♦—
Gunvor Lindström

INTRODUCTION

At the 3rd meeting of the Hellenistic Central Asia Research Network in November 2018, southern Tajikistan was referred to as a “blank spot” on the archaeological map of Hellenistic Central Asia. This assessment relates to the fact that despite numerous archaeological excavations undertaken since the 1960s very little is known about the ancient settlement structure of the region, at least during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE.

In southern Tajikistan, famous treasures and sites dating to the Hellenistic period were discovered, including the Oxus Treasure, Takht-i Sangin with the Oxus Temple, and the palace at Saksanokhur. These relatively sensational discoveries overshadowed the results of dozens of excavations of the South Tajik Archaeological Expedition since the late 1950s and of Tajik survey projects conducted since the collapse of the Soviet Union. In fact, this largely overlooked body of research covered the whole of southern Tajikistan and, thus, may serve to assess the settlement structure in Hellenistic times and its relation to the overall settlement pattern of Hellenistic Bactria. However, so far the results – published in Russian and scattered over several volumes of the Archaeological Investigations in Tajikistan (Археологические работы в Таджикистане) – have been evaluated only in Anjelina Drujinina’s unpublished PhD thesis on southern Tajikistan’s settlements from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic period, making them inaccessible to a wider audience.

In this overview, the most important four finds and sites of southern Tajikistan are described as representatives of particular periods of Hellenism. Thus, the Oxus Treasure exemplifies the late Achaemenid and the transition to the early Hellenistic period, Takht-i Sangin and Torbulok exemplify the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE that is the Seleukid and Graeco-Bactrian period, and Saksanokhur stands for the late 2nd and early 1st centuries, hence, the transition to the Kushan period. However, there are many other sites which were not excavated and for which an occupation during the Hellenistic period was only determined by surface finds or stratigraphic sections. This overview collects all data on Hellenistic sites investigated by excavations and test trenches, or discovered during archaeological surveys and by surface and chance finds. But in contrast to the reports which focus on specific sites

or modern administrative districts, the overview organizes the data geographically, proceeding by river oases from east to west and from north to south, because the land use and thus also the settlement patterns are significantly influenced by the physical geography.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN SOUTHERN TAJIKISTAN FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE PRESENT DAY

The earliest investigations of archaeological monuments in what is today southern Tajikistan were carried out in the late 19th and early 20th century by Russian military officers responsible for the Amu Darya region, which then separated the Emirate of Bukhara from Afghanistan, thus, the spheres of interest of czarist Russia and British India in the “Great Game”. These officers, guided by their interest in history and enthused by the spectacular find of the Oxus Treasure at the river banks of the Amu Darya in the late 1870s, not only mapped ancient ruins, but also carried out undocumented diggings, for example at the site later named Takht-i Sangin.

Systematic scientific research did not begin until 1946, when the Sogdian-Tajik Archaeological Expedition (CTAĖ) was launched, a joint venture between the Hermitage Museum and the Tajik branch of the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In 1951, the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik Soviet Republic was created as a home-based scientific organisation, and the CTAĖ was reorganised as the Tajik Archaeological Expedition (TAĖ), which in 1973 was divided into three branches, one of them the South Tajik Archaeological Expedition (IOTAĖ; YuTAE). This group has excavated most of the archaeological monuments mentioned here.

With the work of Boris A. Litvinsky, who led the IOTAĖ from 1973 until its informal end in the 1990s, began the golden era of southern Tajik archaeology. He was the most important and influential person in Tajik archaeological research and trained numerous Soviet archaeologists, including Tajiks and Tajik-Russians. While Western specialists in the Stone and Bronze Ages worked together with the IOTAĖ even before the fall of the Iron Curtain, joint expeditions to ancient sites were initiated only after the end of the Tajik Civil War in the late 1990s.

Since the independence of Tajikistan, excavations are organized by the Archaeological Department of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan, and since 2013 also by the National Museum of Tajikistan. Sometimes, foreign partners take part in the excavations, as in Takht-i Sangin (participation of the Miho Museum in Japan and recently the French CNRS – the Centre nationale de recherches scientifique) and in Torbulok (participation of the Eurasia Department of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

Although Tajikistan has many promising sites for further research, brain-drain and insufficient income opportunities in archaeology point to a decline of Tajik archaeology. During the civil war (1992–1997), no excavations were carried out and university education came to a standstill. In addition, after the independence of Tajikistan many Russian scholars left the country. Hence, today only a few archaeologists who were trained in the 1970s and 1980s are active at the Tajik institutions, together with a handful of their archaeological offspring.

PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPES OF SOUTHERN TAJIKISTAN

Tajikistan consists to a large extent of the high mountain ranges known as Gissar, Alai and Pamir (2500–7000 metres high) that surround the so-called Tajik Depression in the southwest, which is in turn characterised by a changing sequence of northeast–southwest oriented, relatively low (1000–2500 metres) mountain ranges and valleys formed by rivers, draining from the southern slopes of the Hisor-Alai mountain range (Figure 12.1). The most distinctive rivers are from east to west: the Pyandzh, Yakhsu, Kyzylsu, Vakhsh and Kafirnigan – waters that merge in the south of today’s Tajikistan and form the Amu Darya, with Pyandzh and Amu Darya forming the present southern border of the country. The alluvial plains lining these rivers are the backbone of both the ancient and modern settlement structure, for only where the rivers lead into broader valleys can the fertile loess soil be irrigated, resulting in an oasis-based economic and settlement system. Due to the geomorphological and hydrological conditions, the settlement area is very limited and has remained the same for millennia. As a result, the ancient sites of southern Tajikistan are often inhabited to this day, and the Hellenistic layers are buried under meters of later layers. Most Hellenistic sites are identified only by surface finds, and only a few Hellenistic and early Kushan sites are systematically excavated. The settlement structure as is currently known is outlined below, with the names of river oases mainly derived from their respective modern urban centres.

Although the river oases were the economic basis of the land, Tajikistan’s two most important ancient sites are not within an oasis. Takht-i Kuvad, the supposed site of the Oxus Treasure, and Takht-i Sangin with the Oxus Temple are both located on the right bank of Amu Darya, just below the confluence of Vakhsh and Pyandzh, in an area without much arable land. This, as will be shown below, is probably related to the supraregional importance of these religious sites, which required the economic and political independence of the area.

THE OXUS TREASURE

The earliest and one of the most spectacular archaeological discoveries in southern Tajikistan is the so-called Oxus Treasure, an extraordinary collection of roughly 180 gold and silver objects, dated stylistically to the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic period and about 200 mostly Hellenistic coins. Until the beginning of the 20th century, the treasure was almost the only collection of ancient Persian goldwork in the world and remains the most important collection of its kind to this day. It was found around 1876–1880, scattered in the sands of the Amu Darya at a site called Takht-i Kuvad (Figure 12.1 Site 1) about six kilometres to the south of the confluence of the rivers Vakhsh and Pyandzh. Although the discoverers certainly tried to hide the exact location of their lucky find, there were rumours and even solid contemporary information about the treasure. These have recently been carefully evaluated by John Curtis in the series *British Museum Objects in Focus* (most of the metalwork from the treasure now belongs to the British Museum) to which we can refer here (Curtis 2012, 48. 57–58). The Oxus Treasure was discovered by local villagers, bought by merchants from Bukhara on their way to India to convert their coins into some other

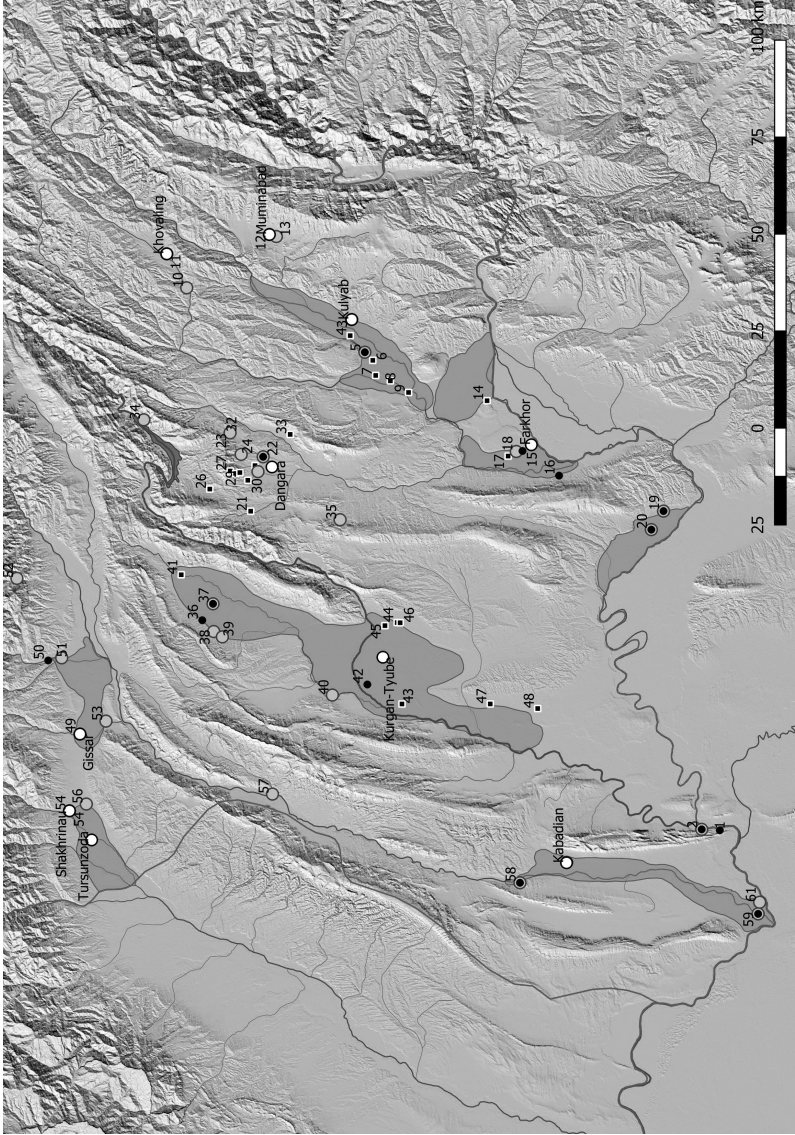


Figure 12.1 Map of southern Tajikistan. Sites: 1 Takht-i Kuvad; 2 Takht-i Sangin; 3 Kulyab; 4 Kaftar Khona; 5 Kajnar-Tepe/Noskul'; 6 Afgandeli; 7 Aral; 8 Manzara-Tepe; 9 Khul'buk; 10 Khonako; 11 Khovaling; 12 Muminabad; 13 Tepai Diniston; 14 Sayat/Sajyod; 15 Shur-Tepe; 16 Makonimor; 17 Shakhr-Tepe; 18 Saksanokhur; 19 Bajtudasht 2-8; 20 Kyzyl-Tepe; 21 Ksirov; 22 Dangara; 23 Hoki-Safed; 24 Gidzhovak; 25 Zoli Zard; 26 Sebston; 27 Sariob; 28 Tutbulak; 29 Malikova; 30 Oksu; 31 Mavlono Todshiddin; 32 Pushing; 33 Bulyoni Bolo; 34 Darai Shur; 35 Torbulok; 36 Shurcha 1; 37 Tamosh-Tepe; 38 Karaul-Tepe; 39 Kuz Kajnar; 40 Khalkadzhar; 41 Garavkala; 42 Boldaj-Tepe; 43 Zargar-Tepe; 44 Kafyr-Tepe; 45 Chorgul'-Tepe; 46 Ishan-Tepe; 47 Kafyr-Kala; 48 Kukhna-Kala; 49 Gissar/Khisor; 50 Kiblai; 51 Dushanbinskoye Gorodishche; 52 Dara/Simiganch; 53 Tupkhona; 54 Shakhina; 55 Tursunzoda; 56 Chumkurgan; 57 Kalai Kafirigan; 58 Munchak-Tepe; 59 Khirman-Tepe; 60 Kabadan/Qabodiyon; 61 Tepai Shakh.

kind of currency, captured between Kabul and Peshawar by bandits, retrieved by a British officer, and handed back to the merchants, who later sold the treasure in the bazaars of Peshawar or Rawalpindi. There, British collectors acquired metalwork and coins from the treasure, objects which later found their way into the British Museum.

Among the objects from the treasure are a gold sword scabbard, a gold cut-out plaque originally decorating a bow-case, decorated and plain vessels, a silver caprid vessel handle, earrings and pendants, bracelets and armlets, finger-rings, two stone cylinder seals and a stamp seal, embossed gold discs, bracteates and appliqués, several figures hammered from plates and soldered together, such as two model gold chariots containing statuettes, several solid cast gold and silver figurines of men and animals, including a standing nude male reminiscent of a Greek *kouros* figure, and a group of 51 mostly rectangular plaques made from thin gold sheets with incised designs. Some of these plaques show women carrying flowers, or animals such as a camel and two horses, but most show men wearing Median or Persian dress carrying flowers or a bundle of twigs or stems, usually referred to as *barsoms*, that is, ritual implements associated with Zoroastrian rituals. But that does not necessarily mean the figures depicted belonged to the Zoroastrian religion; the *barsoms* and flowers held by men and women may merely indicate piety. However, the plaques are generally assumed to be votive which would indicate the plaques and the whole treasure was dedicated to a temple or sanctuary. The proximity of Takht-i Kuvad to the famous Oxus Temple at Takht-i Sangin and some perceived similarity in the nature of the objects coming from these two sites provoked speculation about whether the Oxus Treasure might in fact have been derived from the Oxus Temple (Pitschikjan 1992, 59–67; Litvinskij/Pičikjan 2002, 1–7; Коровчинский 2004 argues for either Kabadian/Kalai Mir in Tajikistan or Khist Tepe in Afghanistan as the original find spot), a question that unfortunately can never be resolved.

But even if the circumstances of the deposition of the treasure remain unclear, many things – not least the “gift-bearer” on the votive plaques – point to a religious context of the objects, to the fact that the objects were either produced to be votive offerings, or that they were at least later determined as votive offerings. In any case, the Oxus Treasure shows that considerable wealth was accumulated in Bactria already in the Achaemenid period and in the third century BCE. And indeed, although only a few Achaemenid sites have been identified in the south of Tajikistan, their distribution suggests that many oases had been inhabited already since the 5th and 4th centuries BCE.

As is usual with treasure finds of this kind, there was addition and interpolation to the original Oxus collection by the bazaar dealers, and even the addition of fakes (Muscarella 2003 for the question of authenticity; Bleibtreu 1998 for a fake in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna). Particularly problematic is the assessment of about 1500 coins which “reached Europe with the Treasure”, according to Ormonde M. Dalton, British Museum Keeper and author of the monograph on the treasure from 1905 (reprint Dalton 1964). 520 of these coins were listed by Alexander Cunningham (Cunningham 1881; 1883; Зеймаль 1979a), one of the above mentioned British collectors, but only about 200 entered the collection of the British Museum. The coins include examples from the Achaemenid royal mint and from around the Persian Empire but mostly from Alexander the Great and Seleukid

and Graeco-Bactrian rulers until Euthydemus I (the British Museum collection), and later kings such as Pantaleon, Agathokles and Antimachus Theos (the coins listed by Cunningham and Зеймаль). If goldwork and coins were actually found together, the treasure would have been deposited after 180/170 BCE, hence in the Hellenistic period.

As for the recent museum history of the Oxus Treasure, it should be noted that in 2007 the Tajik president made a claim for the “repatriation” of the treasure. This did not come to pass, but in 2013 the British Museum commissioned high-quality gold replicas of Oxus Treasure pieces for the Tajik Government, which are now on display in the Tajik National Museum. More recently, artefacts from the treasure have been scientifically studied, including elemental analyses that suggest at least the gold plaques were made from alluvial gold obtained from riverbeds (Curtis/Searight 2003; Mongiatti et al. 2010; Simpson et al. 2017).

THE OXUS TEMPLE AT TAKHT-I SANGIN

Takht-i Sangin (Figure 12.1 Site 2) with the Oxus Temple, located circa five kilometres north of Takht-i Kuvad, is undoubtedly the most important site of the Hellenistic period in southern Tajikistan. It was already visited and briefly investigated by expeditions in 1928, 1950 and 1956 (Litvinskij/Pičikjan 2002, 7). However, the temple was only excavated from 1976–1991 by Igor Pichikyan and Boris Litvinsky as part of the investigations of the South Tajik Archaeological Expedition (the final publications are Литвинский/Пичикян 2000; Литвинский 2001; Litvinskij/Pičikjan 2002; Литвинский 2010). By 1989, the Oxus Temple was largely unearthed, but two years later, when Soviet archaeologists foresaw the collapse of the Soviet Union and the halt of the excavations, they decided to fill the ruins and cover the walls with the excavation material for the site’s protection (Litvinskij/Pičikjan 2002, pl. 4). However, as these works were carried out with a bulldozer, they are unlikely to contribute to the preservation of the monument. Only in 1998 did Anjelina Drujinina of the Academy of Science of Tajikistan resume excavations at Takht-i Sangin. Her work, conducted until 2010, first with the financial support of the Maecenas Foundation (Switzerland) and later in cooperation with Miho Museum (Japan), investigated the settlement as a whole and examined the temple’s courtyard, the temenos, which led to the discovery of a deep well which was later used as a bronze foundry (reports listed in the bibliography). Since 2013, a French-Tajik group headed by Mathilde Gelin (CNRS) strives to continue the archaeological work in Takht-i Sangin. However, due to the security concerns posed by the location of Takht-i Sangin on the border with Afghanistan, so far only one campaign has taken place in 2014 (Gelin 2015, Худжагелдиев 2017).

Takht-i Sangin is located on a 100 to 450 metre wide and three kilometre long river terrace on the right bank of the Amu Darya, directly below the confluence of Vakhsh (the ancient Oxus River) and Pyandzh (ancient Okhus River; for the ancient toponyms see Rapin 1998; 2013). The settlement is bounded to the west by the slopes of the Teshik Tosh, and to the east by the banks of the river; in the north and south it is protected by city walls that run between the slopes of the mountain and the river. The settlement area is subdivided by several east–west running walls and a dry creek into sections, that do not all have the same density of building structures. According to the pottery collected on the surface and in small trenches all parts were populated



Figure 12.2 Reconstruction of the Temple of the Oxus.

during the Hellenistic period, while in the Kushan period settlement was reduced to the citadel (Дружинина 2012, *passim*; 2013, 146–148). A pre-Hellenistic settlement seems to be indicated by ceramic finds from the north of the citadel (Дружинина 2012, 356–357).

The rectangular citadel (170–210 × 240 metres) is located in the middle of the settlement on an artificial mound, which rises c. 10 metres above the surrounding terrain. To the north, west and south, the citadel is surrounded by a ditch and a two metre wall made of stone, while to the east it opens to the river where in an area that is today beyond the border fence Drujinina identified the remains of a quay (Дружинина 2012, 342, fig. 6).

The Oxus Temple (Figure 12.2 and 12.3) is in the centre of the citadel and is surrounded by a wall about 100 × 85 metres, 6 metres thick, with tower-like projections at its corners and along the walls' length that give the sanctuary a fortress-like character. Inside these walls lies a temple of monumental dimensions (44 metres wide and 50 metres long). It was built at the beginning of the Hellenistic period and continued to be used despite several destructions until the 3rd century CE. As suggested by Greek inscriptions from the temple, the sanctuary was dedicated to the river god Oxos/Oxus (Vaxšu) whose name also refers to the river course, now known as Vakhsh and Amu Darya. The Oxus/Vaxšu was the main river in Bactria, which drained much of the water from the Pamir Mountains and was the widest river in the whole area (the construction of the Nurek Dam in 1961–1980 limited the mighty current in terms of its flow so that the river appears relatively narrow on today's satellite imagery). Among the Greek inscriptions is the dedication of a small bronze statuette of a Silenus playing a double pipe or *aulos* (Figure 12.4). The inscription reads: “Εὐχὴν ἀνεθηκεν Ἀτροσώκης Ὁξῶι” which means “[fulfilling a] vow, Atrosokes dedicated [this] to Oxos”. By many scholars the Silenus is identified with Marsyas, who is known from Greek myth as the musical challenger of Apollo. The votive offering

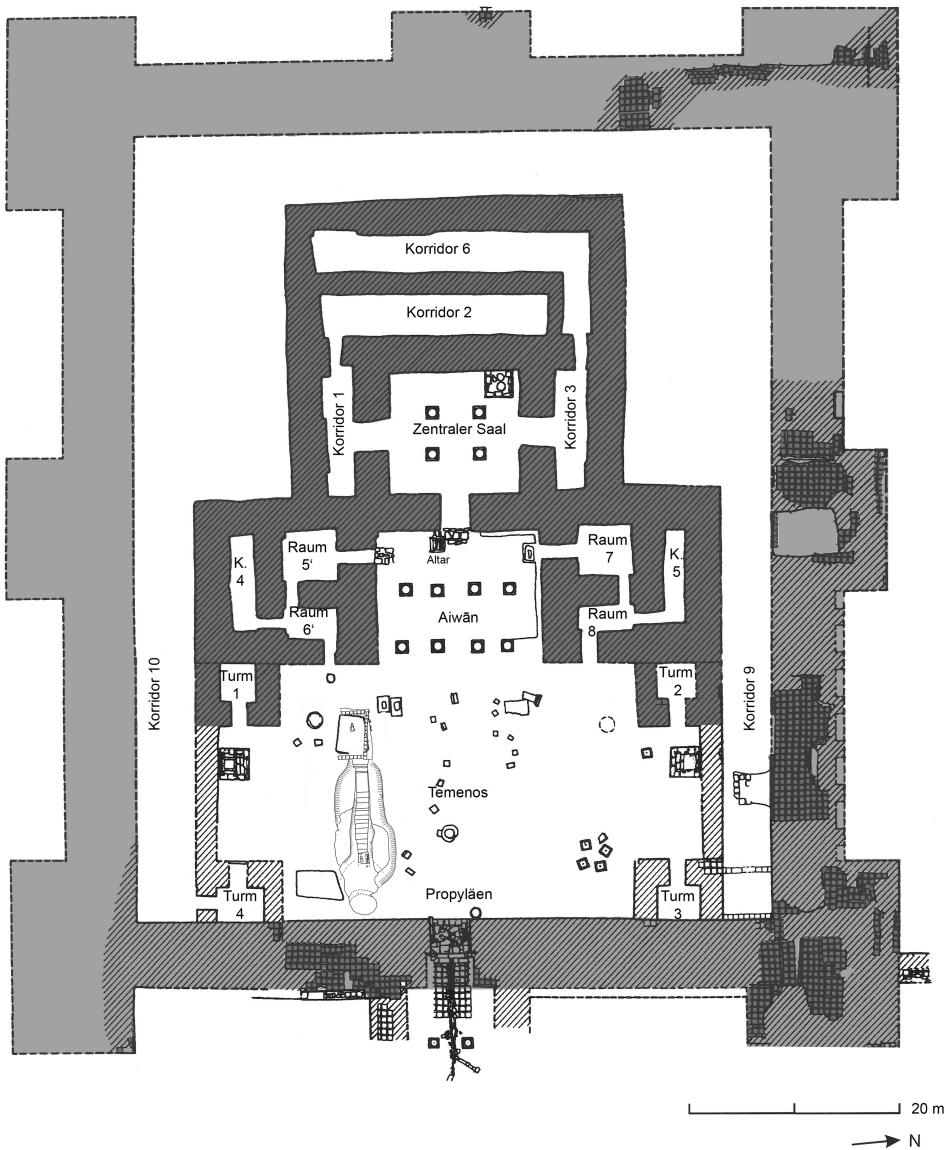


Figure 12.3 Plan of the Temple of the Oxus.

is thus a Greek mythological figure which an Iranian, or at least a man of Iranian name, has given to a local Bactrian river god, with the dedication written in Greek – a mixture of influences that is characteristic of the Oxus Temple and other shrines in the Hellenistic Far East.

The architects of the Oxus Temple did not seem to have any models for religious monumental architecture, but strongly relied on local Bactrian architecture, such as the flat roof and several-meter thick walls of mud brick, with which the temple adapted very well to the climatic conditions of the region. The layout of the Oxus Temple is



Figure 12.4 Dedication of Atrosokes to the Oxus.

defined by a central hall (c. 11.5 × 12.7 metres) supported by four columns, of which only the limestone *torus* bases were preserved. The hall was enclosed on three sides by L-shaped corridors 12 to 26 metres long and 3 metres wide. To the east the central hall opens through a pillared vestibule or *aiwan* to the large temple square. On both sides, the vestibule is framed by protruding wings of the building, which each have two very small corridors leading to a small room. Because of the remains of ashes in these two rooms, Pichikyan and Litvinsky labelled the rooms “*ateshgah*”, that is, rooms used in Zoroastrian sanctuaries to preserve the eternal fire (Litvinskij/Pičikjan 2002, 39; 97; 101). This, as well as incorrectly linking the development of the four-columned halls with Zoroastrianism (Rapin 1992; Shenkar 2011), led to the interpretation of the Oxus Temple as a Zoroastrian fire temple, the earliest of its kind. Pits filled with pure ashes in the central hall of the temple were interpreted by the excavators as an additional indicator for Zoroastrian rituals. However, these pits, located in each corner of the four column bases, are more indicative of a purification ritual performed prior to the erection of the columns, and thus of rituals unrelated to any particular religion. Undercutting the Zoroastrian interpretation, inter alia, is the fact that there was no evidence for a fire altar in the four-columned central hall. On the contrary, in the middle of the back wall were found blocks of stone that could have been the remains of an image base (Lindström 2016, 289). In addition, there was a large altar on the *temenos*, which could have served as the main altar like in Greek cults. Even if this altar was not made of ornamented stone blocks, but of *pakhsa*, its location on the central axis of the temple could indicate cults inspired by Greek patterns – with a cult image inside and a main altar in front of the temple (Lindström 2016, 289).

The Oxus Temple was most likely financed by the royal house of the Seleukids, as indicated by the sheer size of the building. The construction was enormously complex and could certainly not be borne by the inhabitants of the settlement alone – for the construction of the enclosure wall alone around 300,000 mud bricks ($50 \times 50 \times 14$ centimetres) had to be produced, dried, transported and assembled. The temple was located outside the river oasis system and was therefore politically and economically independent. Geographically located in the centre of the Bactrian-Sogdian depression, Takht-i Sangin was an ideal location for a central shrine frequented by people from all over Bactria to worship the god Oxos/Oxus, the main river of Bactria. That the rituals performed in the temple do not follow a clear pattern may be related to the supra-regional function of the sanctuary.

The objects discovered in the temple are mostly remains of votive offerings and are now among the main attractions of the National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan, which opened in 2001. In 2013, however, some of the objects were handed over to the National Museum of Tajikistan, which is not identical to the above. The remains of votive offerings were found almost exclusively within the temple, in the central hall and the corridors, especially in various aboveground or underground deposits (Lindström 2013; 2016). Although the number of finds is difficult to determine, as sometimes assemblages with several hundred similar dedications were counted as a single find, it can be estimated that fragments of 5,000 to 8,000 artefacts have been found. Fragments of gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead, glass and frit, plaster and stucco, terracotta, unbaked clay, gemstones and limestone, shell, bone, ivory, wood and textile have been preserved. Among the votives are statues of unfired clay, including portraits of Graeco-Bactrian kings (and maybe queens), as well as jewellery, parts of furniture, instruments and tools, coins, but above all arms and armour, whose high number suggests the importance of the river god Oxos/Oxus in connection with military conflicts. The range of votives differs greatly from that in the niched temple in Ai Khanoum, which suggests a worship of different deities (Lindström 2016 contrary to Francfort 2012). Many finds from the Oxus Temple are from the Hellenistic period and were buried after destructions likely to be connected to the Saka and Yuezhi invasions of 140/130 BCE (Drujinina/Lindström 2013). However, not only coins testify to the continued use of the temple until the beginning of the 3rd century CE. In particular, arms were still dedicated in the Kushan period, and in very large quantities, as individual depositions with hundreds of arrowheads show.

THE KULYAB-VOSE OASIS AND ADJACENT MOUNTAIN VALLEYS

The Kulyab-Vose Oasis is Tajikistan's easternmost oasis, a 50 kilometre long and 6 kilometre wide river plain along the middle course of the Yakhsu to its confluence with the Kyzylsu, where the valley widens to 15 kilometres. Its centre seems to have been in the area of today's Kulyab (Figure 12.1 Site 3) since the early Iron Age. A pottery kiln and ceramics found north of the city centre point to a large pre-Achaemenid settlement (Якубов/Довутов 2001; Якубов et al. 2006a, 149–153), whereas Achaemenid layers were discovered 1.5 kilometres further southwest in the area of the medieval fortresses Charmagaroni Poyon, Bisiyorchinor and Kukhna Shakhr. There, at the depths of 1 to 4, but also 6 to 7 meters, around 60 test excavations conducted in

the 1990s and early 2000s revealed thick cultural layers with pottery of the late Hellenistic and Kushan period, including several sherds of the late Achaemenid period (Якубов/Довутов 2001; Якубов et al. 2005; 2006a; 2006b; Довуди et al. 2007; 2009). The distribution and the thickness of the ancient layers indicate a citadel and adjoining residential areas in the Hellenistic period, and, like in Takht-i Sangin, a limitation of the Kushan period settlement to the area of the former citadel.

During the phase of Kulyab's urban development in the 1990s, several illegal excavations were carried out in the city itself and in its surroundings, the objects found being sold on the art market. These include a "treasure" of more than 800 coins with the label "from Kulyab" that appeared around 1995 on the bazaar of Peshawar, of which 205 are now in the collection of Muhammad Riaz Babar in Peshawar (Bopearachchi 1999). As the oldest of the coins were struck in the name of Alexander and the most recent are coins of Eukratides I, the treasure recalls by its composition the Ai Khanoum coin treasures II, III, and IV and was likely deposited at the end of the Graeco-Bactrian period.

Also with the label "from Kulyab", in around 2000 a remarkable inscription was sold on the antiquities market originally attached to an altar (Bernard et al. 2004, especially 333–337 [text and translation by Rougemont] 338–356 [historic context by Bernard]; Holt 2012, 124–125). The Kulyab or Heliodotos inscription records in Greek verse the dedication of an altar in a sacred grove of Zeus by a certain Heliodotos. The altar was donated for the well-being of the Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemus and his son Demetrios, which allows a dating around 200 BCE. Greek rituals such as libations and sacrifices are mentioned, in addition to Greek gods such as Zeus, Tyche, the goddess of fortune, and Hestia, the guardian of the domestic and urban hearth. With the sacred grove the inscription evokes a rural sanctuary, with a whole set of Greek beliefs and cult practices. Due to the relative closeness of the Kulyab region to Torbulok, it is tempting to link the inscription to this sanctuary. However, this can be ruled out (see below), and it is more likely that the sanctuary described in the inscription was indeed in the immediate vicinity of Kulyab, its archaeological remains destroyed by modern building work.

Likewise, from illicit excavations and maybe also from the region around Kulyab are six *pyxides* bought by the Tajik state for the 2700 Years of Kulyab Museum, where they are now on display (Sarifi 2012, 266). These hemispherical boxes – cut from greyish schist, their inside divided into three compartments and their convex lids engraved and with recesses for inlaid decoration – are well-known from Ai Khanoum and many other Hellenistic sites. In contrast to most of these, the Kulyab *pyxides* still have their associated lids, suggesting that they were buried intact either in a ritual deposit in a sanctuary or a burial. Both contexts would have added much to our knowledge of Hellenistic Bactria, and hence, the Kulyab *pyxides* are a sad example of the damage caused by illicit excavations.

Nevertheless, several large sites in the Kulyab-Vose Oasis indicate its enormous agricultural and economic potential, including sites of 50–130 hectare size, such as Kaftar Khona (Figure 12.1 Site 4), Kajnar-Tepe/Noskul' (Figure 12.1 Site 5), Afgandeli (Figure 12.1 Site 6), Aral (Figure 12.1 Site 7), and Manzara-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 8), all of which except Kaftar Khona are found in the Yakhsu-Kyzylsu interfluvium. Some of these sites may date back to the Hellenistic period, but they were only briefly investigated in the 1970s and 1980s (Гулямова 1973; 1988) and during more recent investigations

(Филимонова/Ахметзянов 2014; 2017). Excavations were only conducted at Kajnar-Tepe/Noskul', which is located nine kilometres west of Kulyab near a freshwater spring, a source of great importance, especially in the region where the river waters are saline. Stratigraphic trenches dug in 2007 revealed typical Achaemenid pottery, but also extensive Hellenistic material (Якубов/Курбанов 2009, 73–83 fig. 6–8).

According to Ptolemy's Geography, the ancient cities of Kholbisina and Marouka should be located on the right side of the Pyandzh River, thus, somewhere in the Kulyab region (Rapin 1998, 204). With regard to Kholbisina, the name suggests an identification with Khul'buk (Figure 12.1 Site 9), which lies at the confluence of the Yakhsu and Kyzylsu and was the centre of the medieval region of Khuttal' (more or less today's Khatlon oblast of Tajikistan) in the 9th and 10th century. However, the deep stratigraphic trenches dug in the central part of the Khul'buk fortress did not reveal any Hellenistic or Kushan period material.

The search for Marouka leads to the neighbouring mountain valleys. It has been associated with today's Khonako (Figure 12.1 Site 10), a site known until the 1960s under the name Shakhri-Munk in the relatively narrow valley of Obi-Mazar, a tributary of the Kyzylsu. Although the site was only briefly investigated, coins of Seleukos I and Eukratides I discovered at Khonako and in the vicinity of Khovaling (Figure 12.1 Site 11) indicate that the gold-rich region was populated at least during the Hellenistic period (Довуди 2006, Nos. I,II,1,2;9;11). This is confirmed by coins found downstream and at the middle reaches of the Kyzylsu (Давутов 1982, 185–186; Довуди 2006 Nos. I,II,1,7;8).

From the north-east of the Kulyab-Vose Oasis in the high valley of Muminabad (Figure 12.1 Site 12) come Eukratides coins and their later imitations (Довуди 2006, Nos. I,II,1,12; II,1,1,5). In Tepai Diniston (Figure 12.1 Site 13) close to Muminabad a pit house with a strange round layout was discovered. According to the rich ceramic material including a Megarian bowl it was used in the late Hellenistic period, in the second quarter of the 2nd century BCE (Денисов 1980; Lyonnet 1997, 123; 141).

THE MOSKOVSKY OASIS

The Moskovsky Oasis is a 15–10 kilometre plain between the Kyzylsu and the Panj, dominated in the north by the more than 1300-metre-high salt mountain Khoja Mumin and bounded in the southwest by the Urtaboz Plateau. Today it is irrigated by numerous communication channels between Kyzylsu and Panj, making it one of the most fertile regions of Tajikistan. However, intensive irrigation also means strong sedimentation, so that the ancient cultural layers are deep below the present surface and have not yet been discovered. Sayat/Sajyod (Figure 12.1 Site 14), a 400 × 800 metre large settlement in the south, may have been a major site in antiquity, but extensive ruins from the 9th to the 12th centuries hampered excavation to the depths and layers that may relate to earlier periods (Гулямова 1977, 1984).

THE FARKHOR OASIS WITH SAKSANOKHUR

The Farkhor Oasis is a 5–8 kilometre wide and 30 kilometre long river plain, which is bounded on the east by the Urtaboz loess plateau and in the west by the Kyzylsu, which flows along the Karatau mountain range to the south. Here, at least two sites seem to have already existed in the Achaemenid period, namely Shur-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site

15), which is located a few kilometres north of the present-day district centre Farkhor (Мухитдинов 1971, 189–193 pl. 1, 11.16 [pottery of cylindrical and cylindro-biconical form]), and Makonimor (Figure 12.1 Site 16) at the opposite side of the plain (material not published, site mentioned by Литвинский 1973, 13 and P’jankova et al. 2009, 99). Thus, it is highly probable that the oasis was also populated in the Hellenistic period, although corresponding cultural layers have not yet been discovered. Possibly Shakhr-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 17), an approximately square settlement hill of 200 × 200 metres in size, was the urban centre of this oasis in Hellenistic times. However, a small trench excavated in 1971 only penetrated into the layers of the 7th–8th centuries and it was not continued to the bottom of the cultural layers. Due to the settlement-favourable terrain, a further settlement in on the southern tip of the Urtaboz Plateau in the area of today’s district centre Farkhor is suspected, but archaeological interest has so far focused on the Bronze Age graves found on the plateau.

In 1966–1967 and 1973–1977, in the area of today’s village Shaftolubok five kilometres to the North of Farkhor, Soviet archaeologists explored a site today known as Saksanokhur (Figure 12.1 Site 18) (Литвинский/Мухитдинов 1969, 160 giving the actual location of the site). The rectangular site, which was already mostly levelled before the archaeologists arrived, had a citadel in the north-eastern corner that rises above the surrounding territory by three metres. Here, the excavations uncovered a fortified palatial building with a large central courtyard (27.7 × 27.7 metres) enclosed in the west, south and east by corridors, which gave access to the rooms behind (Figure 12.5; Литвинский/Мухитдинов 1967; 1969; Древности Таджикистана 1985, 115; Mairs 2014, 79–82).

To the south of the courtyard was a four-columned *aiwan* with a wide passage in the middle of its back wall leading to the southern corridor, and then to a large internal hall whose roof was supported by two columns. Because the layout’s similarities to the Ai Khanoum palace and the architectural elements found at Saksanokhur – e.g. Attic bases and capitals of the so-called “free Corinthian type” (Figure 12.6) – the excavators assumed that the palace was erected at least in the last third of the 2nd century BCE. Although it should be noted that most of these architectural elements were reused (*spolia*) and found, for example, as a floor paving, pottery from the site indicates that it already existed in the late Hellenistic period (Литвинский 1973; Lyonnet 1997, 140). The potters’ quarters that were excavated 150 metres south of the citadel, however, revealed only material from the Kushan period through to the 4th century CE (Мухитдинов 1968; Древности Таджикистана 1985, 115).

THE PYANDZH OASIS

Southwest of the Farkhor Oasis, but separated from it by the Karatau Mountains, lies the Pyandzh Oasis, which occupies a 30 kilometre long and up to 6 kilometre wide plain on the right bank of the Pyandzh. The region is economically related to the area around Imam Sahib on the Afghan side of the Pyandzh (Gardin 1998, 62–65). It was densely already populated in the Achaemenid period, as demonstrated by a number of sites with Achaemenid layers, such as Bajtudasht 2–8 (Figure 12.1 Site 19) (Абдуллаев 1991) and Kyzyl-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 20) (Зеймаль 1979b, 139–140). Of these, Bajtudasht 4 appears to have been inhabited as early as the early Iron Age, and a continuation of settlement into the Hellenistic period is indicated

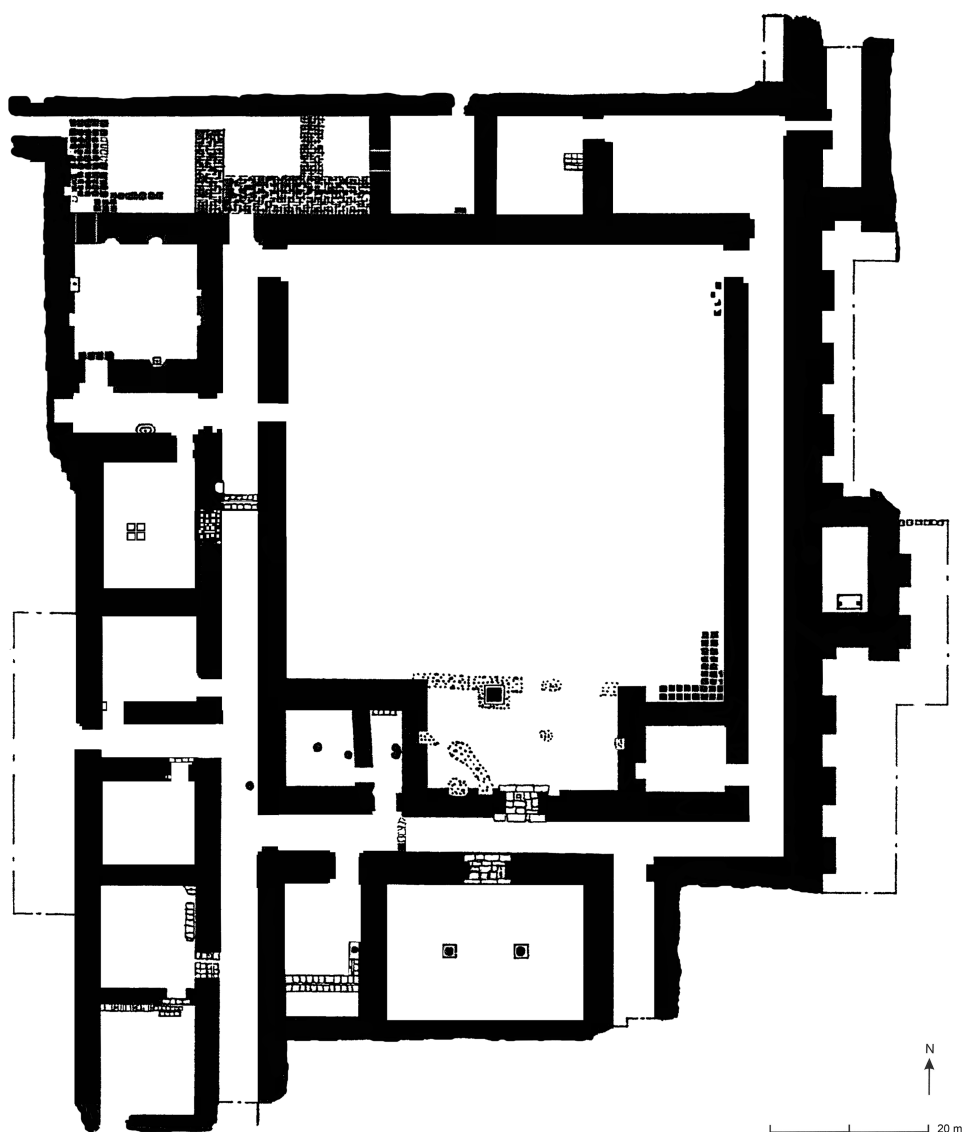


Figure 12.5 Plan of the Saksanokhur structure. Литвинский/Мухитдинов 1969.

for Kyzyl-Tepe and the pit houses at Bajtudasht 2 (Абдуллаев 1983), if only by ceramics. In Kyzyl-Tepe, the Achaemenid layers appeared 4 to 7.5 meters below the present surface, demonstrating that in many parts of the oasis the ancient sites are buried under meter-thick alluvial layers. At Bajtudasht 4 excavations in the 1980s uncovered a building of approximately 450 square metres with four rooms arranged on either side of a long corridor (Абдуллаев 1983, 78–79; 1988; 1991, 207–209; 1994; Литвинский 1998, 273–274). Two of these rectangular rooms were lavishly equipped – with plastered walls at least partly painted red, black and blue and *sufas*



Figure 12.6 Corinthian capital from Saksanokhur.

running along their walls. On a slightly elevated area to the rear wall of the northern room stood a rectangular pedestal or an “altar”, unfortunately not described in detail in the reports. In the central part of the southern room was a 1.3 × 1.3 metre slightly recessed part of the floor with a burnt surface and close to the entrance two round pits, not very deep, also with traces of fire. Scattered all over the floor were fragments of leather which might have been part of the tent-like ceiling. The pottery from the building, including the vessels from a deposition in one of the *sufas*, indicates a dating in the 6th to 5th century BCE. The burnt areas have been interpreted as depositories of the eternal fire and, thus, the whole building as an early fire temple.

THE DANGARA PLATEAU AND ADJACENT REGIONS

About 50 kilometres north of the Farkhor and Pyandzh oases is a 15 to 20 kilometre plateau around the city of Dangara, surrounded to the north and east by the foothills of the Vakhsh Range. The plateau’s northern part is irrigated by the Sargazon and its tributaries, while the southern part is crossed by the saline Tairsu. Here, however, the drinking water supply is ensured by smaller streams that spring from the surrounding mountains. The region had its “golden age” in the Kushan period, as suggested by many sites and the Ksirov burial grounds (Figure 12.1 Site 21) west of the plateau (Денисов 1984, 131–138; Дрењности Таджикистана 1985, 108–109). However, archaeological investigations in the 1980s and from 2008 to 2012 also identified a site from the Achaemenid period five kilometres east of Dangara (Figure 12.1 Site 22) and suggested a Hellenistic site nearby (Филимонова/Ахметзянов 2012; 2016, 227).

Ceramics and Graeco-Bactrian coins from Hoki-Safed (Figure 12.1 Site 23), Gidzhovak (Figure 12.1 Site 24) and Zoli Zard (Figure 12.1 Site 25) suggest Hellenistic settlements at the foothills around Dangara, while column bases and miniature limestone altars from Sebiston (Figure 12.1 Site 26), Sariob (Figure 12.1 Site 27), Tutbulak (Figure 12.1 Site 28), Malikova (Figure 12.1 Site 29), Oksu (Figure 12.1 Site 30) (here alone ten column bases), Zoli Zard, Mavloni Todshiddin (Figure 12.1 Site 31), Dangara Gorodishche (Figure 12.1 Site 22), Pushing (Figure 12.1 Site 32), and Bulyoni Bolo (Figure 12.1 Site 33) bear witness to monumental buildings and ritual sites, presumably from the Hellenistic or Kushan period, even if the sites have not yet been excavated (Денисов 1982; 1993; Филимонова/Ахметзянов 2012; 2013; Довуди 2012).

That even the Nurek Valley on the northern side of the Vaksh mountain range was at least visited in Hellenistic times is shown by stray finds of silver teradrachms of Euthydemus II and Eukratides from Darai Shur (Figure 12.1 Site 34) (Юсупов/Самойлик 2013; Довуди 2012, Nos. 4–5).

THE HELLENISTIC SANCTUARY AT TORBULOK

Like Takht-i Sangin, Torbulok (Figure 12.1 Site 35) is not within a larger cluster of settlements. Instead, it lies 20 kilometres southeast of Dangara, separated from the fertile plateau by a vast hilly landscape that can only be used as pastureland. Located at the foot of the Teriklitau Mountains and the southern end of a ten kilometres long, two kilometres wide valley watered only part of the year by a very small stream, the site is not in an area favourable for settlement. However, the mentioned streamlet is fed by four sources (tshor bulak means four sources) that spring from the mountains above Torbulok that here form a natural theatre whose rocky edges frame the site. The picturesque setting was probably the reason why a cult was established at the site, together with a small spring that once emerged directly above the sanctuary.

The site, which has been on the archaeological map as a Kushan period site since the 1980s (Денисов 1993, 278–280), was identified as a Hellenistic sanctuary in 2012, after archaeologists became aware of two Diodotos coins found by the villagers (Довуди 2012, Nos. 1–2) and a large stone basin, the latter identified as a *perirrhanterion*, that is, as a vessel used for purification rituals according to Greek cult practice (Филимонова et al. 2012). The Tajik-German excavations conducted from 2013 to 2018 between the modern buildings opened an area of about 20 × 50 metres that was obviously the western part of the sacred precinct; its centre was most likely destroyed by the construction of modern school buildings in the east (Lindström 2014 and 2017, Линдстрём/Филимонова 2017). No temple was identified; as it was probably destroyed by construction work in the 1950s that brought to light column bases of the stepped torus type. Since the pottery found in the recent excavations is exclusively Hellenistic, the sanctuary itself was a one-period site, although the settlement located to the east of the excavations may have lasted until the early Kushan period.

The sacred precinct extended over at least two terraces sloping to the east (Figure 12.7). The largely excavated upper terrace was bounded on the slope side by a long north–south running *pakhsa* wall, which was partially plastered with light grey clay and was certainly the *temenos* wall. Parallel to this and 18 meters to the east was a second wall, its corner reinforced by stone blocks. It belonged to the lower terrace,



Figure 12.7 Plan of Torbulok.

which was completely destroyed by the buildings of the modern school. In the centre of the upper terrace was a seven to nine metre rectangular *pakhsa* building whose function could not be clarified. In the first phase, the building was accessible via a ramp to the north; in a later phase the north adjoining courtyard area was paved with shards of storage vessels and transport bottles. The north-western area of the terrace was occupied by a large platform with a cult installation that was erected in the first phase of the sanctuary and continued until a landslide ended the second phase. The installation consisted of two large basins dug into the ground and plastered with lime mortar, into which water flowed from a spring that probably once emerged on the slope. Next to the upper and larger basin was a cult shaft built by a *khum*, that is, a large storage vessel, which was put upside down into the ground. Whereas the mouth of the vessel (now in the ground) was closed with lime mortar, the bottom (now on the upside) was neatly cut out. Various items were deposited in the shaft and were likely to be votive offerings, including small pebbles whose geological analysis revealed that they came from the Vakhsh at least 30 kilometres walking distance from Torbulok. The sanctuary was therefore also visited by people who did not come from the immediate vicinity.

At a later time, an east-facing wall was built south of the platform, creating a small courtyard area. Here, on a light grey floor, seven miniature altars were found that evidently served as sacrificial tables for smaller gifts such as food offerings (Figure 12.8). Close to the altars and on the same level some votive objects were discovered, such as a small stone vessel and fragments of iron and bronze objects. The courtyard area with the miniature altars had been buried in antiquity by a landslide and the soil was levelled to build anew. That the altars and gifts remained in the ground may be



Figure 12.8 Altars from Torbulok.

related to the principle *ouk ekphora*, known from the Greek Mediterranean, according to which consecrated gifts must remain forever in the possession of the god to whom the sanctuary is dedicated.

The landslide also covered the platform with the water installations and the cult shaft. In their place, kitchen-buildings equipped with a stove, *tandir*-oven and storage vessels were built, likely to supply the pilgrims visiting the shrine with food. Another kitchen area with several pits for storage jars, a raised worktop-like *pakhsa* structure and large quantities of cookware and animal bones was uncovered south of the rectangular building. Embedded in the worktop was a deposit consisting of a storage vessel covered with a milling stone, some beads, a Bronze Age(?) stone axe and a large iron axe, both broken into small fragments; the meaning of this ensemble remains puzzling. Also puzzling and so far without comparisons in Central Asia is a complex of two rows of rectangular pits separated by a two metre zone with a structure made of burnt clay that may have been an altar. The pits were dug into the virgin soil and were obviously filled with different material, as in some pits were animal bones, in others small pottery shards or even glass beads, and the soil of the filling had different colours (one pit greenish, the other grey, etc.).

All in all, the finds from Torbulok point to a rural sanctuary whose worshipers had very superficial knowledge of Greek cult traditions (*perirrhanterion* for purifications), but had a very unique form to worship their god(s) and performed rituals that are hitherto unknown from Hellenistic Central Asia.

THE YAVAN AND VAKHSH OASES

The Yavan and Vakhsh oases are the largest and most important agricultural regions of Tajikistan. Framed in the north by the up to 1900 metre high Rangoon Range, in the east by the Sarsaryak and Teriklitau, in the west by the Aruktau mountain ranges, the oases extended over the 90 kilometre long and 10 to 25 kilometre wide plains along the Yavansu, a northern tributary of the Vakhsh, and the lower reaches of the Vakhsh.

The Yavan Oasis is irrigated by the Yavansu and by small streams emerging from the surrounding mountains. Due to relatively low sedimentation, several Achaemenid and Hellenistic sites are listed in the 2016 archaeological map of the Yavan region (Филимонова et al. 2016). While Achaemenid pottery is known from Shurcha 1 (Figure 12.1 Site 36) (Абдуллаев 1982, 58) and from Hellenistic layers of Tamosho-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 37) (Абдуллаев 1976, 45; 1977, 43), Hellenistic material comes from the latter, as well as from pit-houses at Karaul-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 38) and Kuz Kajnar (Figure 12.1 Site 39), which are interpreted as farmsteads belonging to Tamosho-Tepe (Филимонова et al. 2016 Nr. 117, 118, 123). Tamosho-Tepe is a rectangular settlement of 400 × 400 metres enclosed by a 3-metre wall. Here, excavations revealed structures of at least three building phases, of which the most recent consisted of pit-houses dated by pottery to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE (Абдуллаев/Бубнова/Пьянкова 1975; Абдуллаев 1979; Филимонова et al. 2016, 24–25 fig. 14–15). In the southern part of the Yavan Oasis, already irrigated by channels fed by the Vakhsh, lies Khalkadzhar (Figure 12.1 Site 40), a large settlement of about 100 × 250 meters. Excavations to a depth of 6 metres revealed contexts of the Kushan period; however, Hellenistic layers below are indicated by fragments of “fish

plates”, and mud bricks of a format which is typical of the late Hellenistic period (Литвинский et al. 1977, 100–103; Седов 1988).

For the sake of completeness, an inscription from Garavkala (Figure 12.1 Site 41) (also named as Turtkul' 1 or Yavanskoe Gorodishche) in the north of the oasis should be mentioned here. Here, excavations to a ten metre depth uncovered layers of the early Kushan period, including a coin of Heliokles and a storage vessel inscribed with the Bactrian(?) name 'COXPAKHC' written in Greek letters (Древности Таджикистана 1985, 128–129; for Hellenistic pottery shapes cf. Lyonnet 1997, 126).

In contrast to the Yavan Oasis, in the Vakhsh Oasis there is almost no evidence for Achaemenid and Hellenistic settlement activity, which is certainly due to the intensive irrigation that covered the ancient layers with thick sediment. For example, the settlement hill of Kurgan-Tyube, recently renamed Bokhtar, now the centre of the Vakhsh Oasis, rises 18 metres above the surrounding plain, which indicates that it has been settled for a very long time (Беленицкий 1950b, 141–142). Hellenistic layers may be assumed, but are likely so deeply buried that they were not revealed even by modern building works. Remains of ancient irrigation canals and Achaemenid layers at Boldaj-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 42), eight kilometres northwest of Kurgan-Tyube, indicate the existence of an irrigation system already during this time (Зеймаль 1971). Due to their size, height or rectangular shape Zargar-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 43), Kafyr-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 44), Chorgul'-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 45), Ishan-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 46), Kafyr-Kala (Figure 12.1 Site 47) and Kukhna-Kala (Figure 12.1 Site 48) and others are possible Achaemenid or Hellenistic sites, but though test trenches were dug at some of these sites, only medieval or Kushan layers were reached (Беленицкий 1950a; 1950b; Зеймаль 1961, 83; Зеймаль 1971, 99; Соловьёв 1997, 40–43 fig. 3).

THE DUSHANBE-GISSAR OASIS AND ADJACENT REGIONS

The Dushanbe-Gissar Oasis is north of the Rangun Range, along the upper course of the Kafirnigan River, and includes the interfluvium of Varzob/Dushanbinka and Khanaka Rivers which drain into the Kofarnihon. The site of the medieval fortress Gissar/Khisor (Figure 12.1 Site 49) was already settled in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, as indicated by pottery from stratigraphic trenches dug to a depth of seven metres (Зеймаль 1987, 151–156 fig. 2; Самойлик 1993, 377–380 fig. 3). Surface ceramic finds from Kiblai (Figure 12.1 Site 50) testify to an Achaemenid settlement on the Varzob north of Dushanbe (Бубнова 2004, 30), while the Hellenistic settlement Dushanbinskoye Gorodishche (Figure 12.1 Site 51) was downstream at the confluence of Lushob and Varzob with Dushanbinka. Located in today's city centre close to the National Museum, the site included a citadel, a residential area and maybe a necropolis, all largely destroyed in the 1950s by construction. These contexts, however, revealed several Hellenistic small finds, such as the shell of a large sea snail (a Turbinellidae likely from the Indian Ocean) with a metal fitting, a gold earring in the form of a sphinx-protome and a gilded bronze *phalera* with a relief of Dionysus likely from the Kushan period. In 1989, excavations at the remaining part of the citadel (150 × 16–20 metres) uncovered 30 rectangular rooms, all of which had storage pits, located on either side of a 60 meter long north-south running wall. Thus, the layout is reminiscent of the storerooms in the palace of Ai Khanoum. Numerous pottery fragments including fish bowls and vessels with stamped decoration date

the whole layer to the 3rd–2nd century BCE. Additional finds are 500 disk-shaped and pyramidal weaving weights and spindle whorls, several pyxides and implements cut from grey schist, a male wreathed head of an ivory statuette, terracotta figurines and a terracotta masque representing a satyr (Бубнова 2004, 37–65). Since the 1980s, several stratigraphic trenches were dug in the ancient residential areas, whose remains give good insight into the ceramic sequence. Interestingly, the earliest buildings in this area were rectangular houses that were half underground, dated to the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BCE (Бубнова 2004, 65–78).

Compared with the rich archaeological material, there are only a few coin finds from the oasis: a single coin of Diodotos (plus two Kushan and several later coins) are known from Dara/Simiganch (Figure 12.1 Site 52) in the mountains northeast of Dushanbe (Довуди 2010, No. 40), an area which is otherwise only known archaeologically by the zebu bronze figures forming the legs of a throne, dated to the early Middle Ages. From the end of the 2nd or 1st century are an imitation of a Heliokles coin from Dushanbe and several imitations of the Eukratides from Tupkhona (Figure 12.1 Site 53), a large necropolis used since the early Kushan period (Древности Таджикистана 1985, Nos. 74–75; 79–81; 83; 86).

To the west of the Dushanbe-Gissar Oasis is another oasis located around the Karatau Darya and Shirkent Darya, geographically part of the Surkhan Darya area. Recently, a bell-shaped column base from Shakhrinau (Figure 12.1 Site 54) was considered indicative of an Achaemenid administrative building (Francfort 2018), while stray finds of pottery point to a Hellenistic occupation of the site (Lyonnet 1997, 123; 125). In addition, there are coins of Graeco-Bactrian kings from the surroundings of Tursunzoda (Figure 12.1 Site 55), Chimkurgan (Figure 12.1 Site 56) and Shakhrinau (Древности Таджикистана 1985, Nos. 43–44; 53; 59; 62; 67), the latter being the major settlement of the area at least during the Kushan period.

A few kilometres to the south of Gissar, the Kafirnigan River enters a narrow valley between the Babatau and the Aruktau Mountains, leaving only 100 kilometres further south. Halfway downstream is Kalai Kafirnigan (Figure 12.1 Site 57) where excavations close to the fortification wall revealed under massive Kushan layers contexts dated by fine table ware to the Hellenistic period (Седов 1987). The building apparently belonged to a fortress that secured the caravan route from the Kabadian-Shakhri Tuz Oasis to the north.

THE KABADIAN-SHAKHRI TUZ OASIS

This oasis is only 5–7 kilometres wide but 60 kilometres long – an alluvial plain on either side of the Kafirnigan, which flows into the Amu Darya in the south-eastern tip of Tajikistan. The oasis is today intensively irrigated by the Kattaaryk and numerous side channels, a system that likely dates back to the Achaemenid era. Achaemenid sites are Munchak-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 58) in the extreme north (Дьяконов 1953, 266; Мандельштам/Певзнер 1958, 310–322), and Khirman-Tepe (Figure 12.1 Site 59) in the extreme south of the oasis (Литвинский/Седов 1983, 68–70), both also with Hellenistic layers. Another early site was at Kalai Mir, a 150 × 120 metre citadel in the centre of today's town of Kabadian/Qabodiyon (Figure 12.1 Site 60) which was the seat of the local Bek in the Middle Ages. Here, and in Key Kobad Shakh, located just 1.5 kilometres to the east, excavations and stratigraphic trenches conducted in

the early 1950s revealed rich pottery finds that was used to create one of the first chrono-typologies for the region, from the middle of the 1st millennium BC to the late Kushan period (Дьяконов 1953, pl. 12). In Kalai Mir, excavations uncovered an area with several rooms build on the virgin soil, dated by the pottery finds to the 7th–4th century BCE. The building was later rebuilt several times – adding a room with a water pipe, a “white plastered room” (by a coin of Eukratides), a “wine cellar” and a bronze casting workshop (Дьяконов 1953; Забелина 1953, where the contexts are unfortunately described in just a few words). The individual alterations were dated to the 3rd, the middle of the 2nd, the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BCE, however, current knowledge would allow some changes. While ceramic types of Kabadian I were only identified in Kalai Mir, the types Kabadian II (3rd–2nd century BCE) and III (1st century BCE – 1st century CE) as well as later types were both identified in Kalai Mir and Kej-Kobad Shakh. Besides Kabadian, Hellenistic pottery was also excavated at Munchak-Tepe (see above, also a Corinthian capital comes from here), Khirman-Tepe (see above), and Tepai Shakh (Figure 12.1 Site 61) (which also has a coin by Euthydemus I), a site which became the oasis’s southern centre in the Kushan period, located three kilometres east of Khirman-Tepe (Литынский/Седов 1983, for Hellenistic pottery shapes within the Kushan complex see Lyonnet 1997, *passim*). In a Kushan building in Tepai Shakh two Attic column bases were installed (Литынский/Седов 1983, pl. 2,2; 3,1), possibly as reused material. Other column bases, mostly of the torus type, are known from Munchak-Tepe, Kabadian and surrounding areas, indicating the existence of monumental buildings of the Hellenistic or Kushan period (Мандельштам/Певзнер 1958; Дьяконов 1953).

In summary, this survey collects data from scattered and mostly Russian publications and reorganizes them, not according to modern administrative districts, but in the sense of how the Hellenistic population would have viewed and inhabited the landscape. Achaemenid sites in almost every river oasis indicate a developed irrigation system already existing in the pre-Hellenistic period. However, keeping in mind the methodological problems of identifying Achaemenid period sites – they are buried even deeper than Hellenistic sites and can be identified only by pottery, not by coin finds – the data at hand shows many more Hellenistic sites, and hence, an intensified land-use in the Hellenistic period. All in all, the review of the data shows that Hellenistic southern Tajikistan is not a blank spot, but a landscape filled with sites that beg for further investigation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- P. Bernard, G.J. Pinault, and G. Rougemont, Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l’Asie centrale. *Journal des Savants*, 2004, 227–356.
- E. Bleibtreu, Ein Chaldæon-Rollsiegel aus dem Oxus-Schatz und seine Nachahmungen in Gold. *AMIT* 30, 1998, 145–154.
- O. Boppearachchi, La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l’Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d’Alexandre). *Indologica Taurinensia* 25, 1999, 15–121.
- A. Cunningham, Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 50, 1881, 151–186.

- A. Cunningham, Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper. Second Notice. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 52, 1883, 64–67, 258–260.
- J. Curtis, *The Oxus Treasure. British Museum Objects in Focus* (London, 2012).
- J. Curtis and A. Searight, The Gold Plaques of the Oxus Treasure: Manufacture, Decoration and Meaning. In: T. Potts, M. Roaf, and D. Stein (eds.), *Culture Through Objects: Near Eastern Studies in Honour of P.R.S. Moorey* (Oxford, 2003), 219–247.
- O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus Together with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work* (London, 3rd edition, 1964).
- A. Drujinina, Die Ausgrabungen in Taxt-i Sangin im Oxos-Tempelbereich (Süd-Tadschikistan). *AMIT* 33, 2001, 257–282.
- A. Drujinina, Gussform mit griechischer Inschrift aus dem Oxos-Tempel. *AMIT* 40, 2008, 121–135.
- A. Drujinina and G. Lindström, Kultgefäße im Oxos-Tempel – zur Frage der Kultkontinuität im unruhigen 2. Jh. v. Chr. In: G. Lindström, S. Hansen, A. Wiczorek, and M. Tellenbach (eds.), *Zwischen Ost und West. Neue Forschungen zum antiken Zentralasien. Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium 30.9.-2.10.2009 in Mannheim*, Archäologie in Iran und Turan 14 (Darmstadt, 2013), 171–186.
- A.P. Drujinina and N.R. Boroffka, First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Takht-i Sangin 2004. *Bulletin of Miho Museum* 6, 2006, 57–69.
- A.P. Drujinina, H. Inagaki, T. Hudjageldiev, and F. Rott, Excavations of Takht-i Sangin City, Territory of Oxus Temple, in 2006. *Bulletin of Miho Museum* 9, 2009, 59–84 [English version of Дружинина et al. 2008].
- A.P. Druzhinina, T.U. Khudzhageldiyev, and H. Inagaki, Report of the Excavations of the Oxus Temple in Takhti-Sangin Settlement Site in 2007. *Bulletin of Miho Museum* 10, 2010, 63–82 [English version of Дружинина/Худжагелдиев 2009].
- A.P. Druzhinina, T.U. Khudzhageldiyev, and H. Inagaki, The Results of the Archaeological Excavations at Takht-i Sangin in 2008. *Bulletin of Miho Museum* 11, 2011, 13–30 [English version of Дружинина et al. 2010].
- H.P. Francfort, Ai Khanoum “temple with indented niches” and Takht-i Sangin “Oxus temple” in historical cultural perspective: outline of a hypothesis about the cults. *Parthica* 14, 2012, 109–136.
- H.-P. Francfort, Bases de colonne campaniformes d’Asie centrale. In: S. Gondet/E. Haerinck (eds.), *L’Orient et son jardin. Hommage à Rémy Boucharlat* (Leuven, Paris, Bristol, 2018) 167–178.
- J.C. Gardin, *Prospection archéologiques en Bactriane Orientale (1974–1978), Volume 3, Description des sites et notes de synthèse, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française en Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1998).
- M. Gelin, Nouvelles recherches à Takht-i Sangin. *Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры* 47, 2015, 32–45.
- F.L. Holt, *Lost World of the Golden King. In Search of Ancient Afghanistan*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 53 (Berkeley, 2012).
- G. Lindström, Votivdeponierungen im Oxos-Tempel (Baktrien) – Tradierung griechischer Kultpraxis? In: A. Schäfer and M. Witteyer (eds.), *Rituelle Deponierungen in Heiligtümern der hellenistisch-römischen Welt. Fachtagung Mainz 28.-30. April 2008*, Mainzer Archäologische Schriften 10 (Mainz, 2013), 97–114.
- G. Lindström, Der. Oxos-Tempel. Räumliche Aspekte und Kultkontinuität im Spiegel der Votivpraxis. In: S. Hansen, D. Neumann, and T. Vachta (eds.), *Raum, Gabe, Erinnerung. Weihgaben und Heiligtümer in prähistorischen und antiken Gesellschaften*, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 38 (Berlin, 2016), 281–310.
- G. Lindström, Auf der Suche nach dem Ritual: Ausgrabungen in einem hellenistischen Heiligtum in Torbulok, Tadschikistan. *Das Altertum* 62, 2017, 161–180.

- G. Lindström, Torbulok. Tadschikistan. Ein neuentdecktes Heiligtum im hellenistischen Osten. e- Forschungsberichte des DAI 2014-1, 120-124.
- B.A. Litvinskij and I.R. Pičikjan, *Taxt-i Sangin. Der Oxos-Tempel. Grabungsbefund, Stratigraphie und Architektur*, Archäologie in Iran und Turan 4 (Mainz, 2002).
- B. Lyonnet, *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974-1978) 2. Céramique et Peuplement du Chalcolithique à la Conquête Arabe*, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française en Asie Centrale (Paris, 1997).
- R. Mairs, *The Hellenistic Far East. Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia* (Oakland, 2014).
- A. Mongiatti, N. Meeks, and S. Simpson, A Gold Four-Horse Model Chariot from the Oxus Treasure: A Fine Illustration of Achaemenid Goldwork. *The British Museum Technical Research Bulletin* 4, 2010, 27-38.
- O.W. Muscarella, Museum Constructions of the Oxus Treasures: Forgeries of Provenience and Ancient Culture. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 9, 2003, 259-275.
- I.R. Pitschikjan, *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel. Achämenidische Kunst in Mittelasien* (Berlin, 1992).
- L.T. P'jankova, B.A. Litvinskij, S. Bobomulloev, K. Kaniuth, and M. Teufer, Das bronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Makonimor, Tadzikistan. *AMIT* 41, 2009, 97-140.
- C. Rapin, Les sanctuaires de l'Asie centrale à l'époque hellénistique. *Études de Lettres* 4, 1992, 101-124.
- C. Rapin, L'incompréhensible Asie centrale de la carte de Ptolémée. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12, 1998, 201-225.
- C. Rapin, On the Way to Roxane. In: G. Lindström, S. Hansen, A. Wiczorek, and M. Tellenbach (eds.), *Zwischen Ost und West. Neue Forschungen zum antiken Zentralasien. Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium 30.9.-2.10.2009 in Mannheim*. Archäologie in Iran und Turan 14 (Darmstadt, 2013), 43-82.
- H. Sarifi, *Die goldene Schatzkammer der Tadschiken* (Berlin, 2012), 266.
- M. Shenkar, Temple Architecture in the Iranian World in the Hellenistic Period. In: A. Kouremenos, R. Rossi, and S. Chandrasekaran (eds.), *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East 221* (Oxford, 2011), 119-140.
- S. Simpson, A. Mongiatti, and N. Meeks, A Gold Four-Horse Model Chariot from the Oxus Treasure in the British Museum. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Tajikistan* 2, 2017, 105-123.
- A.A. Абдуллаев, Отчет о раскопках Тамошо-тепе в 1972 г. *АРТ* 12, [1972] 1976, 38-47.
- A.A. Абдуллаев, Отчет о раскопках Тамошотепа в 1973 г. *АРТ* 13, [1973] 1977, 35-46.
- A. Абдуллаев, Раскопки городища Тамошотепа в 1974 г. *АРТ* 14, [1974] 1979, 123-133.
- A. Абдуллаев, Разведки и раскопки в Яванском районе в 1976 г. *АРТ* 16, [1976] 1982, 54-65.
- A. Абдуллаев, Археологические разведки и раскопки в Пянджском районе в 1977 г. *АРТ* 17, [1977] 1983, 69-79.
- A. Абдуллаев, Древнебактрийское культовое сооружение в Пяндже. In: *История и культура Куляба (прошлое и настоящее)* (Куляб, 1988), 23-26 [not accessed].
- A. Абдуллаев, Работа Пянджского археологического отряда в 1983 г. *АРТ* 23, [1983] 1991, 201-213.
- A. Абдуллаев, Отчет Пянджского археологического отряда за 1985 г. *АРТ* 25, [1985] 1994, 171-179.
- A. Абдуллаев, М.А. Бубнова, и Л.Т. Пьянкова, Отчет о работах Яванского отряда в 1971 г. *АРТ* 25, [1971] 1975, 250-262.
- A.M. Беленицкий, Отчет о работе Вахшского отряда в 1946 г. *МИА* 15, 1950a, 128-139.
- A.M. Беленицкий, Отчет о работе Вахшского отряда в 1947 г. *МИА* 15, 1950b, 140-146.

- М.А. Бубнова, *История города Душанбе (с древнейших времен до наших дней)* (Душанбе, 2004).
- Э. Гулямова, Раскопки у селения Саят (Фархарский район). *АПТ* 10, [1970] 1973, 215–227.
- Э. Гулямова, Раскопки на городище Сайёд в 1973 годы. *АПТ* 13, [1973] 1977, 189–198.
- Э. Гулямова, Раскопки на городище Сайёд в 1977 году. *АПТ* 17, [1977] 1984, 169–176.
- Э. Гулямова. Раскопки на городище Сайед и Манзара в 1981 г. *АПТ* 21, [1981] 1988, 395–403.
- Н.Н. Забелина, Раскопки на городище Калаи-Мир. *МИА* 37, 1953, 294–301.
- Э.В. Зеймаль, Разведывательные работы в Вахшской долине в 1959 г. *АПТ* 7, [1959] 1961, 143–152.
- Т.И. Зеймаль, Древнеземледельческое поселение Болдай-Тепе. In: Академия наук Таджикской ССР, Институт истории им. Ахмада Дониша (ed.) *Материальная культура Таджикистана* 2 (Душанбе, 1971), 80–101.
- Э.В. Зеймаль, *Амударьинский клад. Каталог выставки* (Ленинград, 1979а).
- Э.В. Зеймаль, Разведочные работы Гиссаро-Пянджского Отряда ЮТАЭ в 1974 г. *АПТ* 14, [1974] 1979b, 134–144.
- Э.В.Зеймаль. Археологические работа в Гиссарской долине в 1980 г. *АПТ* 20, [1980] 1987, 148–156.
- Е.П. Денисов, Отчет о работах Дангаринского отряда. *АПТ* 15, [1975] 1980, 96–109.
- Е.П. Денисов, Археологические работы в Дангаринском районе Вахшского оотряда по изучению античных и средневековых памятников. *АПТ* 16, [1976] 1982, 96–105.
- Е.П. Денисов, Работы в Ленинградском и Дангаринской районах. *АПТ* 17, [1977] 1983, 86–94.
- Е.П. Денисов, Раскопки могильника Ксиров в Дангаринском районе в 1978 г. *АПТ* 18, [1978] 1984, 131–138.
- Е.П. Денисов, Работы в Дангаринском районе в 1981 г. *АПТ* 21, [1981] 1988, 289–296.
- Е.П. Денисов, Изучение памитников античного времени на территории Дангаринского района (работы 1984 г.). *АПТ* 24, [1984] 1993, 273–282.
- Д. Довуди, *Денежное обращение древнего и средневекового Хатлона (V в. до н.э.–нач. XX в. н.э.)* (Душанбе, 2006).
- Д. Довуди, Монетные находки в Таджикистане в 1987 г. *АПТ* 34, 2010, 332–345.
- Д. Довуди, Находки монет в Дангаринском районе в 2009 г. *АПТ* 35, 2012, 304–321.
- Д. Довуди, Ю. Якубов, Ш. Курбанов, и Х. Сафаров, Археологические исследования на территории города Куляба и его пригородов в 2005 г. *АПТ* 31, 2007, 56–87.
- Д. Довуди, Х. Сафарзода, и Ш. Курбанов, Археологические раскопки в г. Кулябе в 2006 г. *АПТ* 33, 2009, 283–296.
- Д. Давутов. Монетные находки в Таджикистане (1976 г.). *АПТ* 16, [1976] 1982, 185–193.
- Древности Таджикистана. *Каталог выставки* (Душанбе, 1985).
- А. Дружинина, Раскопки на городище Тахти-Сангин. Предварительный отчет 1998–1999 года о работах на восточном участке цитадели. *АПТ* 27, 2000, 240–261.
- А.П. Дружинина, Предварительные результаты исследования городища Тахти-Сангин и определение границ города эллинистического времени. *АПТ* 29, 2004, 224–236.
- А.П. Дружинина, Предварительные результаты раскопок на городище Тахти-Сангин в 2004 году. *АПТ* 30, 2005, 86–105.
- А.П. Дружинина, Результаты исследования структуры городища Тахти-Сангин и его округи (2002–2009 гг.). *АПТ* 35, 2012, 323–368.
- А.П. Дружинина, Археологические исследования городища Тахти-Сангин в 2010 году. *АПТ* 36, 2013, 143–182.
- А.П. Дружинина и Х. Инагаки, Результаты исследований городища Тахти-Сангин в 2006 году. *АПТ* 32, 2008, 44–49.
- А.П. Дружинина и Т.У. Худжагелдиев, Открытие неолитической стоянки под зданием храма Окса на городище Тахти-Сангин (Южный Таджикистан). *АПТ* 29, 2004, 131–160.

- А.П. Дружинина, Т.У. Худжагелдиев, и Ф. Ротт, Отчет о раскопках на площади храма Окса на городище Тахти-Сангин в 2006 г. *АРТ* 32, 2008, 50–76.
- А.П. Дружинина и Х. Инагаки, Общие результаты археологических исследований на городища Тахти-Сангин в 2007 г. *АРТ* 33, 2009, 101–106.
- А.П. Дружинина и Т.У. Худжагелдиев, Отчет о раскопках на площади храма Окса на городище Тахти-Сангин в 2007 г. *Продолжение работ в раскопах Храм №17 и №18, АРТ* 33, 2009, 107–136.
- А.П. Дружинина, Х. Инагаки, и Т.У. Худжагелдиев, Результаты археологических исследований на городище Тахти-Сангин в 2008 г. *АРТ* 34, 2010, 191–216.
- М.М. Дьяконов, Работы Кафирнигаиского отряда. *МИА* 15, 1950, 147–186.
- М.М. Дьяконов, Археологические работы в нижнем течении реки Кафирнигана (Кобадиян) 1950–1951 гг. *МИА* 37, 1953, 253–293.
- И.Н. Коровчинский, Клад Окса: *К вопросу о месте и обстоятельствах находки, Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры* 14, 2004, #–#.
- Г. Линдстрём и Т.Г. Филимонова, Отчёт об археологических исследованиях 2013 года в селении Торбулок (Южный Таджикистан). *АРТ* 39, 2017, 99–111.
- Б.А. Литвинский, Археологические работы в Таджикистане в 1962–1970 гг. (Некоторые итоги и проблемы). *АРТ* 10, [1970] 1973, 5–41.
- Б.А. Литвинский, Средняя Азия в селеукидское время. In: *История таджикского народа II* (Душанбе, 1998) 322–337, 660–664.
- Б.А. Литвинский, *Храм Окса в Бактрии (Южный Таджикистан) II. Бактрийское вооружение в древневосточном и греческом контексте* [The Temple of Oxus in Bactria (South Tajikistan) 2. *Bactrian Arms and Armour in the Ancient Eastern and Greek Context*] (Москва, 2001).
- Б.А. Литвинский, *Храм Окса в Бактрии (Южный Таджикистан) III. Искусство, художественное ремесло, музыкальные инструменты* [The Temple of Oxus in Bactria (South Tajikistan) 3. *Art, Fine Art, Musical Instruments*] (Москва, 2010).
- Б.А. Литвинский, Т.И. Зеймаль, и И.Н. Медведская, Отчет о работах Южно-Таджикистанской Археологической Экспедиции в 1973 г. *АРТ* 13, [1973] 1977, 65–103.
- Б.А. Литвинский и Х.Ю. Мухитдинов, Античное городище Саксанохур (Южный Таджикистан). *АО* 3, 1967, 112–113.
- Б.А. Литвинский и Х.Ю. Мухитдинов Античное городище Саксанохур (Южный Таджикистан). *СА* 2, 1969, 160–178.
- Б.А. Литвинский и И.Р. Пичикян, *Эллинистический храм Окса в Бактрии (Южный Таджикистан) I. Раскопки, архитектура, религиозная жизнь* [The Hellenistic Temple of the Oxus in Bactria (South Tajikistan) I. *Excavations, Architecture, Religious Life*] (Москва, 2000).
- Б.А. Литвинский и А.В. Седов, *Тепан-Шах. Культура и связи кушанской Бактрии* (Москва, 1983).
- А.М. Мандельштам и С.Б. Певзнер, Работы Кафирниганского отряда в 1952–1953 гг. *МИА* 66, 1958, 290–324.
- Х.Ю. Мухитдинов, Гончарный квартал городища Саксанохур, Известия Академии Наук Таджикской. *ССР* 53, 1968, 28–35.
- Х.Ю. Мухитдинов, Разведка в Пархарском районе в 1964 г. In: Академия наук Таджикской ССР, Институт истории им. Ахмада Дониша (ed.), *Материальная культура Таджикистана* 2 (Душанбе, 1971), 189–199.
- П.Т. Самойлик, об археологических изысканиях в зоне регистана средневекового Гиссара в 1983 г. *АРТ* 23, [1983] 1991, 259–272.
- П.Т. Самойлик, Об археологических изысканиях средневекового Гисара в 1984 г. *АРТ* 24, [1984] 1993, 369–380.
- А.В.Седов, Отчет о работах на Калаи Кафирниган в 1980 г. *АРТ* 20, [1980] 1987, 157–164.
- А.В. Седов, Работы на Халкаджаре в 1981 г. *АРТ* 21, [1981] 1988, 297–309.

- В.С. Соловьёв, *Северный Тохаристан в раннем средневековье* (Елец, 1997).
- Т.Г. Филимонова и М.Р. Ахметзянов, Отчет Дангаринского археологического отряда о раскопках в 2007–2008 годах. *АРТ* 34, 2010, 15–45.
- Т.Г. Филимонова и М.Р. Ахметзянов, Поисковые работы по составлению археологической карты Дангаринского района в 2009 году. *АРТ* 35, 2012, 55–111.
- Т.Г. Филимонова и М.Р. Ахметзянов, Результаты работ Дангаринской экспедиции в 2010 году. *АРТ* 36, 2013, 43–81.
- Т.Г. Филимонова и М.Р. Ахметзянов, Работы по составлению археологической карты Восейского района в 2011 г. *АРТ* 37, 2014, 180–210.
- Филимонова/Ахметзянов 2017 Т.Г. Филимонова/М.Р. Ахметзянов, Результаты археологических работ в Дангаринском районе в 2012 г., *АРТ* 38, 2016, 219–255.
- Т.Г. Филимонова и М.Р. Ахметзянов, Отчет Хуттальской археологической экспедиции – Восейский район (2013 г.). *АРТ* 39, 2017, 184–211.
- Т.Г. Филимонова, Г. Линдстрем, и А.П. Дружинина, Каменные сосуды из селения Торбулок и открытие первого эллинистического поселения на территории Дангаринского района. *АРТ* 35, 2012, 227–234.
- Т.Г. Филимонова, А.Х. Юсупов, и А.Л. Абдуллаев, *Археологическая карта Таджикистан Яванский район* (Душанбе, 2016).
- Т.У. Худжагелдиев, Исследования на городище Тахти-Сангин в 2013 г. *АРТ* 39, 2017, 87–98.
- Э.А. Юркевич, Городище кушанского времени на территории Северной Бактрии. *СА* 4, 1969, 158–167.
- А.Х. Юсупов и П.Т. Самойлик, Керамика навеса и нижней площадки Дарай Шур. *АРТ* 36, 2013, 274–290.
- Ю. Якубов и Д. Довутов, Археологические Раскопки на территории города Куляба в 2001 г. In: Г.М. Майтдинова и Б.И. Ставиский (eds.), *Проблемы древней и средневековой истории и культуры Центральной Азии* (Душанбе, 2001), 54–69.
- Ю. Якубов и Ш. Курбанов, Археологические раскопки на городище Носкуль (Кайнар) и Могильнике Гелот в 2007 г. *АРТ* 33, [2007] 2009, 73–100.
- Ю.Я. Якубов, Д. Довуди, Т.Г. Филимонова, М.Р. Ахметзянов, и А.С. Кулёмин, Археологические раскопки в городе Кулябе в 2004 г. *АРТ* 30, 2005, 175–204.
- Ю. Якубов, Д. Довуди, и Т. Филимонова, *История Куляба с древнейших времен до наших дней. Посвящается 2700-летию города Куляба* (Душанбе, 2006a).
- Ю.Я. Якубов, Д. Довутов, и Т.Г. Филимонова, Археологические раскопки в городе Кулябе и на прилегающих территориях в 2001–2003 гг. *АРТ* 29, [2004] 2006b, 264–301.
- Ю. Якубов, Д. Довутов, ssТ.Г. Филимонова, М.Р. Ахметзянов и Х. Сафаров, Археологические исследования на территории города Куляба и его пригородов в 2005 г., *АРТ* 31, 2007, 6–47.

CHAPTER 13

SOGDIANA



Bertille Lyonnet

INTRODUCTION

Sogdiana is often included with Bactria, its southern neighbour (Figure 13.1). If this is true in a political sense for some periods, especially under the Achaemenid and Macedonian/Seleukid powers, research shows that the two areas actually rarely shared the same historical fate. Sogdiana's population and way of life was also different from that of Bactria. Moreover, for the period with which we are concerned, we will see that this region quickly separated from 'Greek' domination and did not form a part of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Nevertheless, during Antiquity, its material culture shows highly Hellenized features, that, unexpectedly, are a consequence of events post-dating the end of Greek rule over the area.

The frontiers of Sogdiana, especially with Bactria, have long been a matter of debate. To the north, its boundary is usually supposed to follow the Syr Darya River, but we will see that it may instead have been along the Zeravshan, at least under the Seleukids. The main debate concerns its southeastern border: was it following the Amu Darya up to the Wakhsh, and therefore including the Surkhan Darya and Kafirnigan valleys, or were these valleys part of Bactria? Different points of view have been presented, based either upon written sources (Bernard 1978; P'jankov 1982, 2004; Staviskij 1986, 47–55; Holt 1988; Grenet and Rapin 2001; Rapin 2007, 2013, 2018) or upon archaeological finds (Staviskij 1986; Lyonnet 1993; Lyonnet 1997, 154–5, 285–9). It is now clear that none of these views are wrong and that the borders varied through time. Only the two main components of Sogdiana's core area did not change: to the north the rich Zeravshan Valley with Samarkand/Marakanda as its main city in the eastern end and Bukhara in the western one, and, to the south, the Kashka Darya Plateau with Shahr-i Sabz/Nautaca/Kish in the east and Erkurgan/Xenippa/Nikhshapaya (or Nakhshab in medieval times) in the west.

Here, we will only deal with this 'core area', since 'Northern Bactria' is considered by L. Stančo in another chapter.



Figure 13.1 Map of Bactria and Sogdiana (by F. Ory).

GEOGRAPHY

The region offers a much more varied landscape and environment than Bactria does. It includes relatively high mountains (surrounding Samarkand), a valley (that of the Zeravshan) rich in running water and alluvium in its eastern part but much less so in the west around Bukhara, and a wide and rather dry plateau (Kashka Darya) with two small oases, one around Shahr-i Sabz in the east, the other around Karshi in the west.

The altitude of Samarkand (725 metres above sea level) together with the mountains surrounding it with their numerous *saj* give this city a climate more hospitable in summer than the very hot flatland around Bukhara (225 metres above sea level) or Bactra (365 metres above sea level), but winters are also obviously colder. To the west, the sands of the Kyzyl Kum Desert present a natural border. To the north extends the vast Eurasian steppe.

Moreover, Sogdiana and its surroundings, both in the mountains overlooking the Zeravshan River and in the Kyzyl Kum Desert, are particularly rich in various minerals (copper, tin, silver, gold) and in semi-precious stones (turquoise).

THE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Due to its position immediately next to the Eurasian steppe that extends beyond the Syr Darya River, the region shares with it a population mainly composed of semi-mobile cattle-breeders and skilled metallurgists. Though usually called ‘nomads’, these people were also farmers and partly sedentary. They lived mainly in semi-buried dwellings (*zemljanki*), a type of house well attested in this area until the Hellenistic period (for a review, see Omel’chenko 2004).

During the Late Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age, beside the exceptional settlement of Sarazm some 60 kilometres east of Samarkand (Isakov 1991; Lyonnet 1996), several remains of the Afanasievo and Andronovo related cultures have been identified in the Zeravshan Valley (see for instance Guljamov et al. 1966; Avanesova 1991, 2013, 2015).

They were followed at the very end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age by the Burguljuk culture (Duke 1982 b; Rapin 2007), a branch of the still poorly understood Yaz I culture known over the whole of Central Asia (Masson 1959; Lhuillier 2013). This Yaz I phenomenon put an end to a long sequence of cultural development all over Central Asia and brought in many changes, among them the abandonment of primary inhumations that points to the introduction of new religious practices linked with Mazdeism.

In Sogdiana, the beginnings as well as the end of the Burguljuk culture are blurred because of the lack of sufficient series of radiocarbon analyses for absolute dating. It does not seem to start much earlier than the 13th century BCE while its end is now usually situated around the 8th century BCE (Lhuillier 2013, fig. 75), or possibly earlier around the 10th century BCE (Rapin 2017). The main site where this culture is attested is Koktepe (period KT I), 30 kilometres north of Samarkand on the right bank of the Zeravshan River (Rapin and Isamiddinov 2013) but a few painted sherds are also present at Afrasiab (ancient Samarkand) (Turebekov 1990, fig. 25 top right). In Kashka Darya, this culture is also known by a few sherds at Erkurghan (EK-1) (Sulejmanov 2000, 44) and has been identified during salvage excavations along the Chimkurghan reservoir (Duke 1982a).

At the time of Cyrus’ conquest, Sogdiana was already the homeland of Scythian groups who had replaced and mixed with the Burguljuk people in a yet unknown but apparently smooth and peaceful process. These famous horse-mounted archers seem not to have gone as far south as Bactria where a so-called ‘Paleo-Bactrian’ polity, still mysterious, had already developed, as stated long ago (D’jakonov 1954).

This ‘Saka’ period has only recently been brought to light in Sogdiana with the excavations made at Koktepe (Period KT II). Two large courtyards surrounded by fortification walls made of plano-convex bricks are its most visible manifestation (Rapin 2007, 2017). One, in the centre, is said to be ‘sacred’ because it encloses a monumental fire altar, and the other, to the southeast, is hypothetically considered as ‘palatial’. Period II, especially its material culture with its handmade pink or violet, sometimes polished, schist-tempered pottery (Lyonnet 2013a), is significantly different from the already wheel-turned pottery of contemporary Bactria (period Yaz II).

The importance in size of Koktepe has led some to consider it to be the main centre of ancient Gava (probably the same as Gabai in Graeco-Roman sources) (Rapin and

Khasanov 2016; Rapin 2017; Rapin 2018, 274–5). Gava is mentioned in the Avesta as the second country created by Ahura Mazda (Grenet 2004, 2005).

It is possibly at the same time that, at Afrasiab, a levee of earth followed by a wall of plano-convex bricks bearing marks was built around the site, the precise date of which is still debated though it clearly predates the later Achaemenid fortification (Turebekov 1990; Inevatkina 2002). A bunch of sherds similar to those of Koktepe II have been found at the site, mainly in its northern part (Lyonnet ed. forthcoming), but we have no evidence yet of contemporary constructions inside this city.

Along the Siab, a few kilometres to the northwest of Afrasiab, similar pottery is also present at Kurgancha, as can be deduced from its publication (Ivanitskij and Abisheva 1986).

In Kashka Darya, evidence of an occupation contemporary with Koktepe II lies in plano-convex bricks that have been noticed at Uzunkyr/Sangir-tepe (Rapin 2017). The pottery found at Daratepe in the first two levels (Sagdullaev 1984) also seems to us to be similar to that of KT II and the same is probably the case at Erkurgan (EK-1), but the lower levels are buried too deep under the later ones to have produced securely dated architecture and material (see Sulejmanov 2000, 44).

There is no doubt that the Achaemenid conquest led to the incorporation of Sogdiana into the Bactrian satrapy, but we have no evidence for it until Darius III.

At the time of the last Achaemenid king, Darius III, written sources indicate that the satrap of Bactra was raising Sogdian military contingents (Briant 1996, 404 and 766 ff.). The sole archaeological proof we have of this integration comes from administrative documents dating to the very end of Darius III's reign, not long before the time of the collapse of the Achaemenid Empire, that were found near Bactra and mention, among other things, the protection with fortifications of Nikhshapaya (Erkurgan near Karshi) and Kish (cf. Uzunkyr wall, near Shahr-i Sabz) in Kashka Darya (Naveh and Shaked 2012).

Under Persian rule, Sogdiana managed to preserve part of its own local features, like handmade pottery that continued to be produced. However, for the first time, some new cultural features were introduced from Bactria. This is visible, for instance, in the use of rectangular mudbricks and of wheel-turned pottery, both previously unknown in the area. However, it is unclear exactly when these changes started, due to the total absence of absolute dates or of well-dated and *in situ* material. It is doubtful that they followed immediately after Cyrus' conquest and their introduction might only date to Darius I's reign, but we have no certainty. If Sogdiana's incorporation into the satrapy of Bactria only dates to Darius III, then these new features may also be contemporary with his reign.

Up to now, the only evidence we have of constructions that can be dated to the Achaemenid period are the first rampart of large rectangular bricks built in Afrasiab. This was possibly first erected without an interior corridor (Turebekov 1990, 44–56) and later with one (see for instance Rapin and Isamiddinov 1994; Shishkina 1996; Inevatkina 2002). In Koktepe IIIa a series of parallel rooms built within the earlier palatial courtyard and an open cult platform replacing the earlier sacred courtyard with an altar are also dated to this period (Rapin 2007; Rapin revised 2017).

In Kashka Darya similarly, at Erkurgan/Nikhshapaya, the first interior pentagonal wall made of rectangular bricks with simple marks is dated to the Achaemenid period (Turebekov 1990, 15–21) while a brick platform said to have had a religious function

is also mentioned, together with a smith workshop outside the rampart (Sulejmanov 2000, 48). There, however, wheel-turned pottery (EK-2 to EK-4) is considered by the author as having already been present before the Achaemenids as is the case in Bactria (Sulejmanov 161–163), an issue difficult to prove for the reasons explored both above and below. At ancient Kish, a cult platform is also attested at Sangir-tepe IIIC, above the ruins of a previous covered temple (IIIA–B) (Rapin 2017) and the earliest occupation at Padayatak-tepa is attributed to this period (Omel'chenko 2006), though this seems to us too early. Further work on this site, however, also mentions an Achaemenid occupation but the evidence given is very scanty and does not allow for precise dating (Lhuillier 2013). To the south of Shahr-i Sabz, in the Kajragach and Guzar districts, wheel-turned pottery dating to around the middle of the first millennium BC comes from Kurgancha and Daratepe (Sagdullaev 1984).

Finally, 41 graves under kurgans have also been excavated in the Zeravshan Valley and are attributed to a long period between the 7th–3rd centuries BCE. All are related to Scythian groups, mainly Sauromats but also Usun. Most are simple pit-graves covered by a small tumulus, while a small number have no pits and a skeleton lying on the ancient surface covered with a wooden construction and a tumulus. They contained little inventory or sometimes none at all, and their exact date is therefore disputable (Obel'chenko 1992, 63–68). The handle of a sword found at Akdzhartepe, k. 4 is said to be the earliest known and is dated before the Macedonian conquest (Obel'chenko 1978).

Except for a few arrowheads and iron knives, the best element we have for dating the different constructions mentioned above is pottery and, as said long ago (Lyonnet 1997, 102–119) and reiterated recently (Lhuillier and Boroffka 2018), the long duration of the shapes typical of this period does not allow for precision. In Bactria, wheel-turned pottery is present throughout the first millennium BCE (mainly during the Yaz II and III periods). In Sogdiana, this new type of pottery corresponds to the Afrasiab I assemblage, the duration of which in Sogdiana can be reduced to the second half of the first millennium BCE because of the existence of the previous KT II handmade pottery mentioned above. This Afrasiab I assemblage, however, certainly did not disappear immediately after Alexander's conquest, just as the wheel-turned 'Bactrian' pottery did not necessarily end with it (see Lyonnet 1997, 149).

Be that as it may, the large mound named Afrasiab on the edge of present-day Samarkand certainly gained in importance under the Achaemenids' rule. This was a large fortified place of over 220 hectares (Terenozhkin 1950) or rather c. 185 hectares (C. Rapin personal communication) and was probably not entirely built inside. Besides being associated with Marakanda, the city has also been recently identified as Zariaspa (as the capital of a district named after the designation of the river Zarapsha/Zeravshan 'which sprinkles gold') (Gorshenina and Rapin 2015; Rapin 2018, 263–271), a name that was until now attributed to Bactra. As the major city of Sogdiana, the satrap's representative had his palace there, a building mentioned in the terrible story of Kleitos' murder by Alexander. Traces of this palace have been partially detected at the base of the citadel but have not yet been excavated (Inevatkina 1995, unpublished Ph.D.).

Some consider that a dense network of towns and villages had already developed around Samarkand under the Persians thanks to the construction of important irrigation networks, among them the Dargom (Ptolemy's Dargomanes) and Bulungur on

both banks of the Zeravshan (Shishkina 1987; Inevatkina 2010). The date of these networks, however, and where the water was coming from, is still a matter of debate. Some authors speak of more or less seasonal ‘canalized’ *sajs* descending from the mountains, others of very elaborate and large artificial canals fed from the Zeravshan River itself (see, for instance, Mukhamedzhanov 1969; Burjakova 1981; Shishkina 1987; Ivanitskij et Inevatkina 1999; Stride et al. 2009; Galieva 2017; Mantellini 2017, 2019). This question will probably continue to be debated since only very few sites related to this Iron Age/Achaemenid period have been discovered, though a great number of surveys have been conducted in the Zeravshan Valley and in Kashka Darya (Mantellini 2017, 2018, 2019). A possible explanation for this paucity of early sites lies in the large amount of alluvium covering the Zeravshan Valley in the area of Samarkand where the Antique Period levels are found at 4–5 metres under the surface (Pugachenkova and Beljaeva 1987 speaking about Kumyshkenttepe). Another – or possibly the same – cause could be the breakage of upstream natural dams and the devastating flood that followed which has been documented in the Bukhara Oasis and is dated to the 4th century BCE (Fouache et al. 2016). Finally, another clue to this paucity might lie in the semi-nomadic way of life of the population, where half-buried houses, which do not leave much visible remains, were the norm (see below).

ALEXANDER’S CONQUEST AND THE SELEUKID OCCUPATION

Most of what we know from Alexander’s long and difficult expedition to Sogdiana comes from written sources, mainly Arrian and Curtius. Though the narratives of Alexander’s historians give a lot of information, their data is often contradictory and gives rise to many problems as to the interpretation of the routes the conqueror and his armies followed, or of the position of many strongholds against which they fought. C. Rapin has recently revisited these questions and one will find in his articles the most recent overview of the question (2013, 2018).

The conqueror’s main concern was to fight the nomads who were threatening the northern border of his new empire and who had made an alliance with Spitamenes, possibly the final governor of Sogdiana appointed by Darius III (Rapin 2018). Spitamenes therefore became Alexander’s fierce enemy and repeatedly tried to overthrow the Macedonian military garrisons settled at Marakanda/Zariaspa/Afrasiab (Terenozhkin 1950; Shishkina 1969b). Strabo (11.11.5) also mentions that the Greeks renamed the Zariaspes/Zeravshan as the Polytimetos (or ‘the honoured’).

Alexander spent two years (329–327 BCE) attempting to solve the Saka problem, and this makes Sogdiana one of the most difficult campaigns of his *anabasis*. We know that he ordered Hephaistion to found in Sogdiana several Greek towns (eight according to Strabo, twelve according to Justin). However, the area did not stay peaceful for very long since Pliny (6.46–49) also tells us that around 294 BCE, at the time of Seleukos I, Demodamas was sent back there, supposedly to rescue the colonists from further nomadic turmoil.

Hellenistic evidence in northern Sogdiana

At Afrasiab, archaeological investigations have long identified Hellenistic levels and their related material culture (period Afrasiab II) lying above those left by the Persian

and the Macedonian conquest (Afrasiab I). However, these levels, being themselves overlaid by metres of later occupation, have been investigated only in part. Nevertheless, this site has provided most of what we know of the material culture of Sogdiana for this period, especially pottery.

Altogether, three different and short phases in the Hellenistic period can be distinguished. In the absence of absolute dates (especially as no coins have been found *in situ*, see below), their dating rests on pottery comparisons alone.

Afrasiab IB corresponds most probably to the transitional period between the Achaemenid and Seleukid occupations, i.e. to the time of Alexander's campaigns and the two following decades (Kabanov 1981). Most of the shapes continue those of the preceding Achaemenid period with only slight changes, and only a few new tableware vessels are introduced, but the data is still extremely scarce.

The two other phases are much better represented, especially by pottery with undoubtable Greek shapes like fish-plates and echinus bowls, some with Greek names incised on them, or by a few roof-tiles (Kabanov 1964, 1969, 1981; Shishkina 1969a, 1969b, 1974, 1975a, 1975b, 1996). A restudy of this pottery has led to the identification of two stages, Afrasiab IIA and IIB, separated by a hiatus (Lyonnet 2001, 2010, 2012, 2013a, 2018).

Afrasiab IIA – the second phase in the Hellenistic occupation of Sogdiana – is related to Seleukid rule over the area. The monotonous aspect of the vessels with a limited number of shapes and rare cases of red slip, together with the absence of luxury ware like grey ware and decoration, underlines its military character, a fact well in accordance with the constructions found on the acropolis (fortifications and a granary) (see below). The comparisons made with the (redated) pottery of Ai Khanoum (Lyonnet 2001, 2010, 2012, 2013b) suggest that this stage ended with the reigns of Antiochos I/II, c. 250 BCE or shortly after.

Afrasiab IIB – the third phase – on the contrary, is characterised by numerous high quality wares, much of which is red, brown or black slipped, and by new shapes that compare favourably with what is known at Ai Khanoum at the very end of its existence. This third phase would thus have started by the end of Eukratides' reign around 150 BCE (see below), leaving a break of about 80 years between the two phases. What happened in Marakanda itself during the hiatus is not clear. The end of Afrasiab IIB has been tentatively dated to around the first third of the 1st century BCE and it continues to develop without interruption into the post-Hellenistic assemblage known as Afrasiab III (Lyonnet 2018).

As was the case for the Achaemenid period, most of the architectural remains we know from the Hellenistic Period at Afrasiab concern the fortifications, which are easier to reach since they stand on the edge of the mound (Kabanov 1969, 1973; Filanovich 1973; Shishkina 1970, 1976, 1986, 1996; Rapin and Isamiddinov 1994; Bernard et al. 1990, 1992; Bernard 1996). Only a large granary, still containing well-preserved seeds of millet and barley due to the fire that destroyed it, has been brought to light inside the acropolis at the foot of the citadel (Baratin and Martinez-Sève 2013). This data, like the analysis of the related pottery (see above), tends to prove that Marakanda was essentially a military garrison. Until now, no Greek-period residential area has ever

been unearthed on the Afrasiab mound (Bernard et al. 1992). Its discovery, of course, would certainly modify the picture we now have of this period.

The long studies of the defensive walls at the site show that the Greek fortification partly reused and was partly rebuilt over the Persian fortification, and still included an internal corridor. At first, large square bricks replaced the rectangular ones, but in the last reconstruction their size diminishes and they bear marks including Greek letters (Shishkina 1976; Chichkina 1986; Rapin and Isamiddinov 1994; Rapin and Khasanov 2016). Different absolute dates have been given to these architectural phases. According to the latest research, the first one, consisting only of repairs made to the Achaemenid wall, was made during Alexander's conquest, and the other, with a more important and general reconstruction, is attributed to around the middle of the 3rd century BCE (Rapin and Khasanov 2016).

The finds and/or the published pottery data is unfortunately often insufficient to distinguish the three phases mentioned above in the various sites that have been excavated in Sogdiana. This phasing is possible only for the following few cases.

At Afrasiab, the first phase (IB) has only been really identified along the western side of the site, in an area considered as a silo for grain storage (Kabanov 1981). In the western neighbourhood of Samarkand, along a dry branch of the Dargom, a large pottery workshop with 20 two-chamber kilns and 80 related pits has been excavated at Saratepa 2 and is dated to the 4th century BCE, or phase Afrasiab IB (Ivanitskij 1992). The author has pointed out the absence of the most typical shapes of the Achaemenid period and the inclusion of others already possessing Greek influences. However, fish-plates and echinus bowls are not present.

At Koktepe, a fortification wall with an internal corridor made of large square bricks and houses also built in square bricks, and said to have hosted a military garrison, are attributed to period KT IIIb (Isamiddinov and Rapin 1999; Isamiddinov 2002, 103; Rapin 2007). The related pottery is considered to be earlier than the Seleukid occupation at Afrasiab, especially because of the absence of typical Greek shapes like fish-plates, echinus bowls or kraters and should therefore be contemporary with phase Afrasiab IB (Lyonnet 2010).

To the south-west, near Sazagan in the piedmont zone of the valley, a probable village of semi-buried houses surrounded by a stone wall is dated to the IB/IIA phase thanks to the exceptional discovery of a tetradrachm of Seleukos I, but its pottery is not published (Abdullaev and Erkulov 2004, Berdimuradov et al. 2006).

Still farther to the west, at Kumyshkentpe in the Miankal' zone, the earliest period, Period I, is dated by the author to the transitional phase between the Achaemenid and Greek periods, i.e. the 4th c. BCE or Afrasiab IB phase (Pugachenkova 1989, fig. 15). Only a few tableware shapes are red slipped, and fish-plates and echinus bowls are absent. At this site, the following period, Period II, where red and black slip is frequent, is dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE (Pugachenkova 1989, fig. 16), but its pottery is similar to that of Afrasiab IIB and III which would date it later and would signify a gap at the site during the Seleukid period. It should be noted that neither fish-plates nor echinus bowls are present at the site, while at nearby Umaramintepe, one fish-plate and one echinus bowl are represented among the finds dated to a post-Hellenistic period (Pugachenkova 1989 fig. 5 B pp. 22 and 23 top).

At the extreme west of the Zeravshan Valley, early levels have been brought to light at Pajkend (Mirzaakhmedov and Omel'chenko 2013, 2016, 2018). The earliest

levels (Period 1, Phases 2 and 3) have been found at the citadel where they are dated to the end of the 4th century BCE and compared with those of Afrasiab IB or Saratepa 2 (Omel'chenko 2019, fig. 5). No fortification wall is identified yet at this level, and it appears only in the next one, probably Seleukid (or Afrasiab IIA) together with square bricks (Period 2A, *ibid.* fig. 6). The upper levels and related pits (Phases 2B and 2C) would be comparable with a late Hellenistic phase (Afrasiab IIB) but they are dated earlier by A.V. Omel'chenko. A similar late Hellenistic phase (Afrasiab IIB) is well attested at Bashtepa with the presence of a fragment of Megarian bowl and grey ware from a late deposit (Stark 2016). Unfortunately, at this site, the different earlier fortification walls and their repairs or consolidation have produced only scanty material and cannot yet be securely dated (Stark et al. 2019).

Finally, a few burials are also dated to the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BCE. It is the case at Saratepe 2 where two of the pottery kilns (kilns one and nine) were reused for burials. In one case overfired pots were found with the dead, a fact that is considered as proof for dating these burials to the time when the workshop was still functioning, or immediately after (Afrasiab IB) (Ivanitskij 1992). Moreover, a few kurgans related to Saka groups also contain material related to the end of the Achaemenid/Macedonian and/or Seleukid periods (Afrasiab IB and IIA), for instance at Agalyksaj (Obel'chenko 1972, k. 4, 9, 10; Obel'chenko 1973); at Sirlibajtepa (Ivanitskij and Inevatkina 1988, tomb one); or at Yangi-Rabat (Vallée-Raewsky 2013, k. 3 and 7).

The dates of other sites known in northern Sogdiana are either hypothetical or not precise.

G.V. Shishkina (1996) mentions several Greek-period fortresses in the northern part, i.e. the right bank, of the valley (Aq Tepe, Kuldor and possibly Chilek), but none have been excavated to our knowledge so their date is questionable.

Ramparts of military garrisons and strongholds are also mentioned for Durmentepa in the Pastdargom area west of Samarkand (Shishkina and Inevatkina 2005; Inevatkina 2010) and, possibly, at Ljajljakujtepa nearby (Ivanitskij 2005) but these sites are only very preliminarily published. Moreover, all the fortified sites in this area may not be military strongholds or dated to the Greeks, as shown by the excavations at Kojtepa (Genito 2019) where only a few sherds with Greek shapes have been unearthed leaving the date of the fortification unclear (Genito and Raiano 2011).

In the eastern periphery of the Zeravshan valley, in Ustrushana at the border with Scythia, the lower levels of several sites have also brought to light fortifications and a few typical Greek-culture elements, but these are unfortunately often poorly illustrated. It is the case at Khodjent – now identified as Antiochia Scythica rather than as Alexandria Eschate (Rapin 2018, 272, footnote 51; Rapin, 283 footnote 105, 286) – where the exceptional finds of two stamped amphora handles, perhaps, come from (Bernard 1987). Greek-shaped pottery and an iron strigil also come from Nurtepa (respectively Negmatov and Beljaeva 1988 and Beljaeva 1991) – the former is probably at Kyreschata, though others consider it to be at nearby Ura-Tjube (Burjakov and Gritsina 1989), or, on an etymological basis, at Shirin in the present-day village of Kurkat.

At the western end of the Zeravshan Valley, besides Pajkend and Bashtepa mentioned above, material dated to the Hellenistic period comes from the oldest levels at

Bukhara (Mukhamedzhanov et al. 1982; Mukhamedzhanov and Adylov 1987) and Ramishtëpa (Sulejmanov and Urakov 1977). According to S. Stark (2016), a succession of military strongholds secured the road from the lower Zeravshan to Margiana during the Seleukid period. However, the precise date for the foundation of all these sites, or their original function, is still under question due to the limits of the excavations, except, as we saw above, for Pajkend.

Finally, and in step with its semi-nomadic origins, it is now obvious that the local population lived in half-buried pit-houses (*zemljanki*) as evidenced at Ljajljakujtepa (Ivanitskij 2005) and Bojsaritepa (Berdimuradov et al. 2006), or resided only part of the time at some places, like at Kurgan Kadirbek (Mantellini 2018).

Several kurgans, as we saw above, have been dated to the Hellenistic period, but it is often not possible to determine precisely their date, either because of the long duration of the weapons (swords, daggers) (Obel'chenko 1978) or because the pottery is not well enough published. Those excavated on the western outskirts of the Zeravshan Valley in the Kyzylkum and attributed to the 3rd—2nd centuries BCE (Manylov 1992) could actually, in our opinion, date to a century later.

Hellenistic evidence in southern Sogdiana (Kashka Darya)

In southern Sogdiana, data related to this period comes from two main oases, the present-day Shahr-i Sabz/Kitab in the east and Karshi-Guzar in the west. Their ancient names have been long since identified. They correspond respectively to Kish/Nautaca, i.e. the Nine Rivers (Grenet 2002), and to Nikhshapaya/Nakhshab, in Greek Xenippa, which are mentioned in Aramaic documents from Bactra dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE (Naveh and Shaked 2012).

According to Arrian (*Anab.* 4.18.1–2), Alexander spent the winter of 328–7 BCE at Nautaca. Only Padayatak-tepe, which probably constitutes the old citadel of the much larger Early Iron Age settlement including also Uzunkyr and Sangir-tepe, presents evidence for Greek occupation (Omel'chenko 2004, 2006; Lhuillier and Hasanov 2013). The find of a coin of Antiochos I on the sacred platform at Sangir-tepe points also to its possible uninterrupted use from the Achaemenid to the Seleukid period. From the published material found at Padayatak-tepe (Omel'chenko 2006; Lhuillier and Hasanov 2013), the pottery seems comparable to that observed at Afrasiab IB/IIA, i.e. it probably does not go beyond the middle of the 3rd century BCE.

In the Karshi-Guzar area, a great number of small square fortresses encircling the oasis for protection are dated to a broad period, from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BCE (Sulejmanov 2000, 52–4). Only two have been excavated: Kurgancha, the upper levels of which are dated to the end of the 4th—3rd centuries BCE (Sagdullaev 1984; Khasanov 1992, 1996), and Kindiklitepa (Khasanov 1990, Ph.D. unpublished).

At the large city of Erkurgan/Nikhshapaya/Xenippa, the Hellenistic levels testify to a reconstruction and strengthening of the rampart with slightly projecting rectangular towers (Turebekov 1990). There is also evidence for a reconstruction of a central platform considered as cultic, but which has only been identified in a sounding. Finally, the city presents a Hippodamian plan, but there is no certainty that it is due to the Greeks. A potters' quarter is now also positioned against the eastern rampart, but its date is disputable since it is also mentioned later, as we shall see

below (Sulejmanov 2000, 54–55). The related ceramic material (phases EK–5 and 6) is dated by R. Sulejmanov between 250 and 150 BCE (Sulejmanov 2000 163–6). In EK–6, only nine sherds are said to be in grey ware, while the rest of the assemblage seems rather similar to that of Afrasiab IIA so that the date of this level is questionable. The site, however, did provide isolated later coins, including one of Diodotos I/II and another of Demetrios I (see Najmark 2005) which fit with R. Sulejmanov's dates.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOGDIANA

Until recently, finds of Greek coins were very scanty and most were out of context (Zejmal' 1983; Bernard 1985, 137–148; Bernard et al. 1990; Abdullaev and Erkulov 2004; Najmark 2005, 2014 and appendix in Stark et al. 2019; Abdullaev 2006; Atakhodzhaev 2013). As said above, this absence did not allow a secure chronological attribution to the different Hellenistic levels. However, questions have been raised on several occasions about the duration of the Greek colonization in Sogdiana (for instance Zejmal' 1978, 196; Zejmal 1983, 28–29 and 47; Bernard 1985, 139–40; Bernard 1996). Since the discovery of an imitation coin of Euthydemos I countermarked by Mithridates I, most researchers have considered that Greek rule in Sogdiana ended around the turn of the 3rd/2nd century BCE (Bopearachchi 1991–2; Lo Muzio 2009; Stark 2016) or during Euthydemos' revolt c. 230 or 220 BCE (see Naymark in Stark et al. 2019). J. Lerner (1996), for his part, considered that all of this area was in Euthydemos' hands before he became king.

From the study of the pottery excavated at Afrasiab and a few other sites in Sogdiana, it had been proposed that Sogdiana's independence could have happened earlier, around the middle of the 3rd century BCE (Lyonnet 2001).

The unexpected discovery made later of a comparatively important number of Greek coins on the mound of Afrasiab itself (Atakhodzhaev 2013) points in the same direction. This new data leads us to consider on firmer grounds that Sogdiana had indeed recovered its independence by the end of the reign of Antiochos II, or possibly early during the Diodotids' reign. Interestingly, a new mint specific to Marakanda and probably dated to the last phase of the reigns of Antiochos I and II has been discovered among these coins (Atakhodzhaev *ibid.*; Naymark 2014). After its separation from the newly founded Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, and except for treasures (see below) or isolated finds (Abdullaev and Erkulov 2004; Naymark 2014), only imitations of Antiochos I's coins circulating in the central and eastern part of the Zeravshan Valley have been found (Zejmal' 1983, 269–276).

However, from the little we now know, we cannot exclude that the northern (right) bank of the Zeravshan River and the Bukhara area had gained their freedom even earlier, at the time of Demodamas or shortly after.

At Koktepe, on the northern side of the Zeravshan Valley, only two or three sherds present typical Greek shapes so that the last occupation level is linked rather to the transitional period after Alexander's conquest and before the Seleukid military occupation, i.e. when pottery of the previous period was still in use with only slight modifications (Isamiddinov and Rapin 1999).

In the Bukhara area, the published material from Pajkend is also devoid of fish-plates and echinus bowls, but, as we saw above, an occupation during the Seleukid period is possible. The same lack of typical Greek shapes occurs in the foundation

levels at Bashtepa (Stark et al. 2019), though the very scanty number of sherds found in relation to the earliest fortification wall limits any interpretation. As stated above, it is considered that, together with other strongholds, this place secured the road to Antiochia of Margiana and was established during Antiochos' I rule (Stark 2016; Stark et al. 2019).

This absence of pottery similar to that typical of the Seleukid military occupation at Afrasiab could be interpreted, therefore, as a loss of control of the areas lying north (or on the right bank) of the Zeravshan. However, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the absence of such characteristic Hellenistic shapes as fish-plates and echinus bowls could also be explained by the fact that the soldiers in these fortresses were not Greek but local soldiers who did not feel the necessity to eat from these foreign individual plates or to use these bowls as lamps. In that case, power would still have been in the hands of the Seleukids, but the garrisons would have been local recruits.

If the right bank of the Zeravshan and the Bukhara area were possibly already lost at the time of the Seleukids, strongholds on the left bank of the Zeravshan and in Kashka Darya were maintained, with two major centres at their heads, Marakanda and Nikhshapaya. There is no evidence of any colonial settlement up to now, but only of soldier garrisons, of which only a few seem to have hosted Macedonian soldiers as we saw. At the end of the Seleukid period, or when the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom rose with the Diodotids, the whole territory became independent.

It is probably in relation to this event that Polybios (11.39.5) writes that at the time when Antiochos III was besieging Bactra, Euthydemus made him aware of the on-going threat of the neighbouring nomads. With its independence, Sogdiana was again a threat to the Greek rulers, and this certainly led them to raise a wall in the Bajsun/Kug-i Tangtau range separating Kashka Darya from Surkhan Darya to prevent nomadic intrusions further south. This wall was first identified at the major pass of Derbent and later further south at Uzundara (see Dvurechenskaja 2019). The ceramic material from the Derbent excavations is too scanty to prove a construction dating to Antiochos' time, but it does not exclude it (see below). At Uzundara, where excavations have unearthed many more military constructions and a lot of material including many coins (some dating as early as Antiochos I), such an early date is possible, though the major use of this defensive wall was clearly during the time of Euthydemus (Dvurechenskaja 2015, 2019; Stančo this volume).

SOGDIANA AFTER INDEPENDENCE: A NEW WAVE OF HELLENIZATION

As mentioned above, we have no evidence at Afrasiab of what happened after the end of Seleukid occupation (Afrasiab IIA). A sudden renewal of the 'Greek presence' dating to the end of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom has been identified (Afrasiab IIB) with high quality and mostly dark red slipped pottery close to that of the last level of Ai Khanoum (c. 160–144 BCE),¹ including also for the first time a few sherds of grey ware (Lyonnet 2018). At first, this IIB assemblage was associated with Eukratides and his campaigns against the Sogdians mentioned in Justin (41.6.3) (Lyonnet 2001; Rapin et al. 2001, 76; Rapin 2013, 65). This has finally been dismissed and the last Hellenistic fortification at Afrasiab is now dated to the 3rd century BCE (Rapin et al. 2014; Rapin and Khasanov 2016; Rapin 2018 footnote 135). Curiously, the

only architectural evidence we have from this period at Afrasiab is that of a ‘hut’ just behind the rampart (Lyonnet 2018) reminiscent of the local half-buried houses that we mentioned earlier, a type of construction that seems in contradiction to the quality of the ware the population used. Yet, a similarly odd coexistence between a clumsy architecture and high-quality ware has also been described recently at Bashtepa (Stark et al. 2019).

We have no better explanation for this renewal than the sudden arrival of populations running away from the nomadic invasion in Bactria (Lyonnet 2018). Both Roman and Chinese sources relate the invasion and destruction of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom due to several groups of nomads with different names coming from the north, divided into two main groups, ‘Sakas’ and ‘Yuezhi’ (see Lyonnet 2020). Eastern Bactria and the city of Ai Khanoum, already embedded with severe internal problems as shown by Eukratides’ murder by one of his own sons, was the first to fall around 144 BC though it may have survived for some years after that date (see recently Martinez-Sève 2018). Bactra and the plain around it fell a few decades later, at the time of Heliokles as shown by the finds of his coins.

This renewal of Greek influences does not imply that Sogdiana was subject anew to Greek rule. It is rather testimony to troubles in the neighbouring area of Bactria. Further proof of these troubles comes from the Bukhara region where ‘barbarian’ imitations of Euthydemos I’s coinage appear (see Lo Muzio 2009). Furthermore, at Bashtepa, the recent discovery of a collection of pottery including a Megarian bowl similar to those of the last levels at Ai Khanoum, has convincingly been related to nomads, either as prestige goods or as booty (Stark 2016). Finally, two important silver coin treasures have been found in Sogdiana: one dates to the same period when the Bactrian kingdom under Eukratides was being threatened by nomads and was found at the beginning of the 20th century at Kitab near Shahr-i Sabz; the other was found more recently at Tokhmach near Bukhara and its latest-dated coin (an Agathokles) precedes Eukratides. If the first treasure had been considered as real monetary circulation when discovered, there is now almost no doubt that both treasures were instead stored as silver bullion – either for or for the payment of mercenaries or booty (see Najmark 2005, 2014 and appendix in Stark et al. 2019).

As mentioned above, a wall along the Bajsun/Kug-i Tangtau range to prevent nomadic invasions, if not already erected earlier during the time of Antiochos I/II, undoubtedly existed around the time of Euthydemos I. At Derbent, an imposing construction with a fortress – as of now only dated to the Early Middle Ages – has been excavated (Rakhmanov 2005; Rapin et al. 2006; Rapin 2013, 2018) and some sherds of stamped grey ware clearly date it at least to this period (Lyonnet 2001). Further south, the prolongation of this fortification wall with a fortress has been identified at Uzundara (Stančo this volume) and can be attributed with certainty to Euthydemos I thanks to the discovery of 13 copper coins, though an earlier attempted construction at the time of Antiochos I is possible (Dvurechenskaja 2015, 2019).

Exactly how long this period IIB lasted in Sogdiana is difficult to answer, but probably it was no more than a few decades, and it was certainly over by the first third of the 1st century BCE (Lyonnet 2018).

In the Zeravshan Valley itself, as we saw, cemeteries of kurgans have a long history but there is no doubt that they grew in number after Sogdiana became independent. They are usually all considered to belong to Saka groups, the later ones being labelled

as Sarmatians (Obel'chenko 1992) or Sacaraucae (Rapin et al. 2001). No traces of the Yue-zhi have been brought to light there up until now. O.V. Obel'chenko (1992, 68–90) considers that these are newcomers because they introduce a new type of grave construction (with a lateral niche/*podboj* or with a catacomb in axis to the dromos), a new ritual (head oriented to the south), and also because the funerary material is now more frequent, including some small imported items made of Egyptian faience. For Obel'chenko, all these new features, together with the weapons (swords, daggers, knives, arrowheads, etc.) found in the graves, present very close analogies to those from the kurgans in the lower Volga and the southern Ural areas. He dated them to the 2nd century BCE–1st century CE, and this is supported by the finds of two silver coins, one of Heliokles from Kurgan 14 at the Kyzyltepe cemetery near Bukhara, the other – an imitation of Euthydemos – from Kurgan 12 in the same cemetery. Recent excavations of kurgans at Ljavandak and Kuju-Mazar where carbon-14 analyses have been made confirm such dates (S. Stark personal communication).

There is no reason to consider that these intruders did not live on peaceful terms with the settled local population since no noticeable level of destruction is visible in the surrounding sites, and since they used the same pottery as that of the other settlements. As noted earlier, the original population was already of the same Saka background. At Afrasiab, for instance, the defensive walls at that time (Afrasiab III) were still those rebuilt at the time of Antiochos I/II, and they no longer functioned (Kabanov 1973). Moreover, there is no sign that they were rebuilt again until a much later period.

As was the case for the Hellenistic period, the imposing later layers of occupation have prevented excavation across a large surface area, and we have no indication as to what the inside of the city itself looked like at that time. Several excavations show that the canals bringing water into the city were still functioning (Nemtseva 1969; Ivanitskij and Inevatkina 1999). But no important buildings for this period have been brought to light, contrary to what had first been supposed by Kabanov 1969 and reiterated by P. Bernard 1996 (see Lyonnet 2018). Except for a few *pakhsa* walls, this period at Afrasiab, unfortunately, is mainly known through its countless pits filled with ceramic material, often including almost complete drinking vessels.

Generally, in Sogdiana, none of the sites present layers of destruction at this time, and life seems to continue within the same frame as before. At Pajkend, for instance, it is only later, at the time of the Sasanian conquest, that the earlier ramparts were levelled off and used as foundations for a new defensive wall (Mirzaakhmedov and Omel'chenko 2018, 65). At Bashtepa, the ancient fortress was used for half-buried dwellings (Stark et al. 2019). At Erkurgan, the fortifications were not repaired, and a potters' quarter was built against them. In the Guzar oasis, small sites developed (Sulejmanov 2000, 56–7).

It seems, then, that, originally, the nomads had no intention to destroy or loot the area. The present 'urban' population continued its existence with a high level of craftsmanship. At Samarkand, the Afrasiab III pottery is of excellent quality, in complete continuity with that of the previous Hellenized phase Afrasiab IIB (see for instance Shishkina 1974; Lyonnet 2018). Most of the shapes stay the same or present only a regular and smooth evolution. Almost all the pottery is covered with a fine red, red-brown or black slip, sometimes with a metallic shine, and only grey ware is more frequent than before. A Roman influence has also been noticed on the red slip

ware and in some shapes (Lyonnet, 2018). Due to the absence of architecture, it is, however, still difficult to detect chronological stages in this very abundant material. A small number of applied, hand-made and/or moulded clay figurines also probably date to this period, some of them presenting Hellenistic features (Meshkeris 1989; Dvurechenskaja 2016, 156–9).

To conclude, though the overall political domination of the Greeks was of short duration in Sogdiana, the impact of Hellenism on the material culture was strong and long-lasting. This Hellenization, however, does not seem to be the direct consequence of Greek colonization under the Seleukids, up to now not visible. It seems rather to be due to a revival caused by unexpected exterior causes, i.e. the (probable) displacement of the Hellenized population at the time of the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom followed by the development of Roman trade around our era that brought in a second wave of Hellenized influences.

NOTE

- 1 For the final date of Ai Khanoum, see Rapin 2010. In a recent article, L. Martinez-Sève (2018) extends this date by a few decades for some specific areas of the town. This, however, does not change the overall date for the end of the Greek city.

REFERENCES

- Abdullaev K. 2006. “Nakhodki ellinisticheskikh monet k severu ot Amudar’i-Oksa”. *Rossijskaja Arkheologija* 3, 106–115.
- Abdullaev K. and A. Erkulov 2004. “Tetradrahma Geliokla iz Dzhamā”. *Archaeological Researches in Uzbekistan, season 2003* 4, 15–19.
- Atakhodzhaev A.Kh. 2013. “Données numismatiques pour l’histoire politique de la Sogdiane (IVe–Ile siècles avant notre ère)”. *Revue Numismatique* 170, 213–246.
- Avanesova N.A. 1991. *Kul’tura pastusheskikh plemen epokhi Bronzy aziatskoj chasti SSSR*. Fan: Tashkent.
- Avanesova N.A. 2013. “Zhukov, un ‘sanctuaire’ énéolithique d’anciens nomades dans la vallée du Zeravshan (Ouzbékistan)”. *Paléorient* 39(2), 85–108.
- Avanesova, N. 2015. “Keramika poselenija gornjakov-metallurgov Zarafshana”. *Istorija Material’noj Kul’tury Uzbekistana* 39, 47–62.
- Baratin C. and L. Martinez-Sève 2013. “Le grenier grec de Samarkand”. In: J. Bendezen-Sarmiento (dir.) *L’archéologie française en Asie centrale. Nouvelles recherches et enjeux socioculturels*, *Cahiers de l’Asie Centrale-IFEAC*, 21–22, 373–388.
- Beljaeva T.V. 1991. “Nurtepa – Gorodishche drevnej Ustrushany”. *Arkheologicheskie Raboty v Tadzhikistane XXIII* (1983g), 21–28.
- Berdimuradov A.E., A.A. Raimkulov, N.U. Kholmatov and F. Franceschini 2006. “Raskopki uzbeko-italjanskoj arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii na Bojsaritepa v 2004–2005 gg”. *Archaeological Researches in Uzbekistan, Season 2004–2005* 5, 65–73.
- Bernard P. 1978. “Le nom de la ville grecque du tepe Ai Khanoum”. In: P. Bernard and H. P. Francfort (eds.) *Etudes de Géographie historique sur la plaine d’Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)*. Editions du CNRS: Paris, 3–15.
- Bernard P. 1985. *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d’histoire gréco-bactrienne*. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, t. XXVIII. De Boccard: Paris.
- Bernard P. 1987. “Compte-rendu no. 176”. *Abstracta Iranica* 10, 56.

- Bernard P. 1996. "Maracanda-Afrasiab colonie grecque". In: *La Persia et l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 127. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Roma, 331-365.
- Bernard P., F. Grenet and M. Isamiddinov 1990. "Fouilles de la mission franco-soviétique à l'ancienne Samarkand (Afrasiab): première campagne, 1989". *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 134(2), 356-380.
- Bernard P., F. Grenet and M. Isamiddinov et leurs collaborateurs. 1992. "Fouilles de la mission franco-ouzbèque à l'ancienne Samarkand (Afrasiab): deuxième et troisième campagnes (1990-1991)". *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 136(2), 275-311.
- Bopearachchi O. 1991-2. "The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence". *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2, 1-21.
- Briant P. 1996. *Histoire de l'Empire Perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre*. Fayard: Paris.
- Burjakov J. F. and A.A. Gritsina 1989. "Antichnye pamjatniki Severnoj Ustrushany". *Obshchestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane* 7, 40-45.
- Burjakova J. F. 1981. "Poselenie Lolazor – Predshestvennik goroda na Afrasiabe". In: Ju. F. Burjakov (ed.) *K istoricheskij topografii drevnego i srednevekovogo Samarkanda*. Fan: Tashkent, 7-22.
- Chichkina G.V. 1986. see Shishkina.
- D'jakonov M.M. 1954. "Slozhenie klassogo obshchestva v severnoj Baktrii". *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* XIX, 121-140.
- Duke Kh. 1982a. "Chirakchinskoe poselenie". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 17, 19-29.
- Duke Kh. 1982b. *Tujabuguzskie poselenija Burguljukskoj Kul'tury*. Fan: Tashkent.
- Dvurechenskaja N.D. 2015. "Predvaritel'nye materialy arkheologicheskikh rabot 2014 g. na kreposti Uzundara". *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury/Journal of Historical, Philological, and Cultural Studies* 1(47), 124-133.
- Dvurechenskaja N.D. 2016. *Terrakotovaja plastika drevnejshikh gosudarstv Srednej Azii, IV v. do n. e. – IV v. n. e., arkheologicheskij aspekt*. Archaeologica Varia. Nestor Istorija: Sankt Peterburg.
- Dvurechenskaja N.D. 2019. "The Hellenistic Fortress of Uzundara". In: C. Baumer and M. Novak (eds.) *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids. Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 153-162.
- Filanovich M.I. 1973. "K istorii slozhenija gorodskikh ukreplenij Afrasiaba". *Afrasiab II*. Fan: Tashkent, 85-94.
- Fouache E., R. Rante, D. Mirzaakhmedov, R. Ragala, M. Dupays, C. Vella, J. Fleury, V. Andrieu-Ponnel, A. Zink, E. Porto, F. Brunet and L. Cez 2016. "The Role of Catastrophic Floods Generated by Collapse of Natural Dams since the Neolithic in the Oases of Bukhara and Qaraqöl: Preliminary Results". *International Journal of Geohazards and Environment* 2(3), 150-165.
- Galieva Z. S. 2017. "Novye dannye k istorii oroshenija drevnikh antropogennykh landshaftov srednego Zaravshana (na primere pridargom'ja)". *Istorija i arkheologija Turana* 3, 205-226.
- Genito B. 2019. "The Uzbek-Italian Excavations at Kojtepa (Samarkand area) Uzbekistan. First Results and Work Perspectives". In: C. Baumer and M. Novak (eds.) *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids. Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 129-151.
- Genito B. and F. Raiano 2011. "Ceramics from Koj Tepe (Samarkand Area, Uzbekistan). A Preliminary Study Report (2009-10)". *Newsletter di Archeologia CISA* 2, 103-177.

- Gorshenina S. and C. Rapin 2015. "Samarkand, Marakanda, Zariaspa, la lente formation d'équivalences toponymiques". In: V. Schiltz (ed.) *De Samarcande à Istanbul: étapes orientales. Hommages à Pierre Chuvin – II*. CNRS Editions: Paris, 113–116.
- Grenet F. 2002. "Zoroastre au Badakhshan", suivi d'une annexe "Remarques sur le toponyme Nautaka". *Studia Iranica* 31(2), 193–214.
- Grenet F. 2004. "Marakanda/Samarkand, une métropole pré-mongole. Sources écrites et archéologie". *Annales HSS*, sept–dec. 2004, 5–6, 1043–1067.
- Grenet F. 2005. "An Archaeologist's Approach to Avestan Geography". In: V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.) *Birth of the Persian Empire*. Tauris & Co Ltd: London, 29–51.
- Grenet F. and C. Rapin 2001. "Alexander, Ai Khanum, Termez: Remarks on the Spring Campaign of 328". *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12(1998), 79–89.
- Guljamov J.G., U. Islamov and A. Askarov 1966. *Pervobytnaja kul'tura i vozniknovenie oroshaemogo zemledelija v nizov'jakh Zaravzhana*. Fan: Tashkent.
- Holt F.L. 1988. *Alexander the Great and Bactria. The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia*, Supplements to Mnemosyne. Brill: Leiden.
- Inevatkina O.N. 1995. *Akropol' drevnego Samarkanda v structure goroda (VI v. do n. e. – V v. n. e.)*. Moskva: Moskovskij Gosudarstvennij Universitet im. M.V. Lomonosova, Istoricheskij Fakultet.
- Inevatkina O.N. 2002. "Fortifikatsija akropolja drevnego Samarkanda v seredine pervogo tysjacheletija do n. e.". *Material'naja Kul'tura Vostoka* 3, 24–46.
- Inevatkina O.N. 2010. "Nachal'nye etapy urbanizatsii Samarkandskogo Sogda i ego zapadnye predely". *Material'naja Kul'tura Vostoka* 5, 6–26.
- Isakov A.I. 1991. *Sarazm*. Dushanbe: Donish.
- Isamiddinov M.K. 2002. *Istoki gorodskoj kul'tury Samarkandskogo Sogda (problem vzaimodejstvija kul'turnykh traditsij v epokhu rannezheleznogo veka I v period antichnosti)*. Izd. Narodnogo nasledija im. A. Kadyri: Tashkent.
- Isamiddinov M. K. and K. Rapin 1999. "K stratigrafii gorodishcha Koktepa". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 30, 68–79.
- Ivanitskij I.D. 1992. "Saratepe 2 - Poselenie keramikov serediny I tysjacheletija do n.e. pod Samarkandom". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 26, 22–41.
- Ivanitskij I.D. 2005. "Sogdijskie poselenija Pulad i Ljajljakuj". *Material'naja Kul'tura Vostoka* 4, 48–58.
- Ivanitskij I.D. and B.R. Abisheva 1986. "Predvaritel'nye rezul'taty arkhelogicheskoy razvedki k severo-zapadu ot Afrasiaba". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 20, 32–35.
- Ivanitskij I.D. and O.N. Inevatkina 1988. "Raskopki kurgana Sirlibajtepe". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 22, 44–58.
- Ivanitskij I.D. and O.N. Inevatkina 1999. "Periodizatsija i etapy razvitija vodosnabzhenija Afrasiaba (po materialam raskopok magistral'nogo kanala v 1996–1997 gg.)". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 30, 96–109.
- Kabanov S.K. 1964. "Areal i evolutsija dvukh drevnikh keramicheskikh form". *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 3, 79–87.
- Kabanov S.K. 1969. "Izuchenie stratigrafii gorodishcha Afrasiab". *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 1, 183–198.
- Kabanov S.K. 1973. "Stratigraficheskij raskop v severnoj chasti gorodishcha Afrasiab". *Afrasiab II*. Fan: Tashkent, 16–84.
- Kabanov S.K. 1981. "Osvoenie zapadnikh rajonov goroda na rannikh etapakh ego zhizni". In: Ju F. Burjakov (ed.) *K istoricheskoy topografii drevnego i srednevekovogo Samarkanda*. Fan: Tashkent, 23–59.
- Khasanov M. 1990. *Antichnye sel'skie poselenija juzhnogo Sogda*. Samarkand: Institut Arkheologii im. Ja.G. Guljamova (AN Uzbekskoj SSR).

- Khasanov M. 1992. "Ob odnom ranneantichnom sosude iz poselenija Kurgancha". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 26, 41-46.
- Khasanov M. 1996. "K karakteristike material'noj kul'tury poselenij juzhnogo Sogda IV-III vv. do n. e. (po materialam poselenija Kurgancha)". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 27, 29-35.
- Lerner J. 1996. "A Graeco-Sogdian mint of Euthydemus". *Revue numismatique*, 6e série, t. 151, 77-94.
- Lhuillier J. 2013. *Les cultures à céramique modelée peinte en Asie centrale méridionale. Dynamiques socio-culturelles à l'Age du Fer ancien (1500-1000 av. n. è.)*. Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française en Asie Centrale, t. XIII. De Boccard: Paris.
- Lhuillier J. and N. Boroffka 2018. "Introduction". In: J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka (eds.) *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*. AIT 17, MDAFA XXXV. Dietrich Reimer: Berlin, 1-5.
- Lhuillier J. and M. Hasanov 2013. "Nouvelles recherches à Padayatak tépé au Kashka-daria (Ouzbékistan)". In: J. Benezu-Sarmiento (dir.) *L'archéologie française en Asie centrale. Nouvelles recherches et enjeux socio-culturels. Cahiers de l'Asie centrale-IFEAC*, 21-22, 389-398.
- Lo Muzio C. 2009. "An Archaeological Outline of the Bukhara Oasis". *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 4, 43-68.
- Lyonnet B. 1993. "The Problem of the Frontiers Between Bactria and Sogdiana: An Old Discussion and New Data". In: A.J. Gail and G.J.R. Mevissen (eds.) *South Asian Archaeology 1991*. F. Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart, 195-208.
- Lyonnet B. 1996. (avec la collaboration de A. Isakov et la participation de N. Avanessova). *Sarazm (Tadjikistan). Céramiques (Chalcolithique et Bronze Ancien)*. Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française en Asie centrale, t. VII. De Boccard: Paris.
- Lyonnet B. 1997. "Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974-1978), sous la direction de Jean-Claude Gardin. Vol. 2". *Céramique et peuplement, du Chalcolithique à la conquête arabe*. Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française en Asie centrale, t. VIII. ERC: Paris.
- Lyonnet B. 2001. "Les Grecs, les Nomades et l'indépendance de la Sogdiane, d'après l'occupation comparée d'Aï Khanoum et de Marakanda au cours des derniers siècles avant notre ère". *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12 (1998), 141-159.
- Lyonnet B. 2010. "D'Aï Khanoum à Koktepe. Questions sur la datation absolue de la céramique hellénistique d'Asie centrale". In: K. Abdullaev (ed.) *Traditsii Vostoka i Zapada v antichnoj kul'ture Srednej Azii*. Noshirlik yog'dusi: Tashkent, 141-153.
- Lyonnet B. 2012. "Questions on the Date of the Hellenistic Pottery from Central Asia (Aï Khanoum, Marakanda and Koktepe)". *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 18(1), 143-173.
- Lyonnet B. 2013a. "Recherches récentes sur les céramiques de Sogdiane (de la fin de l'Age du bronze à la conquête arabe): contribution à l'histoire de l'Asie centrale". In: J. Benezu-Sarmiento (dir.) *L'archéologie française en Asie centrale. Nouvelles recherches et enjeux socio-culturels. Cahiers de l'Asie centrale-IFEAC*, 21-22, 261-282.
- Lyonnet B. 2013b. "La céramique de la maison du quartier sud-ouest d'Aï Khanoum". In: G. Lecuyot Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IX. L'habitat. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, t. XXXIV. De Boccard: Paris, 179-191, fig. 82-122 et pl. XLIV-LI.
- Lyonnet B. 2018. "Antique Samarkand or Afrasiab II and III. Differentiation, Chronology and Interpretation". *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24, 420-439.
- Lyonnet B. 2020. "New Insights into Sogdiana during the Classical Period from the end of the 4th c. BCE to the 3rd c. CE.", Iran, <https://doi.org/10.1080/05786967.2020.1718543>

- Lyonnet B. (dir.) forthcoming. *Céramiques de Sogdiane (13^e s. av. n. è. – 13^e s. de n. è.). Matériel des fouilles franco-ouzbèques à Afrasiab (ancienne Samarkand) et à Koktepa, 1989–2008.*
- Mantellini S. 2017. “Settlement Dynamics, Territory Exploitation, and Trade Routes in the Ancient Samarkand Oasis (Uzbekistan)”. In: B. Genito and L. Caterina (eds.) *Archeologia delle Vie della Seta, Percorsi, Immagini e Cultura Materiale*, vol. II, Scienze e Lettere: Roma, 13–24 and 87–94.
- Mantellini S. 2018. “Landscape Archaeology and Irrigation Systems in Central Asia: A View from Samarkand (Uzbekistan)”. In: D. Domenici and N. Marchetti (eds.) *Urbanized Landscapes in Early Syro-Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mesoamerica*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 169–203.
- Mantellini S. 2019. “Urbanscape vs. Landscape, or Urbanscape as Landscape? A Case from Ancient Samarkand (Sogdiana)”. In: C. Baumer and M. Novak (eds.) *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids. Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 185–202.
- Manylov J. P. 1992. “Kurgany Kokpatasa”. *Istorija Material’noj Kul’tury Uzbekistana* 26, 59–69.
- Martinez-Sève L. 2018. “Ai Khanoum after 145 BC”. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24, 354–419.
- Masson V.M. 1959. *Drevnezemledel’cheskaja kul’tura Margiany*. Materialy i Issledovanija po Arkheologii SSSR, t. 73. Nauka: Mosvka/Leningrad.
- Meshkeris V.A. 1989. *Sogdijskaja Terrakota*. Donish: Dushanbe.
- Mirzaakhmedov D.K. and A.V. Omel’chenko 2013. *Materialy Bukharskoj arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii*, t. XII. Otchet o raskopkakh v Pajkende v 2011–12 gg. Gosudarstvennij Ermitazh: Sankt Peterburg.
- Mirzaakhmedov D.K. and A.V. Omel’chenko 2016. *Materialy Bukharskoj arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii*, t. XII. Otchet o raskopkakh v Pajkende v 2013–14 gg. Gosudarstvennij Ermitazh: Sankt Peterburg.
- Mirzaakhmedov D.K. and A.V. Omel’chenko 2018. *Materialy Bukharskoj arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii*, t. XII. Otchet o raskopkakh v Pajkende v 2015–16 gg. Gosudarstvennij Ermitazh: Sankt Peterburg.
- Mukhamedzhanov A., D. Mirzaakhmedov and S. Adylov 1982. “Keramika nizhnikh sloev Bukhary”. *Istorija Material’noj Kul’tury Uzbekistana* 17, 81–97.
- Mukhamedzhanov A.R. 1969. “K voprosu o vodosnabzhenii Afrasiaba”. *Afrasiab I*. Fan: Tashkent, 294–300.
- Mukhamedzhanov A.R. and S. T. Adylov 1987. “Gorodskie pamjatniki nizov’ev Zaravshana v IV v. do n. e. – VIII v. n. e. (k voprosu o formirovanii i razvitii gorodskoj kul’tury v regione)”. In: G.A. Pugachenkova, A.A. Askarov, M.I. Filanovich and E.V. Rtveladze (eds.) *Gorodskaja kul’tura Baktirii-Tokharistana i Sogda*. Fan: Tashkent, 77–86.
- Najmark A.I. 2005. “Nakhodki grecheskikh monet v Sogdiane”. *Numizmatika i Epigrafika XVII*, 116–138.
- Naveh J. and S. Shaked (eds.) 2012. *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century BCE) from the Khalili Collection*. The Khalili Family Trust: London.
- Naymark A.I. 2014. “Seleucid Coinage of Samarqand?”. *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 220, 15–19.
- Negmatov N.N. and T.V. Beljaeva 1988. “Issledovanija Nurtepa v 1981 g.”. *Arkheologicheskie Raboty v Tadzhikistane* (1981g) vol. XXVI, 19–31.
- Nemtseva N.B. 1969. “Stratigrafija juzhnoj okrainy gorodishcha Afrasiab”. *Afrasiab I*. Fan: Tashkent, 153–205.
- Obel’chenko O.V. 1972. “Agalyksaj kugany”. *Istorija Material’noj Kul’tury Uzbekistana* 9, 56–72.

- Obel'chenko O.V. 1973. "Kurgany v okresnostjakh Samarkanda". *Afrasiab II*. Fan: Tashkent, 157–173.
- Obel'chenko O.V. 1978. "Mechy i kinzhaly iz kurganov Sogda". *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 4, 115–127.
- Obel'chenko O.V. 1992. *Kul'tura antichnogo Sogda. Po arkheologicheskim dannym VII v. do n. e. – VII v. n. e.* Nauka: Moskva.
- Omel'chenko A.V. 2004. "K voprosu o tekhnike domostroitel'stva srednej Azii v ellenisticheskij period (po materialam poselenij doliny Kashkadar'i)". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 34, 62–68.
- Omel'chenko A.V. 2006. "Keramicheskie komplekсы ellinisticheskogo vremeni iz oblasti Kesh (po materialam gorodishcha Podajataktepa)". *Rossijskaja Archeologija* 3, 137–142.
- Omel'chenko A.V. 2019. "New Excavations in the Paikend City-Site. The Sogdian Pottery Assemblage of the Hellenistic Period". In: C. Baumer and M. Novak (eds.) *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids. Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 203–225.
- P'jankov I.V. 1982. *Baktrija v antichnoj traditsii (obshchie dannye o strane: nazvanie i territorija)*. Donish: Dushanbe.
- P'jankov I.V. 2004. "Antichnye istochniki o srednej Azii i ikh interpretatsija (po povodu dvukh rabot F. Grenet i C. Rapin)". *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1, 96–110.
- Pugachenkova G.A. 1989. *Drevnosti Miankalja. Iz rabot Uzbekistanskoj iskusstvovedcheskoj ekspeditsii*. Fan Uzbekskoj SSR: Tashkent.
- Pugachenkova G.A. and T.V. Beljaeva 1987. "K stratigrafii Kumyshkent-Tepe". *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 4, 74–86.
- Rakhmanov Sh.A. 2005. "Stone Walls of the Southern Gissar (Related to the Northern Boundary of Bactria)". *Tsivilizatsii skotovodov i zemledel'stev Tsentral'noj Azii/ Civilizations of Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples of Central Asia*. International Institute for Central Asia Studies: Samarkand/Bishkek, 133–146.
- Rapin C. 2007. "Nomads and the Shaping of Central Asia: From the Early Iron Age to the Kushan Period". In: J. Cribb and G. Herrmann (eds.) *After Alexander. Central Asia efore Islam*. British Academy/Oxford University Press: Oxford, 29–72.
- Rapin C. 2010. "L'ère Yavana d'après les parchemins gréco-bactriens d'Asangorna et d'Amphipolis". In: K. Abdullaev (ed.) *Traditsii Vostoka i Zapada v antichnoj kul'ture Srednej Azii*. Noshirlik yog'dusi: Tashkent, 234–252.
- Rapin C. 2013. "On the Way to Roxane. The Route of Alexander the Great in Bactria and Sogdiana (328–327 BC)". In: G. Lindström, S. Hansen, A. Wiczorock, and M. Tellenbach (eds.) *Zwischen Ost und West, Neue Forschungen zum Antiken Zentralasien*. P. von Zabern: Darmstadt, 43–82.
- Rapin C. 2017. "Sanctuaires Sogdiens et cultes avestiques de l'époque de Gava à l'époque hellénistique (Koktepe et Sangir-tepe)". In: W. Henkelman and C. Redard (eds.) *Persian Religion in the Achaemenid Period*, *Classica et Orientalia* 16. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 417–460.
- Rapin C. 2018. "On the Way to Roxane 2. Satraps and Hyparchs Between Bactra and Zariaspa-Maracanda". In: J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka (eds.) *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*. AIT 17 and MDAFA XXXV. Dietrich Reimer: Berlin, 257–298.
- Rapin C., A. Baud, F. Grenet and S.A. Rakhmanov 2006. "Les recherches sur la région des Portes de Fer de Sogdiane: bref état des questions en 2005", *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 35, 48–59.
- Rapin C. and M. Isamidinov 1994. "Fortifications hellénistiques de Samarcande (Samarkand-Afrasiab)". *Topoi* 4, 547–565.

- Rapin C. and M. Isamiddinov 2013. “Entre sédentaires et nomades: les recherches de la Mission archéologique franco-ouzbèke (MAFOuz) de Sogdiane sur le site de Koktepe”. In: J. Benezu-Sarmiento (dir.), *L’archéologie française en Asie centrale. Nouvelles recherches et enjeux socioculturels*, *Cahiers d’Asie Centrale-IFEAC*, 21–22, 113–133.
- Rapin C., M. Isamiddinov and M. Khasanov 2001. “La tombe d’une princesse nomade à Koktepe près de Samarkand”. *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145(1), 33–92.
- Rapin C., M. Isamiddinov and M. Khasanov 2014. “‘Aristocratcheskaja’ grobnitsa kochevnikov na gorodishche Koktepe bliz Samarkanda”. In: S. Mustafaev and A. P. Frankfor (eds.) *Arkheologija i Istorija Tsentral’noj Azii v trudakh Frantsuzskikh uchenikh*, t. II, MITSIAI: Samarkand, 70–116.
- Rapin C. and M. Khasanov 2016. “Les traditions architecturales de l’époque achéménide à l’époque hellénistique. Récentes découvertes en Sogdiane”. In: M. Espagne, S. Gorshenina, F. Grenet, S. Mustafayev and C. Rapin (dir.) *Asie Centrale, Transferts culturels le long de la route de la soie*. Vendémiaire: Paris, 61–95.
- Sagdullaev A.S. 1984. “Poselenija rannezheleznogo veka v bassejne Kashkadar’i”. *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 3, 154–161.
- Shishkina G.V. 1969a. “Materialy pervykh vekov do nashej ery iz raskopok na severo-zapade Afrasiaba”. *Afrasiab I*. Fan: Tashkent, 221–246.
- Shishkina G.V. 1969b. “O mestonakhozhdenii Marakandy”. *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 1, 62–75.
- Shishkina G.V. 1970. “Drevnejshaja oboronitel’naja stena Samarkanda”. *Obshchestvennyye Nauki v Uzbekistane* 9, 102–107.
- Shishkina G.V. 1974. “Keramika kontsa IV–II vv do n. e. (Afrasiab II)”. *Afrasiab III*. Fan: Tashkent, 28–51.
- Shishkina G.V. 1975a. “Bukharskie vorota srednevekovogo Samarkanda”. *Afrasiab IV*. Fan: Tashkent, 23–41.
- Shishkina G.V. 1975b. “Ellinisticheskaja keramika Afrasiaba”. *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 2, 60–78.
- Shishkina G.V. 1976. “Severnye vorota drevnego Samarkanda”. In: B.G. Gafurov and B.A. Litvinskij (eds.) *Istorija i kul’tura narodov Srednej Azii (drevnost’ i srednie veka)*. Nauka: Moscou, 99–104.
- Shishkina G.V. 1986. “Les remparts de Samarcande à l’époque hellénistique”. In: P. Leriche and H. Tréziny (eds.) *La fortification dans l’histoire du monde grec*. CNRS éditions: Paris, 71–78.
- Shishkina G.V. 1987. “Drevnij Samarkand i ego okrug”. In: *Gorodskaja kul’tura Bactrii-Tokharistana i Sogda (antichnost’, rannee srednevekov’e)*. Fan: Tashkent, 164–170.
- Shishkina G.V. 1996. “Ancient Samarkand: Capital of Soghd”. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8(1994), 81–99.
- Shishkina G.V. and O.N. Inevatkina 2005. “K resheniju problem istorii kul’tury Samarkandskogo Sogda”. *Vestnik RGNF* 3, 37–49.
- Stark S. 2016. “‘Hellenism’ at the Fringes: On the Relationship Between Bactria and Western Sogdiana (Bukhara Oasis)”. *Istorija i Arkheologija Turana* 3, 134–150.
- Stark S., F. Kidd, Dzh. Mirzaakhmedov, Z. Silvia, S. Mirzaakhmedov and M. Evers, with an appendix by A. Naymark 2019. “Bashtepa 2016: Preliminary Report of the First Season of Excavations”. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 48(2016), 219–264.
- Staviskij B.Ja. 1986. *La Bactriane sous les Kushans. Problèmes d’histoire et de culture*. Maisonneuve: Paris.
- Stride S., B. Rondelli and S. Mantellini 2009. “Canals Versus Horses: Political Power in the Oasis of Samarkand”. *World Archaeology* 41(1), 73–87.
- Sulejmanov R.Kh. 2000. *Drevnij Nakhshab*. Fan: Samarkand-Tashkent.

- Sulejmanov R.Kh. and B. Urakov 1977. "Rezultaty predvaritel'nogo issledovanija antichnogo gorodishcha selenija Ramish". *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana* 13, 55–64.
- Terenozhkin A.I. 1950. "Sogd i Chach". *Kratkie Soobshchenija o dokladakh i polevykh issledovanijakh Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury* 33, 152–169.
- Turebekov M. 1990. *Oboronitel'nye sooruzhenija drevnikh poselenij i gorodov Sogda (VII–VI vv. do n. e. – VII v. n. e.)*. Karakapalkstan: Nukus.
- Vallée-Raewsky J. 2013. "Résultats préliminaires de la fouille des kourganes de Yangi-rabat et Akdzhar-tépé dans la région de Samarkand (Ouzbékistan)". In: J. Bendezu-Sarmiento (dir.) *L'archéologie française en Asie centrale. Nouvelles recherches et enjeux socio-culturels, Cahiers de l'Asie centrale-IFEAC*, 21–22, 399–410.
- Zeimal' E.V. 1978. "Politicheskaja istorija drevnej Transoxiany po numizmaticheskim dannym". In: G.V. Lukonin (ed.) *Kul'tura Vostoka. Drevnost' i rannee sredenevekov'e*. Nauka: Leningrad, 192–214.
- Zeimal' E.V. 1983. *Drevnie monety Tadzhikistana*. Donish: Dushanbe.

CHAPTER 14

MERV AND MARGIANA



*Gabriele Puschnigg*¹

INTRODUCTION TO THE THEME OF THE CHAPTER

Margiana holds an ambiguous place in the study of Hellenistic Central Asia. We readily associate the term with the oasis of the Murghab delta, which provided a natural stopping point along the long-distance trading network linking China and the Indian subcontinent with western destinations. From the Bronze Age onward the area was home to flourishing communities leaving ample traces of their significant cultural achievements (cf. Salvatori and Tosi 2008, X–XIII). Margiana's fate as part of the Achaemenid empire is attested in the Bisutun inscription (Schmitt 1990, 299–305). Its name is engraved in our historical and archaeological minds as a place of importance through these early times. In contrast to this central role, Margiana, at first sight, rather seems to have occupied a fringe position in the Hellenistic narrative.

Partly, this is linked to the conventional focus on historical sources and the person of Alexander the Great and his conquests, partly it relates to the indistinct nature of the relevant archaeological record. The classical Alexander tradition mentions Margiana only briefly (Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alexandri Magni Libri* 7.10), and historians now largely agree that the king himself probably never set foot on the oasis of the Murghab delta (Rapin 2017, 78, 83).

From an historical perspective, Margiana appears to stand at the margins of events, when the late Iron Age city of Erk Kala was reinforced and made into a citadel of an unprecedented large urban space – Gyaaur Kala – restoring its place on the historical map. This chapter will bring together the various types of evidence available on Margiana for the Hellenistic period focusing primarily on non-textual sources and will introduce different possible viewpoints on what we perceive to be Hellenistic.

WRITTEN SOURCES

The textual evidence on Hellenistic Merv and Margiana has previously been published in a detailed analysis (Koshelenko, Bader and Gaibov 1996). For this reason only a brief overview of the main classical sources is provided here to set the context for the history of field exploration. Written sources on Hellenistic Margiana are sparse and their interpretations are not always uncontested. Aside from Curtius' Alexander tradition, relevant passages are contained in the works of the well-known

classical authors and geographers of Roman times, including Pliny the Elder, Strabo and Ptolemy. Along with general remarks on geography, landscapes and climate, references mostly reflect conditions in the oasis under Seleukid rule. All of the authors mention the city of Antiochia in Margiana (Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 6.47; Strabo, *Geography* 11.10.2; Ptolemy, *Geography* 6.10.3–4). Pliny and Strabo note that the city was founded by Antiochos I Soter (281–261 BC) (Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 6.46–47; Strabo, *Geography* 11.10.2). Strabo further states that Antiochos also built a defensive wall around the oasis to protect the population from nomadic raids (Strabo, *Geography* 11.10.2). Pliny goes into more detail about the city of Antiochia, saying that it was built in the same place as Alexandria in Margiana, a foundation he ascribes to Alexander the Great, which had been destroyed by nomads (Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 6.47).

These passages had a persistent resonance in the archaeological research and literature on Hellenistic Margiana and their scholarly understanding is still subject to discussions. Pliny's reference to Alexandria in Margiana in particular was recently re-examined in a historical analysis arguing for a new interpretation of the city's location outside the oasis (Rapin 2017, 84). Equally, the exact geographical location and extension of what is labelled 'Margiana' varies moderately in scholarly opinion depending on the selection and interpretation of the available sources (Bader, Gaibov, Gubaev and Koshelenko 1998, 195–196). Mostly, the term 'Margiana' is equated with the oasis of the Murghab river delta in modern literature (cf. Wright 2008). A close analysis of the classical sources had some scholars propose to include the Middle and Lower Murghab into this entity (Bader, Gaibov, Gubaev and Koshelenko 1998, 197; Koshelenko, Bader and Gaibov 1996, 121–122).

Throughout the history of exploration in the Merv oasis archaeologists were conventionally more inclined to accept the brief classical citations as valuable hints and explore their validity on the ground (Koshelenko 1985, 228; Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1995, 39; Koshelenko, Bader and Gaibov 1996, 127–129). Scholars now mostly agree that the city of Antiochia in Margiana probably relates to the square fortified site of Gyaur Kala (Callieri 1996, 569; Zavyalov 2007, 313; Koshelenko, Bader and Gaibov 1996, 133). Other information mentioned in the written sources has not been fully corroborated.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Archaeological research on the Hellenistic period of Margiana gained momentum with the foundation of a permanent archaeological mission for southern Turkmenistan, the YuTAKE, in 1945, which had a declared interest in the pre-Islamic period and facilitated large-scale systematic field surveys and excavations (Masson 1949, 5; Koshelenko 1985: 227; Puschnigg 2006, 11). Since then, studies on the Hellenistic period mainly developed along three thematic strands. The first theme followed up Strabo's reference to a fortified enclosure around the oasis (*Geography* 11.10.2) and tried to identify physical remains of walls on the ground possibly representing this structure. A second area of investigation concerned the fortifications of the ancient city sites Erk Kala and Gyaur Kala, the supposed Antiochia in Margiana, while a third theme focused on the study of material culture in order to assess the chronology of the cities' occupation. Over several decades these themes were originally studied

by the YuTAKE and, following the demise of the Soviet Union, were revisited and reassessed by international research teams. An area, which with the refinement of methodologies gained more significance in the post-Soviet era, is the exploration of changing settlement patterns in the oasis, which is also closely related to the study of material culture.

Theme 1: the wall of Antiochos I Soter

A comprehensive discussion on the exploration of this theme is also contained in the publication of the international project the ‘Archaeological Map of Margiana’ (Bader, Callieri and Khodzhanayazov 1998).

Already in 1946 a project began inspired by Strabo’s remarks and by reports on passing observations of wall structures at some distance to the north of the ruins of the ancient city of Merv (Vyazigin 1949, 260–261). Vyazigin’s exploration, already making use of aerial photography from the 1930s, recorded the remains of an intermittent rampart stretching over approximately 30 kilometres in a rough horseshoe line across the north-eastern part of the oasis, which passed near the sites of Uly Kishman and Kojne Kishman (Figure 14.1, Old Kishman and New Kishman, nos. 544 and 587, respectively, on the map) (1949, 264). Vyazigin himself originally mentions an extension of up to 50 kilometres (1949, 267), which was subsequently corrected to 30 kilometres in Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko’s article (1995, 40). This

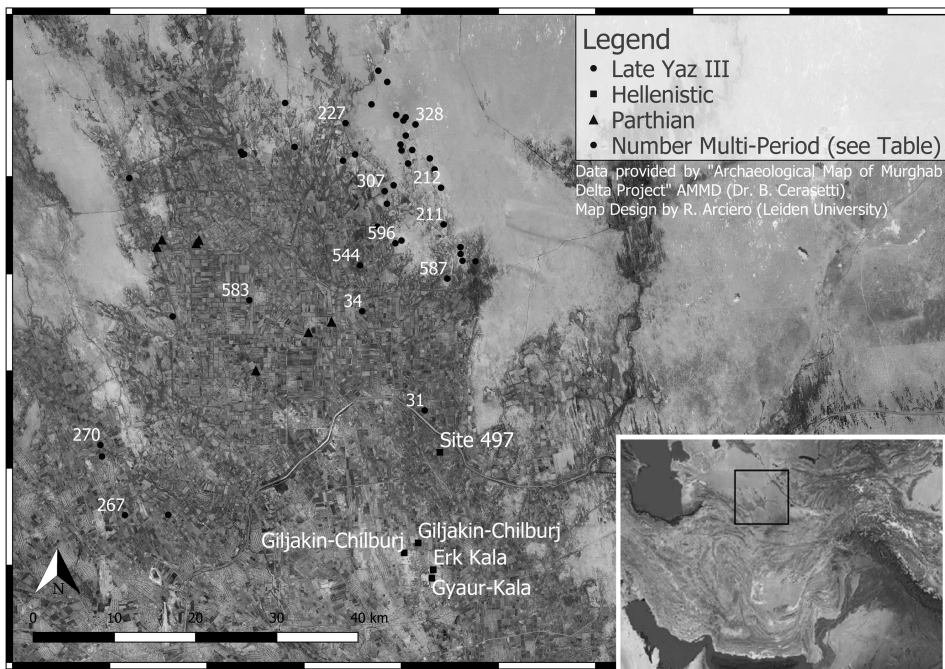


Figure 14.1 Map showing the northern and central part of the Merv oasis. Data provided by the “Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta Project” (AMMD); map Roberto Arciero, Leiden University.

difference in length might derive from the inclusion of the gaps in the track of the rampart in Vyazigin's report. The rampart was built of rammed mud, *pisée* (*pakhsa*), and the material collected from the surface along the structure and its vicinity mostly belonged to the early medieval (Sasanian) and Islamic periods, except for one or two terracotta fragments found at the base of the rampart along its north-western stretch, which Vyazigin thought to be of Hellenistic date (Vyazigin 1949, 265–267), but the type was later dated to the 3rd century AD by Usmanova (1963a, 78). Vyazigin still presented his findings as the remains of the wall mentioned by Strabo based on the general similarities he saw between the textual description and the actual location and layout of the rampart (1949, 267).

His interpretations were reconsidered by a Russian-Turkmen team of archaeologists from 1980, which continued their investigations after the breakdown of the Soviet Union in collaboration with Italian colleagues as part of the Archaeological Map of Margiana project into the early 1990s (Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1995, 40–41; 1998, 163). They finally concluded that Vyazigin's rampart could not be identified as Antiochos' wall, but most likely belonged to a later period in the oasis' life, possibly the Sasanian (Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1995, 41, 49). Instead, they proposed that a rampart of a smaller size at Gilyakin-Chilburj near the northern fringes of Erk Kala and Gyaurl Kala represents the wall built on behest of Antiochos I Soter (Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1995, 44; 1998, 188). The arguments put forward in support of this conclusion are circumstantial. Taking into account developments in the settlement patterns established for this period in the oasis, they still rely heavily on the interpretation of the Classical sources (Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1995, 44–49). Bader et al. observe that the dating of the actual ramparts in the oasis is problematic, since *pisée* constructions cannot be assessed chronologically in the absence of datable material included in them, and the state of preservation of such structures is in continuous decline because of environmental forces and agricultural activities limiting the possibilities for revisiting previous archaeological investigations (1995, 168). In view of the adverse archaeological situation, it seems impossible at the moment to reach a final verdict.

Theme 2: the Hellenistic foundations at Erk Kala and Gyaurl Kala

The walled ruins of the ancient cities of Merv are the largest archaeological structures in the oasis (Figure 14.1). Erk Kala, the older of the cities, finally became the citadel of the square city of Gyaurl Kala, whose plan is adapted to the course of an ancient canal in its north-west corner (Figure 14.2). Gyaurl Kala's northern city wall attaches from both sides to that of Erk Kala, incorporating the original city as a citadel (Figure 14.3). During the first centuries of Islamic rule the whole city shifted westward, and a new urban space, Sultan-Kala, emerged in the vicinity of Gyaurl Kala, which was then used for some time as industrial quarters (Herrmann et al. 1997, 10; Puschnigg 2006, 18). The ancient cities of Erk Kala and Gyaurl Kala together cover a space of roughly 350 hectares, illustrating its great attraction for archaeologists (cf. Figure 14.2). Secondly, the references by classical authors to the foundations of Alexander and Antiochos in Margiana found their convincing counterpart in these impressive ruins. Archaeologists accordingly proceeded to explore the question of the nature of these Hellenistic cities on the sites of Erk Kala and Gyaurl

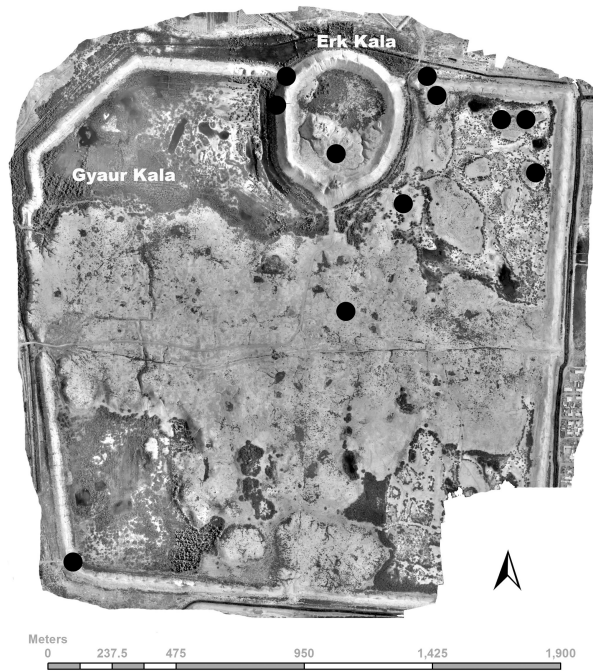


Figure 14.2 Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) photomosaic of the city of Gyaur Kala. (Photograph Gai Jorayev, Ancient Merv Project); the black dots mark excavations, where early Hellenistic levels were identified.



Figure 14.3 Left side, view of the walls of Erk Kala from the south, the centre of Gyaur Kala; right side, view of the MGK6 the south face of the section of the Gyaur Kala fortifications showing the vaulted chambers and walkway of the first phase of the wall; photographs Gabriele Puschnigg.

Kala (Koshelenko 1985, 228; Usmanova 1963a, 20). This issue constituted only one part in the comprehensive diachronic research programme set up for ancient Merv by the YuTAKE (Masson 1963). One of the strategies involved the excavation of deep soundings to assess the cities' stratigraphy and its chronological span (Usmanova 1963a, Filanovich 1974). Another scheme targeted the fortifications, which were explored in different areas of the city (Usmanova 1989; Filanovich 1974, 36). Two of

the excavations are of relevance here. In Erk Kala, the western stretch of the defensive walls was investigated cutting a section through the entire sequence of constructions (Zavyalov 2007, 315; Usmanova 1969, 41; Usmanova 1989, Trudy YuTAKE 19). The original construction showed a pisée wall, which was moderately raised and enlarged in a second phase (Zavyalov 2007, 315). Usmanova dated the original wall to the Achaemenid period, which corresponds to the fortification and enlargements she documented for the central mound at Erk Kala (1963a, 31–32). The second phase she identified as Hellenistic, while she dated the third phase, including a tower abutting the Achaemenid construction, to the Parthian period (Zavyalov 2007, 315–316; Usmanova 1989). The lack of diagnostic material in these constructional deposits, the square shape of the bricks and the parallels to a similar tower construction at Ai Khanoum led Zavyalov to assume that Usmanova's Phase 3 might actually belong to the Hellenistic period (2007, 316).

Major excavations at the Gyaour Kala fortifications included a section near the south-west corner of the city and one at its northern wall, where it abuts the Erk Kala fortifications (Filanovich 1974, 37, 40). The excavation near the south-western corner of Gyaour kala made use of an old gap, which had been forced through the wall in the early 20th century to enable the irrigation of the lower areas of the city for agricultural exploitation (Zavyalov 2007, 316; Tashkhodzhaev 1963, 97). Tashkhodzhaev attributed the first phase of the wall to Antiochos I Soter, relying on the classical citations (1963, 99). He noted that the bricks used for this wall were square and ranged in size between $38 \times 38 \times 10$ centimetres and $42 \times 42 \times 12$ centimetres (Tashkhodzhaev 1963, 101). A few reused pottery fragments from the wall foundation and its brickwork showed Yaz III or late Iron Age tradition (Tashkhodzhaev 1963, 102).

Tashkhodzhaev's trench formed the basis of a reassessment of the Gyaour Kala defences by Zavyalov under the International Merv Project between 1997 and 2000, and continued under the Ancient Merv Project (2002–2003) (Figure 14.3; Zavyalov 2007, 316–317). Zavyalov distinguished two construction phases for the Hellenistic period, the first and original wall, which he ascribed to the Seleukid period and a second adding modifications and refurbishments to the first one for which he proposed a Graeco-Bactrian date (Zavyalov 2007, 325–326). Apart from the written sources, Zavyalov relied in his dating on architectural parallels and a preliminary assessment of the ceramic evidence (2007, 326).

Theme 3: the study of material culture

An indispensable part of the stratigraphic investigation was to chronologically assess the material culture associated with the various levels. The aim of the periodisation of distinct find assemblages was to link them to specific historical phases (Filanovich 1974).

Investigations of the cities' stratigraphy were, however, challenging. The cultural layers of Erk Kala and Gyaour Kala proved to be substantial. In Erk Kala, the stratigraphic sounding went 17 metres deep before reaching natural soil (Usmanova 1963a, 28, fig. 4), while at Gyaour Kala the earliest cultural layers were encountered at a depth of over 10 metres (Filanovich 1974, 27). Both cities experienced the greatest density of occupation during the Parthian and Sasanian periods. As a consequence, possible

Hellenistic remains in most areas were covered by several meters of later deposits. Occupation levels pre-dating the Parthian period were thus only ever reached through soundings (Filanovich 1974, 24–32). These are small in area, though, and decrease in size as they go deeper which led to a keyhole perspective on this period's cultural layers.

In line with the stratigraphic situation, find assemblages related to the periods of Hellenistic rule at Merv were often sandwiched between two highly diagnostic assemblage types. The chronologically preceding assemblages were characterised by the later Yaz Depe culture, a very distinct group of mostly carinated ceramic vessels (and three-flanged arrow heads) (Usmanova 1992, Cleuziou 1998, 121). Following the Hellenistic levels, rich assemblages of diverse ceramic wares and locally minted coins exemplified the extensive occupation during the Parthian and Sasanian periods (Usmanova 1963b; Katsuris and Buryakov 1963). The chronologically Hellenistic find assemblages thus straddle a period of comprehensive change in the city's material culture, including the diversification of ceramic production and the introduction of coins. Specifically, in later Parthian and Sasanian deposits coin finds are relatively frequent (Puschnigg 2006, 113–118). For the Hellenistic period, though, coins are less numerous and were often part of surface collections (Smirnova 2007, 378, 380–381). By far the largest component in the material sequence is pottery, specifically for the earlier phases. Few other objects are reported from the soundings (Usmanova 1963a, 1992; Filanovich 24–36).

The material assemblages identified by the YuTAKE as Hellenistic show a mix of ceramics of typical Yaz III design and new pottery forms, which betray Hellenistic influence (Filanovich 1974, 30; Rutkovskaya 1962, 45 fig. 1). This is particularly noticeable in the change of open forms. One of the new vessel types is the goblet (Katsuris and Buryakov 1963, 123, fig. 4. 15, 23, 25), which is characteristic for Hellenistic levels far beyond Margiana (cf. Puschnigg and Houal 2019, 126–127). The various YuTAKE soundings suggested that Gyaour Kala's occupation during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC was most intensive in its central part and reached out to the north-eastern part of the city (Filanovich 1974, 36). Filanovich notes that there was no evidence for any disruption of the city's life and urban development between the earliest levels and those associated with the time of Alexander's conquest (1974, 36).

In the course of the renewed exploration of the Gyaour Kala fortifications under the International and Ancient Merv Projects the excavated pottery was subject to detailed analyses (Puschnigg 2008, 2013, 2019). Assemblages from the earliest phase of the defensive wall generally reflect the mix of Yaz III related – and Hellenistic pottery already observed in YuTAKE excavations (Figure 14.4). None of these assemblages, though, are primary. They are the result of various processes of material reuse and therefore often contain pottery of various dates. A number of the Yaz III ceramic types might therefore pre-date the assemblages and the construction of the wall. Some fragments of Yaz III inspired vessel forms, however, show a refined morphology and firing patterns similar in appearance to the Hellenistic forms. This suggests that both strands might have co-existed within a common repertoire for a while (cf. Puschnigg and Houal 2019, 137). The phase preceding this 'transitional' repertoire is not represented in the fortification assemblages, and thus the final stages of pottery production prior to the first appearance of Hellenistic influence in the ceramic repertoire remain elusive. In the seriation of early pottery that accompanied

Gyaur Kala Fortifications, Hellenistic Phases

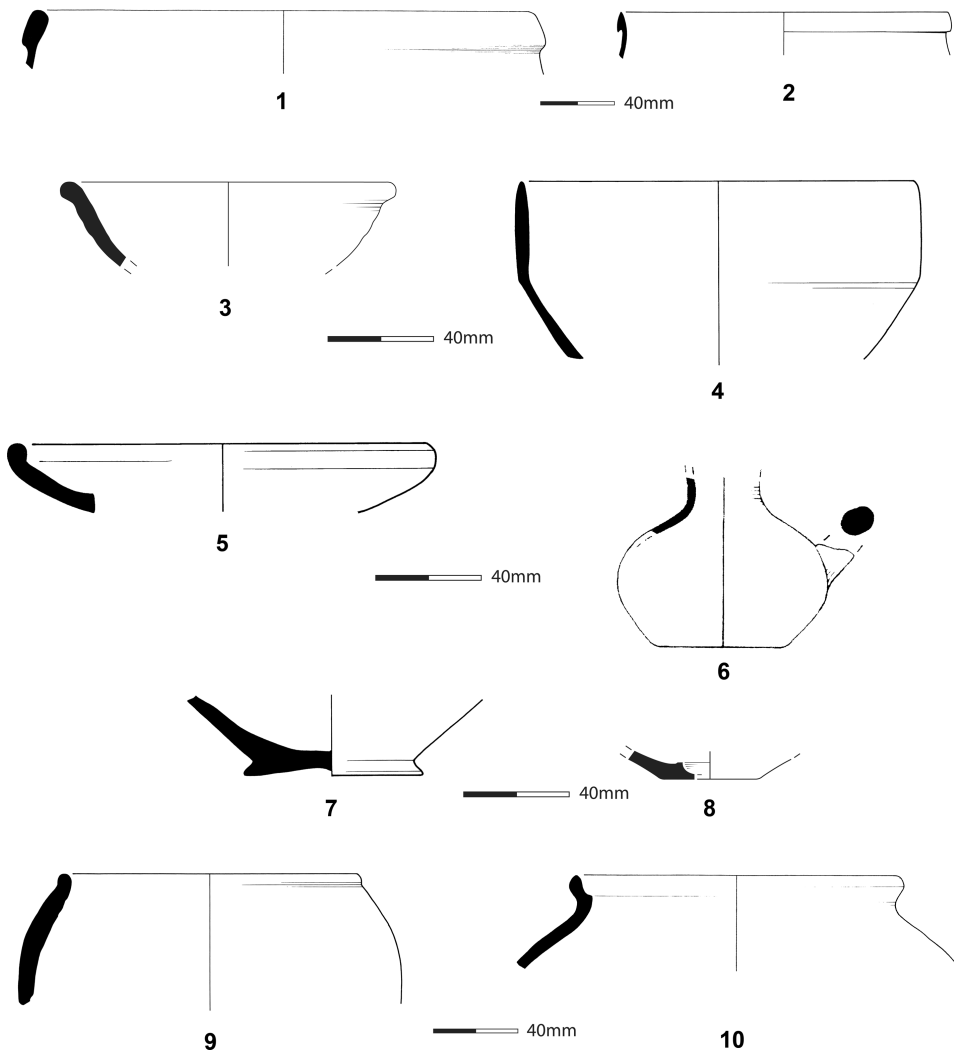


Figure 14.4 Selected diagnostic ceramic shapes from the first two phases of the Gyaur Kala fortifications (MGK6); nos. 1–2 shapes associated with the Yaz III tradition, no. 3 shape related to Achaemenid tradition; no. 4 goblet; nos. 5–8, 10 Hellenistic shapes; no. 9 local cooking ware; drawings nos. 2, 4–5 and 9 by Kate Morton; drawings nos. 1, 3, 6–8 and 10 by Faith Vardy, Ancient Merv Project.

the archaeological mapping of the Murghab delta (see below) Cattani and Genito provide a brief chronological outlook designating a group of distinct ceramic types as ‘Late Yaz III’, which they regard as intermediate between the late Iron Age and the Parthian and later phases (1998, 76). The term might serve as an auxiliary phrase for the phases following the Achaemenid rule in the oasis, but the data illustrating this

group are insufficient to provide a reliable reference tool (Cattani and Genito 1998, 86 fig. 10, 87 fig. 11). Over the years this problem of identifying changes in the ceramic material reflecting the initial phase following Alexander's conquest, the late 4th and early 3rd century BC, however, drew much interest from archaeologists (cf. Gaibov 2004, Callieri 1996, 2014). Re-evaluating the evidence available from the previous YuTAKE excavations at Erk Kala and Gyaurl Kala, Gaibov concludes that the Yaz III tradition continued in the ceramic repertoires of Margiana until the Seleukid period, when it is superseded by the mix of Yaz III and Hellenistic pottery design (2004, 606). A similar assessment was recently proposed by Callieri, who argued that Yaz III pottery in the oasis might in fact relate to Hellenistic times (2014, 61).

Settlement patterns in the oasis

During the 1990s a joint Russian-Turkmen-Italian mission started to work on the Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta, which aimed to explore the transformation of settlement patterns in the oasis through time (Gubaev, Koshelenko and Tosi 1998). The mission undertook extensive surveys in the oasis and documented a plethora of archaeological sites (Gubaev, Koshelenko and Tosi 1998, IX–XIX, 203–267). According to their preliminary findings, the settled area of the Hellenistic period had shifted south towards the central part of the oasis and decreased in size (Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1998, 187–188). The latter aspect represents a massive change in trends observed for the Murghab delta before and after this period (Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1998, 187). The urban centre of Margiana, by contrast, would appear to have flourished (cf. Filanovich 1974, 36; Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1998, 188).

HELLENISM ON THE GROUND

History and archaeology – an uneasy relationship

Much of the scholarly interest in the Hellenistic period of Margiana has been inspired by the information provided in the written sources. The focus of studies thus lay on structures that could potentially be linked to this information. Most prominently these were monumental fortifications and defence systems. Archaeologists exploring the various fortresses and walls, however, were confronted with the problem of dating these constructions, which in most cases showed several phases of modification and development (cf. Zavyalov 2007, 325). Often, the building technique was chronologically undiagnostic, such as *pisée* (*pakhsa*) or rammed mud, which occurred in the oasis throughout its history. In the case of brick work, excavators generally observed a change in the brick format from rectangular in the late Iron Age and Achaemenid period to square (Usmanova 1963a, 30; Usmanova, Filanovich and Koshelenko 1985, 228–230; cf. Callieri 1996), though square bricks also continue in use in the following phases (cf. Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1992, 237). Small finds only sporadically occurred in the wall deposits, and Hellenistic coins in archaeological contexts are scarce (Usmanova 1963b, 188; Zavyalov 2007, 326) and could not contribute substantially to the chronological assessment. Still, the most important factor for dating Hellenistic levels remains pottery.

There are two major concerns here, which require independent consideration.

One is the problem of ceramic chronology, while the other affects the relationship between material assemblages and architecture. Ceramic chronology for this period in Margiana is based on the deep stratigraphic sequence explored by the YuTAKE in the cities of Erk Kala and Gyaur Kala and on a number of key sites in the oasis, such as Yaz depe, which provide reference assemblages for certain periods. A major issue complicating the evaluation of the pottery development is the extent of material reuse in the oasis, specifically at multi-period sites such as Erk Kala and Gyaur Kala (cf. Puschnigg 2006, 107). Due to the stratigraphic situation for the Achaemenid and Hellenistic levels in these cities, the volume of ceramic material is relatively small. In addition the area exposed by soundings is limited and set artificially without taking into account the spatial extent of deposits. This severely limits the understanding of the nature of contexts and the interpretation of the ceramic material they contain. As a result, it is difficult to assess the potential concurrency of pottery types occurring in the same assemblage (cf. above). Such issues are easier to tackle, if large quantities of material are available. Unfortunately, the ceramic assemblages associated with the Gyaur kala fortifications show great differences in size, and especially the material from the first two phases is limited (cf. Puschnigg, Daghmehchi and Nokandeh 2019, table 1).

This also relates to the archaeological situation, the relationship between architecture and ceramic assemblages. Pottery from construction deposits of the first wall are mostly found as individual fragments within the brickwork for adjustments, while later repair layers or infills contain on average more material (Puschnigg, Daghmehchi and Nokandeh 2019, table 1). It is unlikely that the original use of the ceramics found in the construction or repair levels of the fortifications were connected to any activities taking place there, but most probably arrived as building material or filler for refurbishments. Many pottery types found in the fortifications are easily traceable in the domestic contexts of excavations in Gyaur Kala (cf. Puschnigg 2013; Usmanova 1963b, 194–196 figs. 23–25). For dating the architecture, it is however difficult to judge the chronological distance between the original use of the ceramic vessels, which in a broken and fragmented state end up in the fortifications assemblages, and the construction works of the architecture. As a result the chronological framework provided by the pottery is still comparatively coarse.

Another issue affects our historical expectations.

Hellenistic design appears familiar and is easy to discern in artefacts and tableware, specifically from a European perspective. On the other hand, scholarly expectations were for a long time modelled on concepts of European colonial history (cf. Wiesehöfer 2006, 108–111). Manifestations of Hellenistic influence on every aspect of life was therefore expected and searched for in the archaeological record. Changes noticeable in the different spheres of architecture and material culture, however, do not follow the same rationale and need to be analysed with regard to their own qualities. Thus changes in material culture tend to lag behind political developments and do not reflect them in a simple and linear correlation, though administrative strategies can affect material culture indirectly.

The various categories of archaeological evidence can be used differently in discussions on Hellenism and some are more readily connectable to historic evidence, such as coins or seals, than others. Of these other archaeological finds, pottery most

obviously reflects Hellenistic influence. The sequence of ceramic assemblages from the fortifications shows marked changes in the use of forms, design and technology. These developments gradually set in with the first mixed assemblages containing Yaz III and Hellenistic shapes and continue in assemblages that were in part accompanied by coin finds (Usmanova 1963a, 188–190; Zavyalov 2007, 326; Puschnigg, Dadhmehchi and Nokandeh 2019). Historically, these finds span a period from the phase after Alexander's conquest to Seleukid and Graeco-Bactrian rule, and finally to the incorporation of Margiana into Parthian territory. These strands of development, political and cultural, ran parallel, but were not necessarily synchronised, rendering historical interpretations of archaeological evidence complex. Yet, political developments and events still tend to set the pace for accounts on changing archaeological conditions (cf. Zavyalov 2007, Usmanova 1963b, 192–193). In view of the high expectations of audiences in relation to Alexander the Great and Hellenism it is difficult to refrain from the temptation to draw an overly clear and detailed image of conditions for the time of a specific well-known dynasty. This, however, leads to artificially spaced leaps in development and the impression that change was generally brought about by political events.

The nature of the evidence

Looking at the research history, what evidence and material sources can we rely on for information about Hellenistic Margiana? All the activities and projects discussed here in their various ways provided valuable input to better grasp the situation of Margiana in this period. Secure material evidence consists of architecture, pottery, coins and, to a lesser extent, small finds. In the wider sense research on the settlement patterns and the analysis of relevant archaeological deposits in the oasis has contributed substantially to our current understanding. Stratigraphic observations within the urban spaces of Erk Kala and Gyaur Kala are also valuable pieces of the jigsaw.

Architecture

The only secured architecture related to Hellenistic Margiana was revealed in its urban centre Erk Kala and Gyaur Kala and exclusively relates to the defensive walls of both the city and its citadel.

According to the more recent excavations of the Gyaur Kala defences, the first wall consisted of a platform made of alternating thin layers of clayey and sandy deposits on which a mud brick wall was constructed with two storeys of walkways, a row of chambers on the lower and embrasures and buttresses on the upper one (Figure 14.3), which most likely had a parapet with merlons (Zavyalov 2007, 317–319, figs. 3–5). The complete height of the first wall including the platform reached 13.5 metres (Zavyalov 2007, 317–318). With the outer platform slanting towards the outside moat and the inner platform showing a stepped profile, possibly for access, the wall reached a width of 8.80 metres (Zavyalov 2007, 317 fig. 3, 327). Zavyalov compares some of the architectural features of this wall to Hellenistic fortifications of the late 4th and 3rd century BC in Asia Minor, but parallels to defences in neighbouring Bactria also exist (Zavyalov 2007, 327–328). Differences between the Merv defences

and their western counterparts can be attributed to the diverse building materials of stone in the west and mudbrick at Merv (2007, 327).

In a second phase of construction the defensive wall was substantially altered and rebuilt, which points to a change in defensive strategy (Zavyalov 2007, 327). The lower walkway and chambers were filled to obtain a solid wall and the width and height of the upper walkway increased. Furthermore, the outer platform was raised near the base of the wall and its inner platform was also extended (Zavyalov 2007, 319–320, fig.6).

For the first two phases projectiles and slingshots were found in one chamber (Zavyalov 2007, 319) and on the upper walkway (Zavyalov 2007, 319).

The third refurbishment largely maintained the design of the previous phase, but substantially enlarged the defences, which now reached a width of c. 13 metres (Zavyalov 2007, 320–321 fig. 7, 327). Due to the changes of the following phases the original height of this wall is not preserved (Zavyalov 2007, 321).

The dating of these first three phases is based on a combination of different forms of evidence. For the first phase Zavyalov mentions the written sources on the foundation of Antiochos I Soter and refers to the architectural parallels in Asia Minor or Mesopotamia as well as the ceramic assemblage associated with this phase (Zavyalov 2007, 325). The dating of the second phase is based on historical argumentation, as no decisive evidence is available from the archaeological record (Zavyalov 2007, 326). Pottery assemblages for this phase roughly show the same structure as in Phase 1 except for individual small fragments that reflect later Hellenistic forms, but because of their size might not be stratigraphically reliable (cf. Puschnigg 2008, 119–120). Find assemblages from Phase 3, by contrast, are rich and more diverse, including for the first time in the sequence coins and together point towards a 2nd century BC date for this phase, which Zavyalov attributes to the establishment of Parthian rule at Margiana (Zavyalov 2007, 326).

Zavyalov notes that one of the mudbricks used in this phase had a Greek inscription (Zavyalov 2007, 326). This is an exceptional case, though brick marks of various shapes on square mud bricks were occasionally recorded in excavations, specifically by Usmanova in Trench 1, the fortifications and the tower on the southern side of Erk kala (Usmanova 1963a, 50–51). Usmanova refers to parallels in Tadzhikistan and Khoresm from the third or second century BC onwards, but they generally seem to relate to a later Parthian and early Sasanian date (Usmanova 1963a, 50–51).

The Erk Kala fortifications chronologically corresponding to the first three phases of Gyaur kala are less clear in their entire design, as the identifiable wall sections are enclosed in and truncated by the later sequence of constructions (cf. Usmanova 1969, 42–43). Early Hellenistic refurbishments of the Erk kala fortifications included the raising of the original wall and its reinforcement from the inside (Usmanova, Filanovich and Koshelenko 1985, 230). In its completed state this wall would have reached a height of over 15 meters (15.5 metres) (Usmanova, Filanovich and Koshelenko 1985, 230).

Coins

Numismatic evidence for the Hellenistic period in Margiana is sparse and mainly consists of bronze issues (Smirnova 2007, 378–379). Coin finds of this period only

occurred in the city sites of Erk Kala and Gyaur Kala and were often recorded as surface finds. Smirnova notes that so far, the time of Alexander's conquest until the end of the 4th century BC counts as a 'coinless' period for Margiana (2007, 377–378).

For the Seleukid period four coins are documented from Merv (Smirnova 2007, 378). The earliest of these is ascribed to Seleukos I (311–381 BC), though this identification relies only on iconographic comparisons as the legend is missing (Smirnova 2007, 378). All other Seleukid coins belong to issues of Antiochos I (281–261 BC) or were struck in his honour (Smirnova 2007, 379). The analysis of the coin types and their images leaves open the possibility of the activity of a local mint at Merv already at this early stage (Smirnova 2007, 379; cf. Cribb 2007, 338). Studies of the economic history of this period note that the Seleukid administration initially faced difficulties in monetizing their eastern satrapies and gradually succeeded only under Antiochos I (Aperghis 2004, 214).

Graeco-Bactrian coin finds were more numerous with 23 specimens so far recorded (Smirnova 2007, 379). They represent a continuous sequence from Diodotos I or II (250–235 BC) to Eukratides I (170–145 BC), whose issues reflect a local minting tradition (Smirnova 2007, 379). One specimen, an issue of Diodotos I or II (250–235 BC), was found in one of the pisée (pakhsa) blocks of the platform of Phase 3 of the Gyaur Kala fortifications (Zavyalov 2007, 326; Smirnova 2007, 380). Graeco-Bactrian coins were also found in some of the YuTAKE soundings within Gyaur Kala (Usmanova 1963b, 188; Smirnova 2007, 380).

From the Parthian king Phraates II (139/138–124/123 BC) onwards coin issues with the local mintmark appear at Merv (Nikitin 1998, 14). With the Parthian era the volume of coins in archaeological contexts increases noticeably making them a natural chronological marker (cf. Smirnova 2007, 382–383; Nikitin 1998). Coins are, however, subject to depositional processes as much as pottery and need to be interpreted with caution (Puschnigg 2006, 112–118). Nevertheless, a clear distinction is noticeable across the city's stratigraphy between levels that pre-date the first appearance of coin finds and later deposits, where they occur with increasing frequency.

The presence of Hellenistic coins in archaeological contexts in Merv is of great significance, as they constitute a primary source, which clearly testifies to the city's administrative history in political terms. What remains vague, though, is the degree of monetization and the volume of coinage used at Merv at this time, though the evidence at the moment suggests a marked increase of supply under Graeco-Bactrian rule.

Apart from these economic questions, coins are also regarded as cultural indicators (Cribb 2007). As such, however, they reflect the cultural tradition represented by the administration, since the imagery and legends presented on the coins were subject to governmental control.

Pottery

Ceramic vessels are a different source material. Discussions above highlighted their value and limits for dating evidence, and this is still a predominant aspect in the literature. Pottery is equally a unique source on everyday habits, the organisation of households, cooking techniques and culinary traditions. In contrast to the cultural

information contained in numismatic evidence, pottery, as a utilitarian product, largely remained outside of any direct administrative control.

In view of the secondary nature of the ceramic evidence from the archaeological deposits related to Hellenistic Margiana, our ability to reconstruct life assemblages, vessel repertoires in use at the same time, is desperately limited. Still, some of the main developmental steps become clear from the sum of previous fieldwork. At the moment most scholars agree that the Yaz III ceramic tradition continued in use until after Alexander's conquest, and that major changes in the repertoire only set in under Seleukid rule (Gaibov 2004, 606; Callieri 2014, 61). It is not yet clear, how rapidly changes occurred after that, but assemblages from some of the YuTAKE soundings and the Gyaar Kala fortifications indicate that some of the Yaz III shapes and new Hellenistic forms might have co-existed for a while (cf. Figure 14.4: 1 and 2; Gaibov 2004, 606; Puschnigg, Daghmehchi and Nokandeh 2019). The new vessel types include fishplates, bowls with in-turned or rolled rim, as well as handled jugs (Figure 14.4: 8, 5 and 6). Apart from these Hellenistic shapes, some open forms reflect Achaemenid traditions (Figure 14.4: 3), which are also found in roughly contemporary contexts in western Iran, Armenia and Azerbaijan showing similar modifications (Dyson Jr. 1999, 103–5, figs 2: b; 4: a, e; Rahbar et al. 2014, 316, plate 5: 1.; Battisti 2017, 146 tab. 14: 0.220_330). Apart from the continuation of previous traditions and the introduction of Hellenistic vessel types, new regional forms develop, such as the goblet (Figure 14.4: 4). This form, which most probably was used for drinking, is not only a typical shape for Hellenistic Margiana, but was also popular in Bactria and parts of Sogdiana (cf. Puschnigg and Houal 2019, 125–126). Coarse or cooking wares again appear to follow local traditions (Figure 14.4: 9; Puschnigg 2016, 461–462). Cooking vessels are mostly produced in grog-tempered ware, which was already used in the oasis during the Iron Age (Puschnigg 2016, 461). For Parthian levels of the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD Usmanova and Filanovich mention grit-tempered cooking ware (Usmanova 1963b, 194; 196 fig. 23. 25; Filanovich 1974, 82–83).

Assemblages associated with late Hellenistic or early Parthian activities are particularly rich in Hellenistic pottery types and also diagnostic wares (Usmanova 1963b, 194–196 figs. 23–25; Puschnigg, Daghmehchi and Nokandeh 2019). Grey wares and ceramic forms with red slip are characteristic elements in such assemblages, although they both constitute quantitatively small groups (Puschnigg, Daghmehchi and Nokandeh 2019, fig. 5). Grey wares are a widespread phenomenon in this period from the eastern Mediterranean to the Near East and Central Asia (Puschnigg and Houal 2019, 131–132). Red slipped ware is variously popular also at other Central Asian sites (Puschnigg and Houal 2019, 133–134). The composition of the pottery assemblage at this time combining local, traditional elements and innovative Hellenistic features appears to be characteristic for an enormous geographical spread between the Eastern Mediterranean and Central Asia (cf. Besenval 1987, Puschnigg and Römer-Strehl 2019). The diagnostic features are also strikingly similar in this period. Open vessel forms are of particular significance within the assemblages and include many Hellenistic shapes, while cooking wares mostly continue in their local conventions (Puschnigg and Römer-Strehl 2019, 546–547). New wares and firing techniques are largely focused on tableware, suggesting that cultural adjustments primarily affected dining habits (Puschnigg and Römer-Strehl 2019, 547–548).

Unfortunately, no archaeobotanical or archaeozoological evidence is available for this period in Margiana, so that possible changes in consumption patterns remain elusive.

Small finds

Not many small finds are registered from the relevant excavations. This may partly be related to the limited volume of excavations and the function of excavated structures. Deposits of the Erk Kala and Gyaur Kala fortifications frequently yielded arrow heads/projectiles and slingshots (Zavyalov 2007, 319; Usmanova 1963a, 64–66), finds that underline their military character.

Other find categories, such as figurines or cut stones are primarily mentioned for later deposits from a Parthian date onwards (Usmanova 1963a, 74–75; Pugachenkova 1963, 201–210). This situation is probably related to the lack of sufficient representative domestic contexts for the Hellenistic period, since there is no reason to assume that these find categories would be absent from Hellenistic contexts.

Settlement patterns in the oasis

Transformations of the settled areas in the Merv oasis are most striking in the long-term view. Changes in the alluvial system of the Murghab delta and progressing desertification occurred gradually from the late Bronze Age onwards over thousands of years (Cremaschi 1998, 18–19). This explains the general southward shift in settlement patterns over time (Cremaschi 1998, 19). While the major Bronze Age sites are located north of the present boundaries of the oasis, Iron Age sites largely occupy the north-eastern part of the present oasis, where they were still supported by active water channels at the time (Cremaschi 1998, 18).

In the Hellenistic period the inhabited zone and number of settlements appear to have diminished significantly, while some of the oasis' foremost Parthian sites are again found considerably north of this restricted territory (Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1998, 187)(see also Figure 14.1). Thus, the settlement pattern for the Hellenistic era in the oasis sticks out and digresses from the general development. For a better understanding of this issue, we need to examine the chronologically adjacent phases including the late Achaemenid and the Parthian periods and also take into account persisting methodological uncertainties.

The Yaz III period precedes the time of the Hellenistic administration in the oasis and is associated with the phase of Achaemenid rule. This phase is characterised by a highly distinct pottery assemblage, whose exact chronological limit or tailing off point is not yet clear. A group of ceramics, which were thought to be of slightly later date, was labelled 'late Yaz III' by Cattani and Genito (1998, 76). This label was also used in the chronological assessment of sites during the Archaeological Map project (cf. Gubaev, Koshelenko and Tosi 1998, 203–267). A relatively large number of sites show occupation classified as 'late Yaz III' (Figure 14.1, Table 14.1). Considering the current state of ceramic studies, these sites could, at least in part, potentially have continued in use well into the period after Alexander's conquest (cf. also Callieri 2014, 61). Again, many appear to have been reoccupied in Parthian times (cf. Table 1). In view of the uncertainties regarding the pottery sequence, we

Table 14.1 This table only contains sites, which are relevant to the discussion in this chapter. The information is based on the site list provided by the ‘Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta’ publication (Gubaev, Koshelenko and Tosi 1998, 203–267). For site no. 944, Alan Depe, the coordinates given in the publication appear to be wrong, as the site is described as being situated near the Iolatan (Yolatan) dam in the very south of the oasis (Bader, Gaibov and Koshelenko 1998, 188), while the coordinates would show it up north.

<i>Site name and/or number</i>	<i>Period of occupation</i>	<i>Symbol on the map</i>
Site No 31	Early Iron Age; Parthian, Medieval	Site Number
Site No 34	Early Iron Age; Parthian, Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 211	Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 212	Iron Age (Yaz I, Yaz III); Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 227	Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 267 = Jassi Tepe	Yaz III; Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Site Number
Koshadja S = Site No 269	Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Symbol, close to Site No 270
Koshadja N = Site No 270	Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 307	Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 328	Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 475 = Giljakin-Chilburj, fragment of wall	Hellenistic (?); Parthian	Site Name
Site No 497	Hellenistic; Medieval	Site Number
Site No 544 = Uly Kishman (Khurmuzfarrah)	Parthian; Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 583 = Göbekly-depe	Iron Age; Parthian; Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 587 = Kojne Kishman	Sasanian; Medieval	Site Number
Site No 596	Late Yaz III; Parthian-Sasanian	Site Number
Site No 602 = Erk Kala	Early Iron Age; Hellenistic; Parthian; Sasanian	Site Name
Site No 603 = Gyaur Kala	Early Iron Age; Hellenistic; Parthian; Sasanian	Site Name
Site No 684 = Giljakin-Chilburj, second fragment of wall	Hellenistic (?); Parthian	Site Name
Site No 944 = Alan Depe	Hellenistic (?); Parthian; Sasanian	Not on the map (faulty coordinates)

cannot fully assess the nature and duration of the observed gaps in occupation at the individual sites.

Hence, the retraction of the occupied territory observed for the Hellenistic period will probably require some qualification in the future. What certainly represents a change in settlement strategy in the oasis is the concentration on the development of its urban centre, where the new city, Gyaur Kala, multiplied in size compared to its predecessor, Erk Kala. The latter now transformed into its citadel. The underlying processes, including depopulation of the northern settlements of the oasis and aggregation of occupants in the city, and their potential correlations or causal connections, are not yet fully understood. Ongoing environmental changes to the water system in the oasis and the impact of intensive agricultural use lead to the progressive

destruction of archaeological sites (Bondioli and Tosi 1998, IX), making any future clarification of this problem unlikely. The many streaks of continuation noticed in the pottery assemblages do not suggest any hiatus in the occupational history of the oasis. At the same time we may expect the arrival of new residents, military garrisons and settlers, into the newly built city and fortified sites around it. How the inhabitants of Hellenistic Margiana were composed ethnically and how the cohabitation of the different segments of society ultimately functioned cannot be deduced from the primary evidence currently at our disposal.

MARGIANA UNDER HELLENISTIC RULE

Based on the previous findings a number of different perspectives open up on Hellenistic Margiana, which will help us to thematically explore potential convergences between archaeology and history.

Administration and public life

Governance and administration are among the best-documented aspects of Hellenistic Margiana. The massive military investments visible in the fortifications of Gyaour Kala and Erk Kala and other potentially contemporary forts in the oasis indicate a tight strategy of control over the new territory. At the same time the size of the space enclosed in the city walls illustrates the political will to develop an urban centre in the oasis, which should also serve trade and economic relations. From its foundation the city continued to be the dominating centre of the region.

As much as the defensive systems and size of Gyaour Kala highlight its administrative role, very little is known about its internal organisation and public life. No architectural structures related to Greek institutions, such as gymnasium or theatre, have been identified so far. Analogous to the following periods, the governor's palace was probably located in the citadel, Erk kala. The thick deposits covering the Hellenistic occupation levels, though, hamper our understanding of the city's architectural layout and the arrangement of public buildings and domestic quarters. Even today, though, the urban plan shows that the space inside the defensive walls of both Erk Kala and Gyaour Kala was never completely built-up (Figure 14.2). Considering the sheer size of the urban space, we may assume that the city dwellers were composed of locals as well as new settlers and army personnel (cf. Koshelenko, Bader and Gaibov 1996, 129).

Monetary system and economy

Historical studies suggest that the early Seleukid administration was striving to monetize the newly gained provinces (Aperghis 2004, 214). Under Antiochos I, a number of new mints were established and modifications to the financial administration carried out (Aperghis 2004, 293). The finds of Seleukid coins at Merv are highly significant as a primary source in this respect, reflecting the influence of Seleukid monetary policy in this province and designate it as part of the royal financial administration. While the number of Seleukid coin finds from Merv is low, considerably more Graeco-Bactrian coin issues were retrieved from the city illustrating the progress in

the economic transformation and the city's growing role, which was subsequently confirmed by the foundation of a local mint under the Parthian king Phraates II (139/138–124/123 BC).

The analysis of long-term developments in site size and distribution facilitates some general estimates regarding the economic situation prior to Macedonian and Seleukid interference and suggests that since the Bronze Age the oasis was an area of co-existence between agriculturalists and pastoralists (Wright 2008). What is visible on the ground for the Hellenistic period reflects disturbances resulting from conflict and the ensuing upheaval of the traditional complementary systems of agriculture and pastoralism in Margiana (cf. Erdosy 1998, 145–146; Wright 2008, 48–49; cf. also Olbrycht 1996, 160–162).

Religion

Apart from the depiction of deities on the aforementioned coins, no contemporary monuments pertaining to religion or cult have been recorded so far. A newly planned city, such as Gyaur Kala must have had its religious buildings, temples or shrines, in accordance with the religious habits of the ruling families, but the few excavations touching Hellenistic deposits have not yet shown any traces. The same applies to Erk Kala, where early Hellenistic levels were only excavated in Sounding 5 (Usmanova 1969, 33). Reflections on Hellenistic cults are preserved, though, on glyptic evidence and figurines from the Parthian period (Kaim and Kornacka 2016, 52; Pugachenkova 1963, 202; Filanovich 1974, 85–86). Equally, no cemetery has been discovered for this period. This might also relate to the destruction through intensive agricultural activities of the area outside the city walls. Only one cemetery belonging to the Sasanian period was identified and excavated by the YuTAKE (Ershov 1959). The earliest evidence for funerary practices at the city of Merv belongs to the late Parthian period and refers to storage jar burials, one of which also contained a coin (Filanovich 1974, 73). As with the Parthian figurines and cut stones, this burial custom corresponds well with situations elsewhere in the Parthian empire (Kambakhsh Fard 1998). Kaim suggests that the patchy impression we get from the evidence points to a congruency between the religious preferences of the court and that of the population of Merv (Kaim and Kornacka 2016, 52). Whether this would equally apply to the Hellenistic period is unclear and should not be readily assumed.

Everyday life

Our scant evidence for Hellenistic Margiana provides selective glimpses of transformations, which must have affected the population in their everyday lives. One of these certainly concerns the fundamental changes to their circumstances of habitation from smaller and widespread rural settlements to the more densely populated area in and around the city of Gyaur Kala with its diversified ethnical make-up.

The local material culture in Margiana did not experience any sudden interruption at the time, but new elements appeared gradually. Importantly, this change did not occur as a process of replacing old with new, but innovations rather seem to have emerged, where they had become necessary to fulfil modified requirements in daily routines. Thus, it is striking that in pottery production new forms and techniques

were primarily applied to tableware specifically used for serving food (Puschnigg and Römer-Strehl 2019, 543–544). The goblets, which appeared for the first time in the Hellenistic repertoire, are a unique form combining elements of the previous Yaz III and the Hellenistic ceramic style and they are limited to Margiana, and areas of Bactria and Sogdiana (Puschnigg and Houal 2019, 125–126). Coarse and cooking wares on the other hand seem to have remained largely untouched from these developments (Puschnigg 2016). Of all three elements connected with food, eating seems to have been most affected by changes in habits (Puschnigg and Römer-Strehl 2019, 546–548). Again, probably due to the lapse in time required for the change to become visible in different spheres, Hellenistic ceramic production and related customs still flourished in the early Parthian period (Puschnigg, Daghmehchi and Nokandeh, forthcoming).

From the perspective of administration, monetary policy and the emphasis on its urban centre, Hellenistic Margiana corresponds well to the historical understanding of Seleukid politics under Antiochos. Military architecture, urbanisation and the issuing of coins all lie within the remit of sovereignty and official control. Evidence pertaining to everyday life, largely restricted to ceramics at the moment, shows a more diversified picture. Here, strong elements of continuation are palpable and new forms reflect the engagement of the population and potters with both local and Hellenistic cultural forms. This development is clearly visible well into the Parthian period and happens outside of the politically controlled sphere. While the term ‘Hellenism’ might fit what we see regarding the administration’s political decisions in the oasis, it stops short of describing the gradual changes and developments in the people’s perception of their own cultural identities. The cosmopolitan air of the time, on the other hand, is found both in earlier (Bronze Age), and later (early Islam) periods, as well. Over the past years, the discussion about a suitable and precise terminology has intensified. A proper solution has, however, yet to be found.

NOTE

- 1 I am particularly grateful to Roberto Arciero, who helped me to visualize the archaeological evidence on settlement patterns in the oasis compiling the map in Figure 14.1 and to Barbara Cerasetti, scientific director of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Turkmenistan, for allowing me to use their data.

REFERENCES

- Aperghis, G. G. 2004. *The Seleukid Royal Economy: The Finances and Financial Administration of the Seleukid Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bader, A., P. Callieri, and T. Khodzhanizayov. 1998. *Survey of the Antiochus Wall. Preliminary Report on the 1993–1994 Campaigns*. The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–95. Roma: IsIAO.
- Bader, A., V. Gaibov, A. Gubaev, and G. Koshelenko. 1998. ‘Merv, Margiana, Merv Oasis: A Comparison of the Concepts’. In *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–1995*, edited by A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, and M. Tosi 3:195–200. Reports and Memoirs. Roma: IsIAO.
- Bader, A., V. Gaibov, and G. Koshelenko. 1992. ‘Material for an Archaeological Map of Merv’. *Mesopotamia* XXVII, 225–250.

- Bader, A., V. Gaibov, and G. Kosenlenko. 1995. 'Walls of Margiana'. In *In the Land of the Gryphons. Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity*, edited by A. Invernizzi 5:39–50. Monografie Di Mesopotamia. Firenze: Casa Ed. Le Lettere.
- . 1998. 'The Seleucid Period'. In *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–95*, edited by A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, and M. Tosi, 187–88. Roma: IsIAO.
- Battisti, Martina. 2017. 'Diagnostic Ceramics'. In *Persepolis West (Fars, Iran). Report on the Field Work Carried Out by the Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission in 2008–2009*, by Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, 132–46. BAR International Series. Oxford: BAR Publishing.
- Besenal, Roland. 1987. 'Quelques Caractéristiques Techniques de La Céramique d'époque Parthe à Tureng Tepe (Iran)'. *Mesopotamia* XXII: 403–7.
- Bondioli L., and M. Tosi. 1998. 'Introduction'. In *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary reports 1990–1995* (IsIAO Reports and Memoirs, Series minor, III), edited by A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, and M. Tosi, 1–27. Roma.
- Callieri, P. 1996. 'Margiana in the Hellenistic Period: Problems of Archaeological Interpretation'. In *Alle Soglie Della Classicità: Il Mediterraneo Tra Tradizione e Innovazione; Studi in Onore Di Sabatino Moscati*, edited by E. Acquaro 2:569–78. Pisa.
- . 2014. 'Margiana in the Hellenistic Period: Again Problems of Archaeological Interpretation'. In *'My Life Is Like the Summer Rose' Maurizio Tosi e l'Archeologia Come Modo Di Vivere: Papers in Honour of Maurizio Tosi for His 70th Birthday*, 2690:59–62. BAR International Series. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports Oxford Ltd.
- Cattani, M., and Genito, B.. 1998. 'The Pottery Chronological Seriation of the Murghab Delta from the End of the Bronze Age to the Achaemenid Period: A Preliminary Note'. In *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–95*, edited by A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, and M. Tosi, 75–88. Roma: IsIAO.
- Cleuziou, S. 1998. 'Copper Arrowheads Typology and Chronology'. In *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–1995*, edited by A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, and M. Tosi 3:119–24. Reports and Memoirs. Roma: IsIAO.
- Cremaschi, M. 1998. 'Palaeohydrography and Middle Holocene Desertification in the Northern Fringe of the Murghab Delta'. In *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–95*, edited by A. Gubaev, G. Kosenlenko, and M. Tosi, 15–26. Roma: IsIAO.
- Cribb, J. 2007. 'Money as a Marker of Cultural Continuity and Change in Central Asia'. In *After Alexander. Central Asia Before Islam*, edited by J. Cribb and G. Herrmann, 333–75. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dyson Jr., Robert H. 1999. 'The Achaemenid Painted Pottery of Hasanlu IIIA'. *Anatolian Studies* 49: 101–10.
- Erdosy, G. 1998. 'Language, ethnicity and migration in protohistoric Margiana'. In *The archaeological map of the Murghab delta. Preliminary Report 1990–1995*, edited by A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, and M. Tosi, 141–47. Rome: IsAIO.
- Ershov, S A. 1959. 'Nikotorye Itogi arkheologicheskogo Izucheniya Nekropolya s ossuarnymi Zakhoronenyami v Raione Goroda Bairam-Ali (Raskopki 1954–1956gg)'. *Trudy Instituta Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii. Materialy po arkheologii Turkmenistana* 5: 160–204.
- Filanovich, M. I. 1974. 'Gyaur-Kala'. *Trudy YuTAKE* 15: 15–139.
- Gaibov, V. A. 2004. 'Ranneëllinisticheskaya keramika Margian '. *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tur* 14: pp. 600–608.
- Herrmann, Georgina, K. Kurbanakhatov and St. John Simpson. 1997. 'The International Merv Project Preliminary Report on the Fifth Season (1996)'. *Iran* 35: 1–33.
- Kaim, Barbara, and Maja Kornacka. 2016. 'Religious Landscape of the Ancient Merv Oasis'. *Iran* 54 (2): 47–72.

- Kambakhsh Fard, S. O. 1998. 'Parthian Pithos-Burials at Germi (Azarbaijan)'. *Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History* Supplement No. 1.
- Katsuris, K., and Yu. Buryakov. 1963. 'Izuchenie remeslennogo kvartala antichnogo Merva u severnykh vorot Gyaury-Kaly'. *Trudy YuTAKE* 12: 119–63.
- Koshelenko, G. A. 1985. *Drevneishie Gosudarstva Kavkaza i Srednei Azii*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Koshelenko, G. A., A. Bader, and V. Gaibov. 1996. 'Die Margiana in Hellenistischer Zeit.' In *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, edited by Bernd Funck, 121–45. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Masson, M. E. 1949. 'Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskaya Arkheologicheskaya Kompleksnaya Ekspeditsiya (YuTAKE) 1946 Goda'. *Trudy YuTAKE* 1: 5–15.
- _____. 1963. 'K izucheniyu proshlogo Starogo Merva'. *Trudy YuTAKE* 12: 7–19.
- Nikitin, A. B. 1998. 'Early Parthian Coins from Margiana'. In *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Persia*, edited by V Sarkhosh Curtis, R. Hillenbrand, and J. M. Rogers, 14–23. London/New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Olbrycht, Marek J. 1996. 'Die Beziehungen der Steppennomaden Mittelasiens zu den hellenistischen Staaten (bis zum Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.)'. In *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, edited by Bernd Funck, 147–69. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Pugachenkova. 1963. 'Novoye po arkhitektury srednevekogo Merva [New information on the architecture of Medieval Merv]'. *Trudy YuTAKE* 12: 225–48.
- Puschnigg, G. 2013. 'The Dynamics of Exchange and Innovation in the Oasis City of Merv.' In *Networks in the Hellenistic World - According to the Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, edited by N. Fenn and Ch. Römer-Strehl, 2539:339–49. BAR International Series. Oxford/New York: BAR Publishing.
- Puschnigg, G., and J.-B. Houal. 2019. 'Regions and Regional Variations in Hellenistic Central Asia: What Pottery Assemblages Can Tell Us'. *Afghanistan* 2 (1): 115–40.
- Puschnigg, G., and Ch. Römer-Strehl. 2019. 'Cooking and Dining from the Seleucids to the Parthians'. In *Daily Life in a Cosmopolitan World: Pottery and Culture During the Hellenistic Period*. vol. 2, 539–550. IARPotHP International Association for Research on Pottery of the Hellenistic Period e. V. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.
- Puschnigg, Gabriele. 2006. *Ceramics of the Merv Oasis: Recycling the City*. Publications of the Institute of Archaeology. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- _____. 2008. 'Hellenistic Echoes in Parthian Merv: Transformation and Adaptation in the Ceramic Repertoire'. *Parthica* 10: 109–27.
- Puschnigg. 2016. 'Continuity or Innovation in Coarse Wares at Early Hellenistic Merv?' in *Traditions and Innovations: Tracking the Development of Pottery from the Late Classical to the Early Imperial Periods; Proceedings of the 1st Conference of IARPotHP Berlin, November 2013, 7th–10th*, 455–64, Vienna: Phoibos.
- Puschnigg, Gabriele, Maria Daghmehchi, and Jebrael Nokandeh. 2019. 'Correlated Change: Comparing Modifications to Ceramic Assemblages from Gorgan (Iran) and Merv (Turkmenistan) During Seleucid and Parthian Times'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 21–40.
- Rahbar, Mehdi, Sajjad Alibaigi, E. Haerincx, and Bruno Overlaet. 2014. 'In Search of the Laodike Temple at Laodikeia in Media/Nahavand, Iran'. *Iranica Antiqua* 49: 301–30.
- Rapin, Claude. 2017. 'Alexandre le Grand en Asie Centrale. Géographie et Stratégie de la Conquête des Portes Caspiennes à l'Inde'. In *With Alexander in India and Central Asia: Moving East and Back to West*, edited by Claudia Antonetti and Paolo Biagi, 37–116. Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books.

- Rutkovskaya, I. M. 1962. 'Antichnaya keramika drevnego Merva'. *Trudy YuTAKE* 11: 41–116.
- Salvatori S., and M. Tosi. 'The Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age in the Margiana Lowlands, Facts and Methodological Proposals for A Redefinition of the Research Strategies'. The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta Studies and Reports 2: 47–56.
- Salvatori, Sandro, and Maurizio Tosi. 2008. 'Introduction'. In *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the Margiana Lowlands: Facts and Methodological Proposals for a Redefinition of the Research Strategies*, edited by I. S. Masimov, Sandro Salvatori, Maurizio Tosi, and Barbara Cerasetti, 1806:X–XIV. BAR International Series. Oxford, UK: Oxbow.
- Schmitt, R. 1990. 'Bisotun III. Darius's Inscription' *Encyclop. Iranica* Vol. IV, Fasc. 3.
- Smirnova, N. 2007. 'Some Questions Regarding the Numismatics of Pre-Islamic Merv'. In *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam*, edited by J. Cribb and G. Herrmann, 377–88. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tashkhodzhaev, S. S. 1963. 'Razrez gorodskoi steny Gyauro-Kaly'. *Trudy JuTAKE* 12: 95–118.
- Usmanova. 1989. 'The Section through the Fortress Wall in Erk-Kala, Old Merv'. *Trudy YuTAKEI* 19: 21–61.
- Usmanova, Z. I. 1963a. *Erk-Kala po materialam JUTAKE 1955–1959 gg.* Trudy Juzno-Turkmenistanskoy arxeologiceskoj kompleksnoj ekspedicii 12. [S. l.]: [s. n.]. Ashkhabad: Academy of Sciences of the Turkmen SSR.
- . 1963b. 'Raskopki Masterskoj Remeslennika Parfânskogo Vremenâ Na Gorodiše Gâuro-Kala'. *Trydu ŪTAKE* XII: 95–118.
- . 1969. 'Novye dannye k arkheologicheskoy stratigrafii Erk-Kaly'. *Trudy YuTAKE* 14: 13–55.
- . 1992. 'New Material on Ancient Merv'. *Iran* 30, 55–63.
- Usmanova, Z. I., M. I. Filanovich, and G. A. Koshelenko. 1985. 'Margiana'. In G. A. Koshelenko (ed.), *Drevnejshie gosudarstva Kavkaza i Srednej Azii*, 226–42. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Nauka.
- Vyazigin, S. A. 1949. 'Stena Antiokha Sotera Vokrug Drevnej Margiany.' *Trudy YuTAKE* 1: 260–75.
- Wiesehöfer, Josef. 2006. *Ancient Persia: From 550 BC to 650 AD*. New ed., Repr. London: Tauris.
- Wright, Joshua. 2008. Non-graphic information systems and diachronic transformations in Margiana.
- Zavjalov, Vladimir A. 2007. 'The Fortifications of the City of Gyauro Kala, Merv.' In *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam*, edited by Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann, 313–29. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER 15

ARACHOSIA, DRANGIANA AND AREIA¹



Warwick Ball

INTRODUCTION

Arachosia cannot be considered ‘Greek’ or even ‘Hellenistic’ in the same way that other regions – particularly Bactria – can, as it was only under Seleukid, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rule relatively briefly. Alexander ‘passed through’ Arachosia (in Vogelsang’s 1985, 55 words) in 330/229 BC leaving a garrison. Seleukos ceded it to Chadragupta Maurya in 303 BC but it came under Graeco-Bactrian rule even more briefly in the second century BC (although this is disputed). By the time of Menander, Arachosia and Drangiana were probably part of Parthian Iran. (The sources and history are summarised by Fussman 1966 and 2010, Fischer 1967, Bernard 1974, Vogelsang 1985, Schmitt 1986, Narain 2003 106–107 and Mairs 2011a, with references. Daffinà 1967 also covers many of the sources for Arachosia. See also Maniscalco 2014, which I was not able to obtain at the time of going to press). In the period covered by this book therefore, Arachosia was more Indian and Iranian than Greek. Nevertheless, important ‘Hellenistic related’ remains have been discovered in Arachosia – mainly inscriptions and decorative elements – so the Mauryan and Parthian periods can be considered ‘Hellenistic’ in the broadest sense here.

GEOGRAPHY (FIGURE 15.1)

The Kandahar region – corresponding approximately to much of the region of Arachosia – is, along with Kabul, Balkh, Herat and Sistan, one of the perennial five ‘core regions’ that have been central to Afghanistan from prehistory to the present day (Barfield 2018). In the Bronze Age it was the core of an important civilisation centred on the urban site of Mundigak that has been dubbed a ‘Helmand Civilisation’ (that included Afghan and Iranian Sistan; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973, 26) by analogy with other contemporary ‘riverine civilisations’ such as the Oxus or the Indus (albeit the term is perhaps not as widely accepted in this case as it is with the other two). In the Iron Age in the early first millennium BC the urban centre of the region moved from Mundigak to Old Kandahar, where it remained until the middle of the eighteenth century, moving to the present city of Kandahar three kilometres away where it still remains.

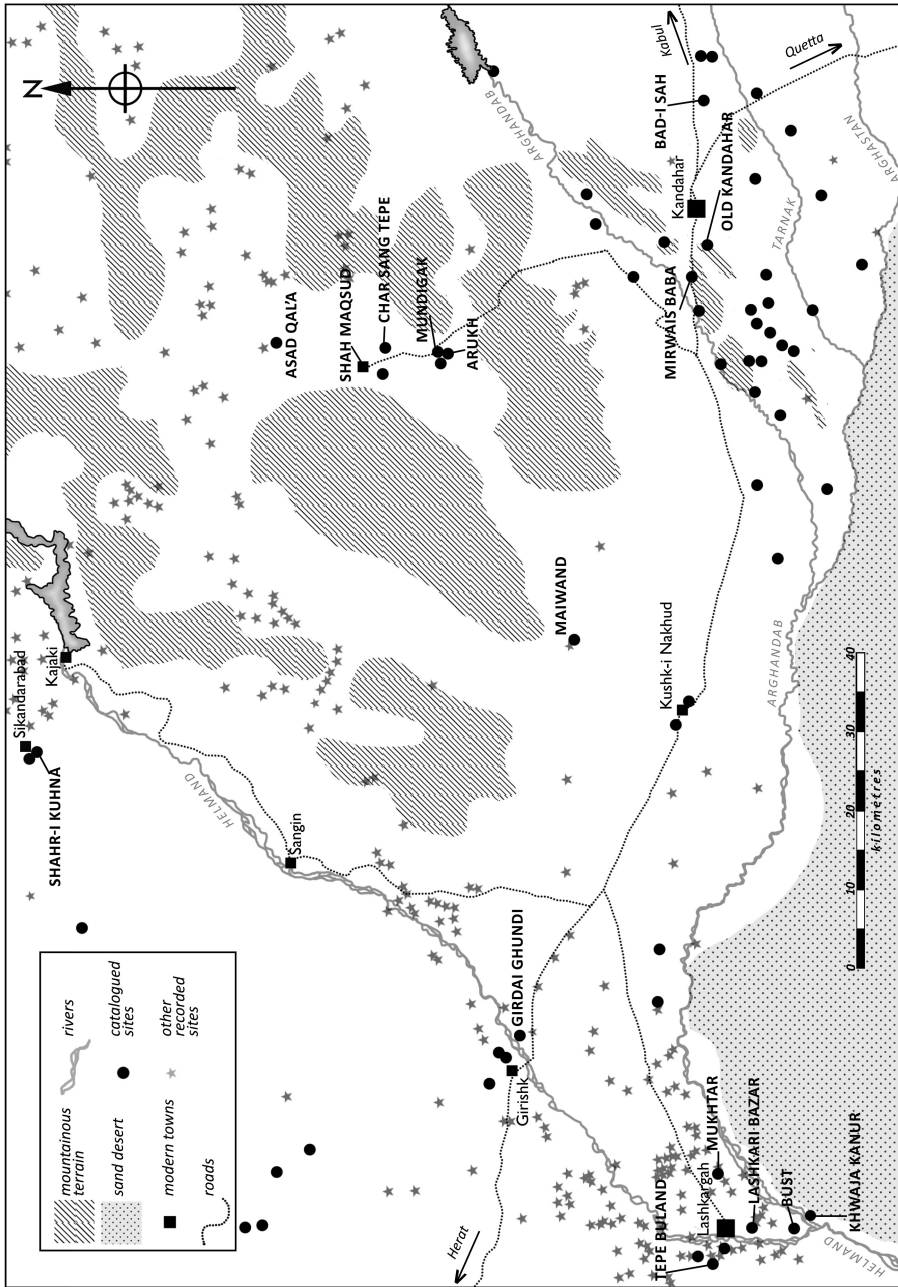


Figure 15.1 Map of the Kandahar region showing the main sites mentioned in the text (map drawn by Wendy Ball).

Seleukid Arachosia was a continuation of the Achaemenid satrapy (and Hellenisation of the name) of *Harahuvatiš*, adopted wholesale by Hellenistic rulers without territorial changes. The name survived as the Arabised *ar-Rukhkhaj*, the name applied to the district of Kandahar in the ninth and tenth centuries when it was a small principality ruled by a Turk or Hunnic dynasty known as the Ratbils (Minorsky, 1934; Bosworth, 1968, 34–5; Inaba, 2005). The Ratbils ruled in the Kandahar area for nearly 250 years until the Islamic conquest – indeed, Kandahar probably became their winter capital under the name of *ar-Rukhkhaj*. This seems to be confirmed by the first Islamic sources in the ninth and tenth centuries, which refer to a city of *ar-Rukhkhaj* as well as to a region (Bosworth, 1968, 35).

The boundaries of Arachosia were only ever loosely defined, mainly in relation to the other Achaemenid/Seleukid regions bordering it: Drangiana to the west, Sattagydia (or Paropamisus) to the north and Gedrosia to the south, corresponding approximately to Sistan, the Kabul region and Baluchistan respectively (See Vogelsang 1987, 186–187 for an overview of the relationship between these satrapies). To the north Arachosia incorporated the region of Ghazni and to the west the region around Bust. To the south it was bordered by the Rigistan Desert, and to the east it extended as far as the Indus according to some sources; in practice it probably did not extend further east than the Bolan Pass. Geographically, it can be defined as the region watered by the Helmand, Arghandab, Tarnak and Arghastan river systems (Figure 15.1; Adamec 1980).

The main city was Alexandria (or Alexandropolis) in Arachosia, almost certainly the site of old Kandahar, but Isidore of Charax names several more:

Beyond is Arachosia, 36 schoeni. And the Parthians call this White India; there are the city of Biyt and the city of Pharsana and the city of Chorochoad and the city of Demetrias; then Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia; it is Greek, and by it flows the river Arachotus. As far as this place the land is under the rule of the Parthians.

(Schoff 1914, Isidore *Parthian Stations*: 19)

Klaus Fischer (1989) identified ‘Biyt’ with Bust, but none of the others have been located. Assuming Isidore was describing a west–east itinerary, Pharsana might be located at Mukhtar or Khwaja Kanur to the north-west of Bust where Hellenistic remains and large quantities of material have been recorded. R. Schmitt (1986) suggested ‘Chorochoad’ to be a variation of the Achaemenid *Harahuvatiš*; we might locate it at or in the vicinity of Mundigak which had Achaemenid remains and where the name *Harahuvatiš* survives as *Arukh* (see below). Demetrias is presumably so named after its incorporation into the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom by Demetrius (Narain 2003, 34; Mac Dowall 2005, 197) and might be located near Girishk, where Parthian coins and a Hellenistic decorative fragment have been recorded. It must be emphasised that these identifications remain very tentative. All sites are discussed further below. The Arachotus corresponds to the Arghandab.

THE ACHAEMENID BACKGROUND

Since Seleukid Arachosia was little more than Achaemenid *Harahuvatiš* under a new (or even the previous) administration, some of the Achaemenid and Iron Age

background is essential to understand Hellenistic Arachosia. Indeed, Hellenistic Arachosia's main city, Kandahar, was defined by the Achaemenid city, of which it was a continuation. Excavations there revealed the existence of a major city with continuous occupation from the Iron Age through to late antiquity (Figures 15.2 and 15.3). (Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 522; McNicoll and Ball 1996; Helms 1997; although written before the final reports, the admirable summary by Vogelsang 1992, 255–261, who participated in the excavations, is also worth consulting. See also Fussman 2010.) The massive urban fortifications consisting of inner and outer defences in the form of a rectangle with ramparts 14 metres wide – a scale hitherto not seen in the region – were probably laid out in the Iron Age. These fortifications have been amply documented by a sectional cut through the ramparts in the north-western part of the city (C on plan, see Figure 15.3), and subsequently by excavations inside the south-western ramparts (NE), showing an almost continuous programme of rebuilding and strengthening from the Iron Age to late antiquity. David Whitehouse (in McNicoll and Ball 1996, 23) initially suggested that the scale of such building might be explained by the regional centre moving from Mundigak to Kandahar, a plausible explanation given the decline of Mundigak in this period. Raymond Allchin (1989, 14–15) remarks that it appears older than any other Early Historic city known in South Asia, thus marking the beginning of a tradition of large fortified urban areas that subsequently spread through South Asia during the first millennium BC. It also appears older than any Iranian tradition of fortifications, although whether it can be related to the older Central Asian urban fortified tradition (Francfort 1979a) is uncertain. It might mark the arrival of new people in the region, bringing about the decline of Mundigak. Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky (1992) have emphasised the



Figure 15.2 View of the site of Old Kandahar (photo: W. Ball).

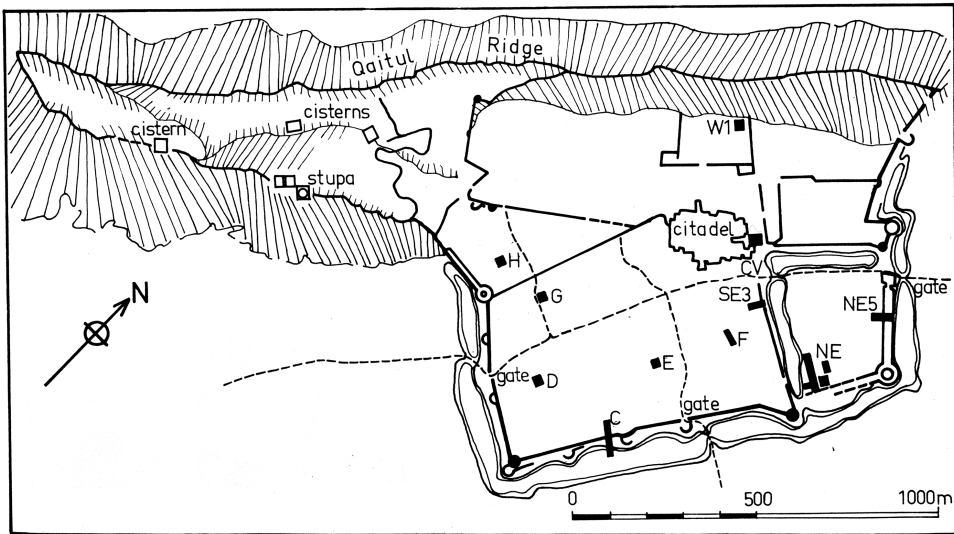


Figure 15.3 Plan of the excavations at Kandahar (from Ball 1982).

key role of the Indo-Iranian borderland region in the Indo-Aryan migrations from Central Asia. The occurrence of the large-scale fortified city of Kandahar – still not accurately dated within the broad time span of the Iron Age – as possibly marking these migrations can neither be substantiated nor ignored.

The city was considerably rebuilt and enlarged in the Achaemenid period, when the massive citadel was probably built, as well as several inner lines of ramparts dividing the city into quarters. The excavations also uncovered some fragmentary Elamite accounting tablets that are near identical to corresponding Persepolis fortification tablets, also Elamite – indeed, the tablets and other documents referring to Arachosia at Persepolis are the richest in the archive. Although very fragmentary, the Kandahar tablets almost certainly formed part of an archive there and confirm the identity of Kandahar as the Achaemenid satrapal capital of Harahuvatis (Helms 1997, 101; Fisher and Stolper 2015), a supposition supported by the substantial programme of rebuilding and enlargement. An underlying overall urban plan dating from the Achaemenid period that determined the orientation of subsequent building has also been discerned (Ball in McNicoll and Ball 1996, 392–393).

The massive fortifications and citadel, careful urban layout, together with the discovery of Elamite texts, leaves little doubt that Kandahar was one of the main centres of Persian power in the east, hence a logical location for an Alexandrine refoundation. This is further amplified by the pottery for this period, where ‘the identifiable external influences are traced to the Iranian plateau, rather than to the Indian sub-continent’ in the words of David Fleming (in McNicoll and Ball 1996, 370). Fleming further emphasises that ‘Kandahar is the only excavated site between Seistan and the northern Indus region that has yielded evidence of a western Iranian settlement south of the Hindu Kush in the mid-first millennium BC.’

The name of the satrapal capital of Harahuvatis/Arachosia survived in the Islamic sources as *ar-Rukhkhaj* as we have noted, surviving today as the minor village of

Arukh 55 kilometres north-west of Kandahar. Remains there are too minor and too late for it to have been a satrapal capital, but three kilometres to the north is the major site of Mundigak, which does have some Achaemenid material in its latest period of occupation (Ball 1982 and 2019, Sites 55 and 56; Ball in McNicoll and Ball 1996, 393–394). Given the survival of the name at Arukh nearby, it could be that Mundigak was the original Achaemenid Harahuvatis, possibly corresponding to Isidore's Chorochoad which approximates to the same name.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Field-work

Arachosia is a particularly rich region archaeologically. It includes the major excavated sites of Tepe Sardar, Ghazni, Mundigak, Kandahar and Lashkari Bazar/Bust, of which Kandahar is the main one for the period under discussion. (For bibliographies see Ball 1982 and 2019, Sites 1180, 358, 743, 522, 685 and 149.) Other excavated sites include Deh Morasi Ghundai, Sa'id Qal'a Tepe and Shamshir Ghar near Kandahar (although none revealed Hellenistic remains; Ball 1982 and 2019, Sites 287, 968 and 1069), but the region also includes a particularly large number of other recorded (but unexcavated) sites (Figure 15.1; Ball 1982 Maps 121–127, 132–137 and 142; Maps 75–81, 86–91 and 99 in the 2019 edition). However, with the possible exception of Italian surveys to the west of Ghazni (which was mainly concerned with recording Buddhist rock-cut monuments; Verardi 1977, Verardi and Paparatti 2004), the region has never been subject to systematic surveys. Jean-Marie Casal carried out a sporadic survey in 1951 (focussing on prehistoric sites) when selecting Mundigak for excavations, and similar sporadic surveys were carried out by Stuart Swiny and David Whitehouse in 1974 as part of the first season of excavations at Kandahar. In both cases, sherds were collected and the sites recorded but never published; the sherds were subsequently examined and dated in 1979 by Jean-Claude Gardin and Bertille Lyonnet and published in Ball 1982. However, the approximately 130 archaeological sites thus numbered and catalogued in Arachosia represents only a very small fraction of those noted on large-scale maps and recorded from aerial and satellite images: compare, for example, the numbered (catalogued) sites marked on Maps 125 and 126 in Ball 1982 (Maps 79 and 80 in the 2019 edition) with those known from map sources (although many of these might be simply deserted settlements of comparatively modern date; see also Fig. 1).

More recently, Arachosia has been subject to three separate intensive archaeological surveys using satellite imagery. The first, by Antoinette Egitto (2013), focussed on a 12 × 22 (N-S × E-W) kilometre area in Maiwand district. The second, by David Thomas and Fiona Kidd (2017; Thomas also examined previously known sites in the Ghazni region by satellite imagery: see Thomas 2015), examined a 12 × 60 kilometre north–south strip extending into the Rigistan Desert south of the Arghandab River between Kandahar and Lashkargah. The third, by Kathryn Franklin and Emily Hammer (2018), examined a 30 × 50 (E-W × N-S) kilometre area in the Spin Boldak district to the east of Kandahar on the Pakistan border.² Of these, Egitto (2013, Appendix C) recorded 105 'archaeological features,' only three of which had previously been catalogued in Ball 1982 and 2019 (Features 29 and 30–32, corresponding

to Sites 962 and 659 in Ball 1982); Thomas and Kidd identified 831 previously unrecorded ‘pre-modern’ sites, and Franklin and Hammer recorded 2683 ‘sites and features’ where only two had been catalogued before (Sites 1108 and 699 in Ball 1982 and 2019). Such archaeological ‘field-work’ is increasingly used in conflict areas where ground surveys are impossible, and only made feasible in recent years by the availability of previously classified high resolution satellite images. As the above demonstrates it can yield a huge body of information, recording an astonishing amount of settlement in areas that are, at best, marginal, such as Spin Boldak, or, at worst, previously thought impossible to sustain settlement, such as the Rigistan sand desert. The obvious drawback is that in most cases it cannot provide dates.³ However, it does demonstrate the immense archaeological potential that Arachosia holds, for the Hellenistic period as for others. We can now examine sites more specific to the Hellenistic.

Old Kandahar

The key site for the period under discussion is, of course, the old city of Kandahar known as Shahr-i Kuhna (also known as Zur Shahr and Taqinabad, reflecting the Hunnic and Turk history of the site; see Ball 1988) some three kilometres to the west of the modern city (Figures 15.2 and 15.3), a large urban site at the foot of a precipitous ridge. It is surrounded by massive outer fortification walls and a ditch, while interior secondary walls divide the site into nine quarters. Occupation is up to eight metres deep, but the site is heavily eroded and robbed in most places. The site is dominated by a massive citadel mound, approximately 30 metres high. In addition, there is an immense extramural necropolis of tumuli, several times larger than the city itself, stretching southwards along the foot of the ridge (although of two tumuli excavated, both were Islamic).

This was the first site in Afghanistan to produce important inscriptions in Greek. The first was the bilingual Greek and Aramaic inscription of the third century BC discovered in 1958 giving the text of one of the Emperor Aśoka’s pious proclamations (Figure 15.4). It was set up outside the city to the north at the foot of the ridge forming the western boundary of the city, and so designed to be seen by passers-by on the main route leading to the west (Schlumberger et al., 1958; Falk 2006, 242–243). The second was an inscription in Greek discovered in 1963, probably from inside the city (Figure 15.5; Schlumberger, 1964, 126–140; Benveniste, 1964, 137–157; Falk 2006, 244–245; see Rougemont 2012a, 165–182 for full texts, translations and a discussion of these and other Greek inscriptions from Kandahar, and Mairs 2011a for a bibliography). The text gives Edict XII and part of Edict XIII of Aśoka, inscribed on a limestone block. It has been suggested that this was part of a monument containing the emperor’s other edicts (also in Greek?). At about the same time another Aśokan edict inscription, this time only in Aramaic, was purchased in the Kandahar bazaar (Benveniste and Dupont-Sommer, 1966, 437–465; Falk 2006, 246).

Several more accidental discoveries in and around Kandahar seemed to confirm a strong – albeit elusive – Hellenistic presence. A number of possible Graeco-Bactrian seals were found on the site in the nineteenth century (Conolly 1840). A bronze sarcophagus or coffin (described by Dupree 1977, 287, as ‘two coffins’ joined together or by Bernard 2005, 27, as ‘two bath tubs’ joined together) was discovered close to

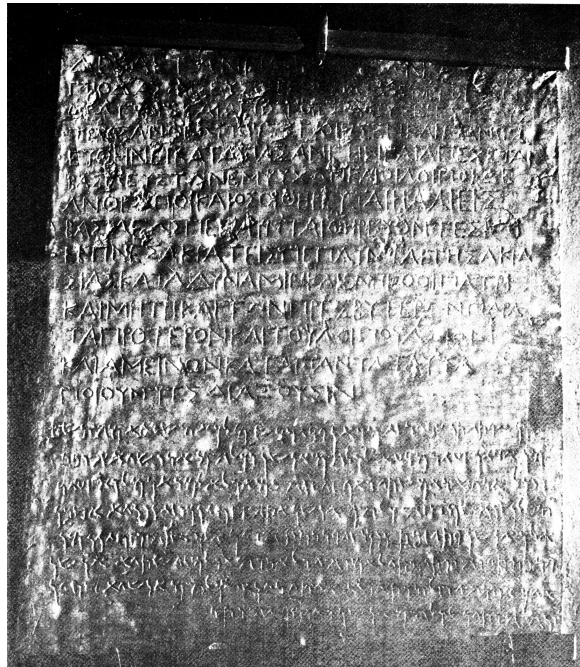


Figure 15.4 The 1958 Greek and Aramaic inscription.

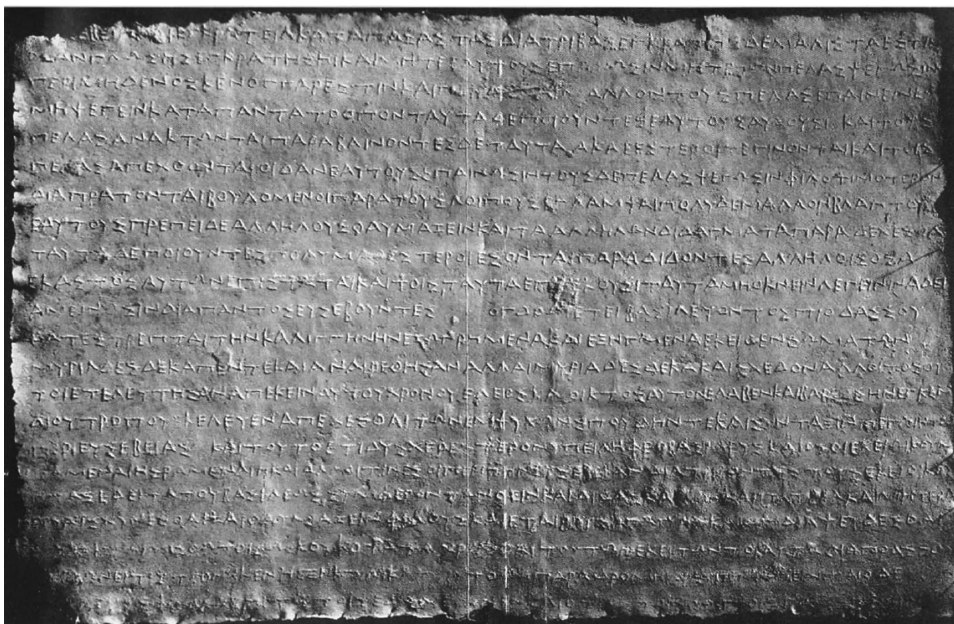


Figure 15.5 The 1963 Greek Aśokan edicts.

the site in 1934, containing a glazed funerary urn with human bones inside and a silver urn, both decorated with gold garlands and brought to the Kandahar Museum (Figure 15.9). A photo of the two urns was published in the Afghan annual yearbook, *Sālnāma* (1934/35, opposite p. 128) and reproduced in Scerrato 1980, Fig. 11, and Bernard 2005, Fig. 10. The glazed urn was identified by Bertille Lyonnet (Bernard 2005, 28 n. 17) as an import from Parthian Mesopotamia dating to the end of the second to the beginning of the first century BC. This urn and the sarcophagus were later photographed by Paul Bernard (2005, Figs. 7 and 8), by which time the gold garlands had disappeared from the museum according to Nancy Dupree (1977, 288). It seems odd that a sarcophagus would contain such urns, but according to Louis Dupree (Bernard 2005, 28 n. 17) this could not be definitely confirmed, only that they were associated together.

At the modern cemetery and shrine of Mirwais Baba on the Herat road eight kilometres west of Kandahar, the remains of a tomb was uncovered decorated with ‘terracotta pythons’ and described briefly in a footnote by Umberto Scerrato (1958, 6 n. 10; Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 726). Confusingly, he described the two funerary urns above as coming from this site, and originally enclosed in two marble ossuaries (Figure 15.10); no mention was made of the sarcophagus. Scerrato published the urns and ossuaries more fully in 1980, again not associating them with the sarcophagus. Bernard, who makes no mention of the ossuaries, interprets the urns in terms of Greek culture; Scerrato regards them as a part of Zoroastrian tradition. To these can be added two silver Indo-Greek coins of Apollodotos I and Menander and a copper coin of Eukratides in the Kandahar Museum which may be assumed to have come from the site (Mac Dowall and Ibrahim 1978, 67, 71). The 1953 Indian Archaeological Mission also reported coins of Pantaleon, Eukratides and Menander (Ramachandran and Sharma 1956, III 11–12). Scerrato (1958, 6 n. 10) also mentions coins of Antimachos and Eukratides as well as a terracotta disc stamped with the image of Menander in the Kandahar Museum. Hence, before the discovery of Ai Khanoum, such accidental finds, together with the inscriptions, made Kandahar the prime candidate for evidence of Greeks in Afghanistan.

With the subsequent discovery and excavation of Ai Khanoum, archaeological interest in the Hellenistic period was focussed on Bactria, but the evidence of the Greek inscriptions was one of the main reasons for excavations by the British Institute of Afghan Studies between 1974 and 1978. The chronology of the separate periods recognised is based almost solely on the ceramics and (for the later periods), on coins; it is unfortunate that there are no radiocarbon dates (although the excavations were planned to continue after 1978). In 1978 another Greek inscription was discovered, the only one to come from controlled excavations at Kandahar (Fig 6). However, it was from a secondary context reused in a wall, hence of minimal value stratigraphically (Fraser 1979; Helms 1997, 101; Rougemont 2012a, 165–6).⁴ It was an inscribed statue base on white marble that contained four lines of badly worn text and appears to commemorate the escape from a wild beast attack by a certain ‘son of Aristonax,’ probably dating between 300 and 250 BC, with a preference towards the earlier date. It seems odd to commemorate such an event monumentally in a (presumably public) inscription and assumed statue, unless Aristonax was a very important person. To this can be added two brief Greek texts on sherds (Helms 1997, 101–102).

1 ΘΗΡΟΣΑ ΤΗΣΑΤΟΔΕΕΙΣΤΕΜΙ.ΟΣ
 2 ΥΙΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΑΚΤΟΣΑΛΕΞ ΛΕΙΝΑΣΤΟΙΣ
 3 ΚΑΙΞΩΤΗΡΟΣΕΜΟΥΤ Ο(?)Ξ
 ? 4 mc. Μ(?)ΝΙ) Δ ΕΝ(?) mc.

Figure 15.6 The ‘Aristonax’ inscription (after Helms 1997).

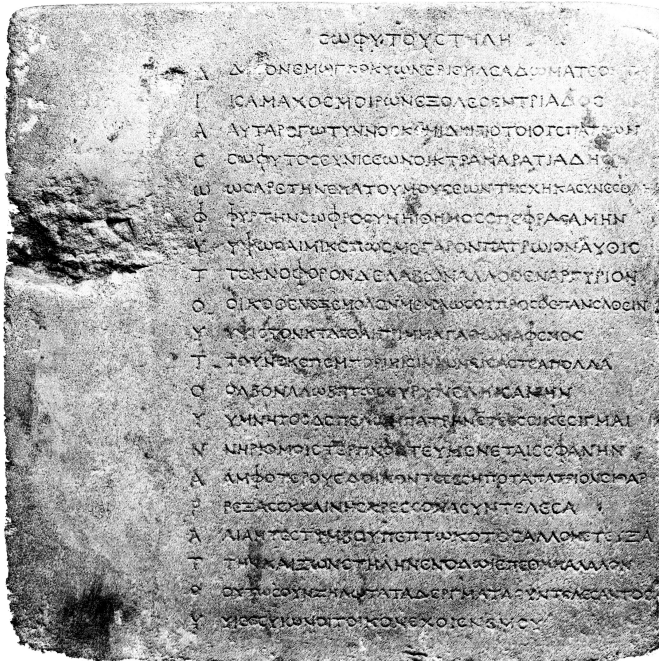


Figure 15.7 The ‘Sophytos’ inscription (private collection, by kind permission of the owner).

Another Greek inscription appeared on the international antiquities market in the early 2000s that originally came from Kandahar (Fig 7; Bernard, Pinault and Rougemont 2004; see also Mairs 2014, 103–117). It is on a square block of white limestone measuring 62 × 62 × 12.5 centimetres, and contains 22 lines in perfect Greek dated broadly to the second century BC. The inscription is a funerary epitaph commemorating one Sophytos son of Naratos who, after leaving his home (presumably Kandahar), returned having made his fortune and restored the family home and mausoleum. Its peculiarity lies in the nature of the names ‘Sophytos’ and ‘Naratos’ (or Narates), neither of which are Greek despite the linguistic quality of the inscription. Both have been interpreted as well-attested Indian names, the Prakrit forms of which are ‘Subhūti’ and ‘Narada’. This adds to the increasing evidence that while Kandahar is probably Alexandria Arachosia, it was a city of mixed Indian and Greek identity. (More on identity is discussed below). Paul Bernard (2005, 30–32), one of

the scholars who originally published the inscription, cautiously interprets Sophytos (with many a caveat) as a descendant of the mysterious fourth–third century BC King Sophytos, whose coins have been found north of the Hindu Kush, an interpretation doubted by Gérard Fussman (2010, 476). Richard Stoneman (2019, 390) suggests that Sophytos might have been a descendant of another king, Sopeithes, whom Alexander encountered.

Despite the promise held by the Greek inscriptions, the excavations at Kandahar proved elusive for the Hellenistic period (Ball 1982 and 2009, Site 522; McNicoll and Ball 1996; Helms 1997). To some extent this was due to the heavy overburden of later periods that made any access to the Hellenistic levels problematic. Excavation was also exacerbated by considerable robbing of the site – indeed, most of the site was heavily pitted. But the excavations did confirm continual occupation from the Achaemenid through the Hellenistic to late antiquity without discernible interruption. It can be assumed therefore that it remained a major city throughout the Hellenistic period, even though nothing definably *Greek* (apart from the inscriptions and the few coins) was found: no columns, capitals or other architectural fragments, for example, such as can be found north of the Hindu Kush; no evidence of Attic standard measurements, such is found at Barikot (Olivieri, this volume); no gymnasium, theatre, temple, agora or other standard trappings of a Greek *polis*: an ‘Arachosian mirage’?

In the excavations, the ‘Hellenistic’ period (to adopt McNicoll’s 1978, 43 caution in imagining all period names in inverted commas) was identified almost solely by the pottery (Period III in McNicoll and Ball 1996, following Whitehouse’s 1978 initial periodisation; ‘Epoch II’ in Helms 1997). It must be emphasised, however, that (a) virtually all of the pottery was local, i.e., not ‘Greek’, and (b) the styles were characterised by continuity with the periods both before and after. Hence McNicoll’s cautionary note above and Whitehouse’s uncertainty, identifying the Hellenistic period only because it was ‘later than Period II ... which may be Achaemenid’ (Whitehouse in McNicoll and Ball 1996, 24). Not a lot to go on. The only exception were five very abraded black-gloss sherds found out of context in 1974 which the excavator concluded were Greek imports from the west (Figure 15.8 ; Whitehouse in McNicoll and Ball 1996, 25–26, Fig. 40). This is as little evidence for Greek colonists in Kandahar as Chinese ceramics in eighteenth century England is of Chinese colonists. Otherwise the pottery is characterised by the ubiquitous spiral or horizontal burnishing, which first appeared in the Achaemenid period and continued throughout antiquity until nearly the end of the first millennium AD when it dominated all other fine ware types almost to the exclusion of everything else, often with little discernible variation. Hellenistic spiral-burnished vessels, however, tend to have plainer and simpler forms than later variants, while the earlier variants are usually wavy line and radial burnishes. More distinctive Hellenistic shapes are recognised in the in-curving bowls, the ‘fish plates’ (which may be a western borrowing), the everted shallow bowls and plates, and the rounded bowls, many hundreds of which were found at Ai Khanoum. Unburnished forms included ‘unguent bottles’ and jars with thin S-shaped profiles. The high ring-bases that are so characteristic of Graeco-Bactrian forms north of the Hindu Kush are absent (Figure 15.11; Ball in McNicoll and Ball 1996, 394–39).

Other than the pottery, the only small finds were a possibly ‘Greek’ style terracotta female figurine from a Hellenistic context (Figure 15.12; McNicoll and Ball 1996, 149, 274, Fig. 219) and a rear view of a possibly ‘Greek’ style relief

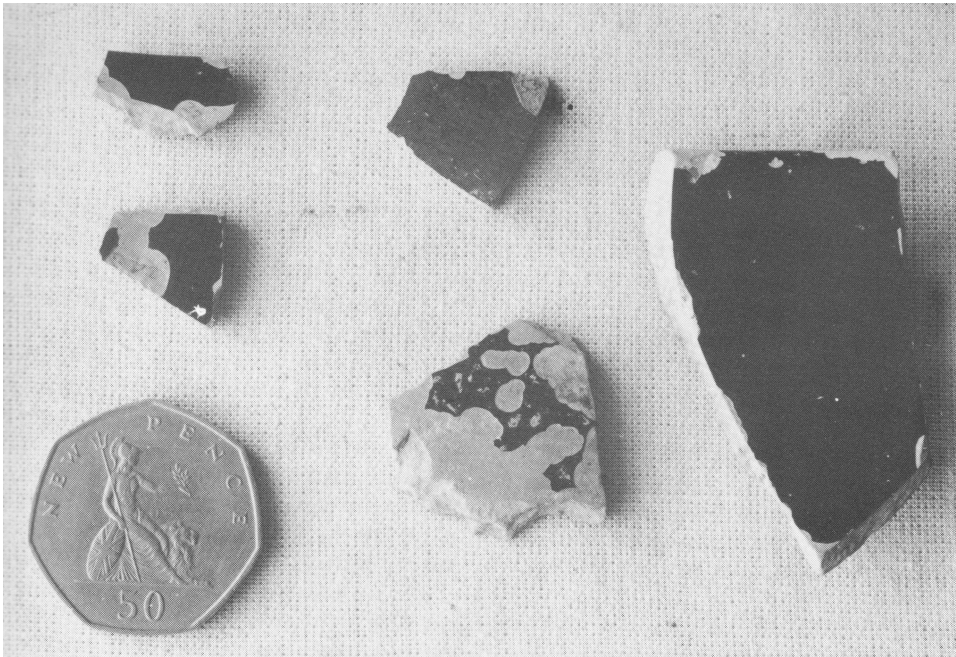


Figure 15.8 The imported Greek sherds from Kandahar (after Whitehouse 1978).



Figure 15.9 Funerary urns from Kandahar (after Salnama 1924/5).

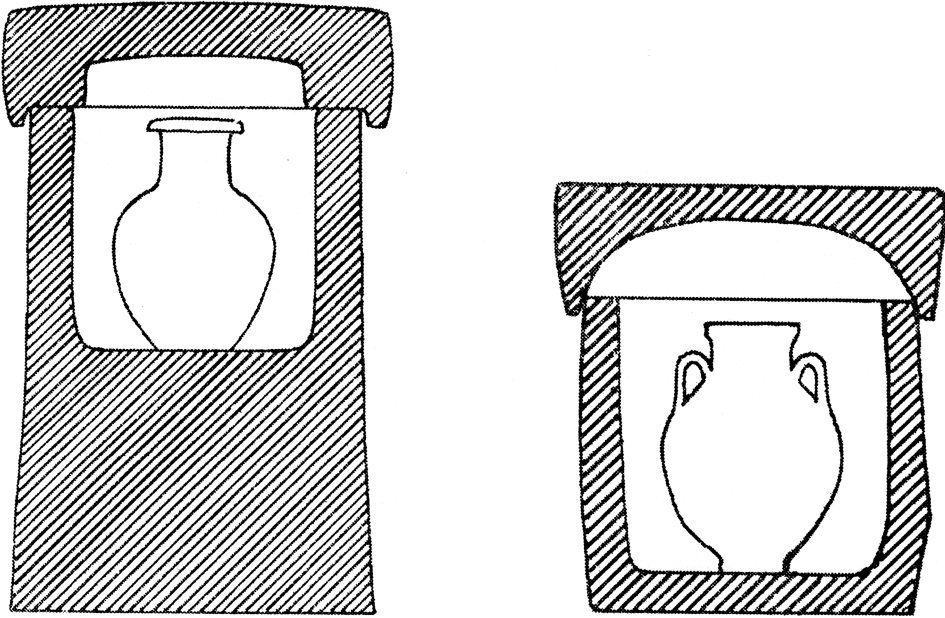


Figure 15.10 Funerary urns and ossuaries from near Kandahar (after Scerrato 1980).

of a nude female stamped on a baked clay disc (Figure 15.13; Helms 1997, 107, Fig. 225). This might be a seal impression, very similar to a ‘dancing maenad’ found at Seleukia on the Tigris (Invernizzi 2004, type MnD4: 151; I am grateful to Henri-Paul Francfort for this observation and reference). It is also similar to many scenes depicted on the so-called ‘toilet trays’ from Gandhāra: see, for example, Francfort 1979b: Pls IV, V, IX. Coins hardly take us any further in identifying a Greek presence at Kandahar. From the 1975 season there was a copper coin of Antiochos III from a topsoil context, a copper coin of Euthydemus I and a copper coin of Eukratides, both from Hellenistic contexts (Mac Dowall in McNicoll and Ball 1996, 305, Figs 220.1, 223.2, 224.1). From the 1976–78 seasons came a coin of Hermaios and one of Alexander (Helms 1997, 96). To these can be added the few museum and accidental coin finds mentioned above.

Kandahar has been associated with Alexander and identified with Alexandria in Arachosia since the nineteenth century (Court 1836) – indeed, the name itself was once thought to be derived from ‘Alexander’ (Afghan ‘Sikandar’), and ‘looking for Alexander’ (or at least for Greeks) was one of the motives behind the British excavations there as we have observed. ‘Kandahar’ (or *Qandahār*, قندهار in Persian/Dari) however has long been demonstrated to be a corruption of ‘Gandhara’, a name that was applied to no less than seven quite separate localities in Asia from Afghanistan to Cambodia in the Islamic sources. The name in its Islamic context is probably a corruption of the Persian *qand-vihāra*, meaning ‘city (or fortress) of the [Buddhist] monastery’ (although ‘Gandara’ in the Old Persian inscriptions might have a separate derivation; Ball 1988. See also Bernard 1974b).

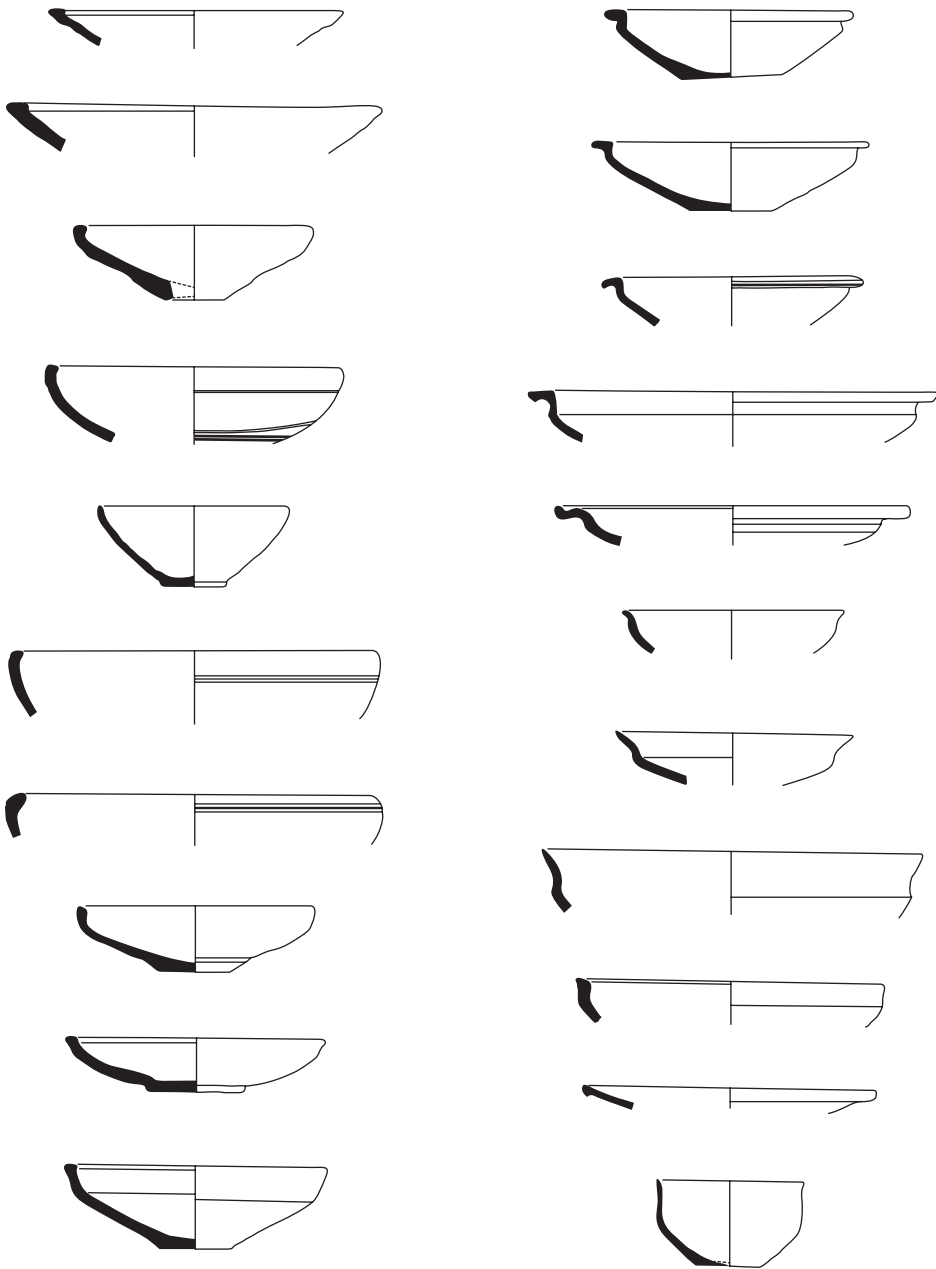


Figure 15.11 Hellenistic pottery from Kandahar (after McNicoll & Ball 1996).

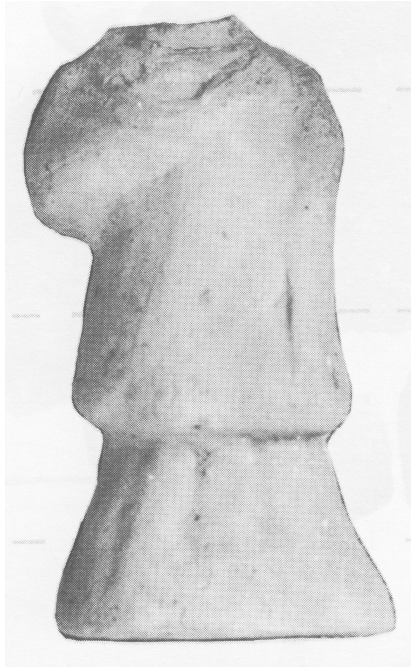


Figure 15.12 Hellenistic terracotta statuette from Kandahar (after McNicoll & Ball 1996).

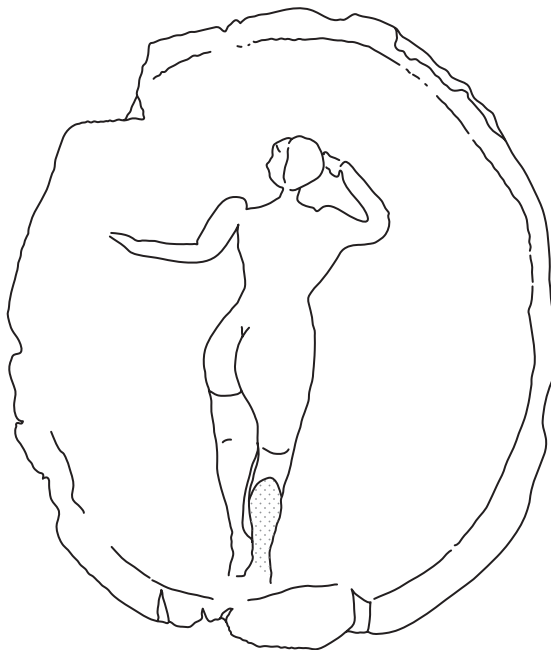


Figure 15.13 Hellenistic plaque from Kandahar (after Helms 1997).

The Kandahar region

Peter Fraser (1996, 133) comments that ‘there is no peg in the literary wardrobe on which to hang an Alexandria of Arachosia founded by Alexander.’ Nevertheless, the inscriptions, together with the archaeological urban continuity from the Achaemenid period through to late antiquity, make the identification of Old Kandahar with Alexandria in Arachosia highly probable, (albeit not founded by Alexander). In this context it is worth mentioning that a separate ‘Alexandria’ (and another ‘Shahr-i Kuhna’) exists in Kandahar Province: the site of Shahr-i Kuhna associated with the village of Sikandarabad (‘Alexandria’) just to its north, near the right bank of the Helmand some 120 kilometres north-west of Kandahar. It is a large urban site comprising a citadel and lower town surrounded by ramparts – similar to and not much smaller than Kandahar itself (Figure 15.14; Ball 1988, 132–4; Ball Site 1047; Thomas 2018, fig. 602). Local tradition associates the founding of the city with Darius according to a nineteenth century report, although no material earlier than the tenth century was noted during a very superficial observation of the surface pottery (although this does not preclude earlier material); the site might be identified with the medieval town of Zamindawar. Of course, the name ‘Sikandarabad’ does not necessarily have any association with Alexander: ‘Sikandar’, the modern Afghan version of Alexander, is a not an uncommon name in Afghanistan.⁵

Hellenistic material has been identified elsewhere in Arachosia. It was recorded to the east of Kandahar at Bad-i Sah Ghundai (Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 73). Further north at Ulan Rabat, near Shahjui on the main road about halfway between Kandahar and Ghazni, a mound and associated ruins in a square enclosure wall (that includes



Figure 15.14 The site of Shahr-i Kuhna/Sikandarabad (photo: W. Ball).

a ruined mud-brick pillar) had fourth to first century BC material on the surface (as well as Indo-Parthian and Sasanian), which Henry Rawlinson in 1842 identified with Alexandria Arachosia (Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 1211, with references). Tarn's location of Alexandria Arachosia at Ghazni itself has long been discarded: no pre-Islamic remains have been identified at Ghazni by the Italian excavators, and the earliest date for Tepe Sardar nearby is Kushan (Verardi 2010). Ghazni has been identified with Ortospa in the classical sources (Rapin and Grenet 2018), but as with identifying it with Alexandria Arachosia, no early remains have been recorded at Ghazni.

At Char Sang Tepe seven kilometres north of Mundigak, third to first century BC Hellenistic (as well as Indo-Parthian and early Islamic) material was found on a circular mound approximately 100 metres in diameter and 17 metres in height. Many fragments of ancient worked marble have been recorded at the nearby major shrine of Shah Maqsud, and an ancient lead and zinc mine was recorded at Asad Qal'a further north (Ball 1982 and 2019, Sites 180, 57 and 1028). With the (admittedly scanty) Achaemenid remains at Mundigak itself, together with the survival of the name Arukhkhaj/Arachosia/Harahuvatish at the site of Arukh nearby and its possible Hellenisation as Chorochoad in the region, Mundigak is almost as good a candidate for Achaemenid Harahuvatish as Kandahar is. Or might Harahuvatish itself (or its earlier variant) be a survival of the Bronze Age name of Mundigak?

Evidence of Achaemenid remains has been recorded at the massive citadel mound of Qal'a-i Bust. Surface collections of the pottery and the accidental discovery of a stone weight with an inscription in Old Persian confirms an Achaemenid presence there. This has also led to speculation of Zoroastrian associations of the site, possibly identified with the location of ancient *Bigis* or *Biyt* in the sources (Gnoli 1967, 78–79; Trousdale 1968; Ball 1982 and 2009, Site 149; Fischer 1989; Rapin 2017). A sondage was excavated in the lower town area and a cut made through the outer rampart during the French excavations at adjacent Lashkari Bazar, but no material earlier than the ninth century AD recovered (Gardin 1963). However, a survey in the 1970s by William Trousdale recovered considerable 'Parthian period' (broadly) material from the surface (Allen and Trousdale 2017 and personal communication).

Significant Hellenistic material has been found in the vicinity of Bust. At Tepe Buland on the right bank of the Helmand to the north-west of Lashkari Bazar a series of mounds were covered in second century BC to seventh century AD pottery (Ball 1982 and 2009, Site 1163). At Mukhtar (or Mokhatar), to the north of Bust alongside the Lashkargah road, a large 'Hellenistic temple' constructed on a high, stepped, artificial platform was reported by William Trousdale. Although known since the nineteenth century, astonishingly this important site has never been properly investigated (Bellew 1874, 170; Adamec 1973, 2, 204; Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 736; Trousdale personal communication; Allen and Trousdale 2017). At Khwaja Kanur on the south bank of the Arghandab, just above the confluence with the Helmand and a short distance from Mukhtar, both Klaus Fischer and William Trousdale recorded the very eroded foundations of a sanctuary covered in limestone fluted columns and balustrade fragments, thousands of terracotta figurines, together with fragments of a large terracotta frieze of Hellenised busts and acanthus leaves (although many of the fragments might have come from Mukhtar according to Trousdale). The more than 5000 artefacts reported to have come from this site are now in the hands of a private collector (Fischer et al., 1974–76, 30–31; Trousdale 1976, 58; Ball

1982 and 2019, Sites 597 and 736; Allen and Trousdale 2017 and personal communication). Further north near Girishk on the main road between Kandahar and Herat a fragment of terracotta egg-and-dart decoration was picked up and handed to the Kandahar excavations in 1977 (Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 378). Near Maiwand to the north-west satellite imagery recorded four possible column bases arranged in a five metre square that has been compared to similar arrangements of column bases at Surkh Kotal and Durman Tepe (Egitto, 366, Feature 7a), and Achaemenid material has been observed at the site of Maiwand (Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 698). A survey by Norman Hammond in 1966 down the Helmand recorded some half dozen more sites containing Hellenistic material (Hammond 1970; Ball 1982 and 2019, Sites 938, 1163). Clearly, while Ai Khanoum still remains (and will probably remain) unique, Bactria no longer has the monopoly of Hellenistic remains and one might expect further major discoveries from Hellenistic Arachosia in future.

DRANGIANA

The main Early Historic urban site in Afghan Sistan is the vast site of Nad-i Ali. Also known as Shahr-i Sistan or Zaranj (derived from Achaemenid *Zranka*, Hellenistic Drangiana), Nad-i Ali is probably the site of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic capital. It consists of massive fortification walls enclosing an irregular area of remains. These include the high artificial mounds of Safid Dagh and Surkh Dagh. Excavations at the latter were carried out by Roman Ghirshman in 1936 and again by George Dales in 1968, with mixed results. A virtually continuous sequence was revealed from the Bronze Age through to the Early Islamic period, including Seleukid-Parthian material from the fourth to the first centuries BC. Remains included an Iron Age ‘massive monument’ of uncertain function which has since been re-dated to the Bronze Age (Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 752 for a bibliography).

An alternative candidate for the site of Achaemenid *Zranka* is the equally large or larger urban site of Dahan-i Ghulaman in Iranian Sistan, where Italian excavations in the 1960s, supplemented by further Iranian investigations in the 2000s, recorded important Achaemenid monumental remains. However, the site was abandoned after probably a century and a half and was not occupied during the Hellenistic period (Gnoli 1993; Cocca et al., 2014).

In 1961 and 1962 Umberto Scerrato excavated twelve soundings at the citadel of Qal’a-i Tepe, 15 kilometres north-east of Zabul in Iranian Sistan. Material was recorded from the Hellenistic third century BC through to the mid-Islamic period. In 1964 some trenches were also excavated at the huge citadel of Qal’a-i Sam, 27 kilometres south-west of Zabul, with some late Seleukid material recorded in one of the trenches that included some Greek ostraca (Maresca 2016; Rougemont 2012a, no. 79–80, 163–4).

In the middle of the dunes, 86 kilometres south-east of Nad-i Ali, is a vast area of remains and ancient cultivation stretching for several hundred square kilometres across the large field of sand dunes known as Sar-o Tar. The Smithsonian Helmand-Sistan Project identified approximately 150 sites from the Iron Age (late second to early first millennium BC) through to the Timurid period in this region. The area was densely settled with farms in Parthian and Sasanian times with remains of an extensive canal system dated to the first century BC. The main part is the remains of

Shahr-i Ghulghula, a large fortified urban site covering approximately a square kilometre surrounded by a series of three, probably later, concentric walls. Excavations at the main citadel showed that the Islamic structures were built upon a foundation of Parthian and Sasanian remains. Finds from the area include many Parthian coins (Ball 1982 and 2019, Site 1006 for bibliography).

In 1975 William Trousdale carried out excavations at the mound of Lat Qal'a in Sistan. It is a steep sided mound with a late fort on top, with a relatively continuous occupation from the early first millennium BC through to the Ghaznavid, including Hellenistic (William Trousdale personal communication)⁶

Achaemenid Hellenistic pottery was also collected by a British Mission in 1966 both in Sistan and further upstream in the Helmand valley, although apparently in extremely small quantity (Hammond, 1970), as well as by surveys in the same area by the Smithsonian project between 1970 and 1974. Another US survey by Marc Abramiuk in 2011 revealed more information on this area, although no Hellenistic material has been reported (Abramiuk 2017).

Further up the Helmand at Khwaja Sehyaka the Smithsonian Helmand-Sistan Project excavated the remains of a large Hellenistic sanctuary and associated structures in 1975. According to a good ceramic sequence, as well as radiocarbon dating (so far unpublished), the site dated from the late third century BC to the late third century AD. Objects recovered from a well included inscriptions in Aramaic and Greek script, carved stucco, gold leaf probably from a wooden coffer, and 'Classical style' architectural fragments in white limestone and carved brick. The site was probably abandoned at the beginning of the Sasanian period (Allen and Trousdale 2017 and personal communication).

In the northern part of Drangiana, Marc Le Berre and Jean-Claude Gardin recorded Hellenistic material at the massive citadel at Farah Bala Hisar and the low mound of Gaskin 11 kilometres further north. The citadel of Farah is comparatively modern, but the mound on which it stands is presumably ancient (Ball 1982 and 2019, Sites 318 and 340). It has been identified with Phrada-Prophthasia in the Classical sources, with Farah suggested to be a derivation of 'Phrada-Phra' (Fraser 1996, 123–130).

AREIA

The identification of Alexandria in Arachosia with Kandahar might be unproven but is at least probable given the accumulated evidence. The identification of Alexandria Areia with Herat (or the Herat area), long assumed, is far more elusive – in fact Alexandria Areia is not recorded by the Alexander historians and they make no mention of a new foundation (Fraser 1996, 108–120; Vogelsang 2003). The name from which Herat derives first enters recorded history as *Haraiva* in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions and archives,⁷ the name of the Achaemenid satrapy, becoming *Areia* in the Greek sources, with the satrapal capital known as Artacoana. The largely Timurid citadel of Herat rests on a massive artificial mound which has long been assumed to be the site of the Hellenistic regional capital of Alexandria Areia and founded by Alexander of Macedon. Recent excavations in the citadel by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, as well as excavations by the DAFA at the mound of Kuhandaj in the old city, revealed for the first time definite evidence for Iron Age and Achaemenid settlement at Herat, confirmed by a series of radiocarbon

dates ranging from the ninth to the fifth centuries BC. The fortress of Achaemenid Artacoana therefore can now probably be identified with the citadel mound, with the settlement at Kuhandaj, the two perhaps linked by a circular rampart (hinted at by Pliny (vi. 61), who describes Artacoana as having a circumference of 30 *stades*; Fraser 1996, 110), a plan characteristic of Achaemenid period walled settlements in Bactria – provisionally proposed by Frantz Grenet (Franke 2015; Franke and Urban 2017; in general see also Francfort 1979a and Gardin 1998).

However, after the fifth century there is a gap until the Sasanian period: ‘the long gap in between’ in the words of the main excavator (Franke in Franke and Urban 2017, 744–745). Of Hellenistic Areia, there is not a trace: an ‘Areian mirage’ that makes any supposed ‘Bactrian mirage’ solid in comparison. Even if Alexandria Areia was a new foundation away from the Achaemenid city, as some sources imply, not a single Hellenistic site has been recorded anywhere in the Herat region: the nearest are sites at Farah which probably lie in the territory of Drangiana as discussed above. The few coins from the Hellenistic period in the Herat Museum are unprovenanced: so much in the Herat Museum derives from objects seized at the Iran border, and so could be from anywhere. This Hellenistic absence appears astonishing in view of the prominence attributed to Areia in the sources, the now confirmed Achaemenid presence at Herat, and the obvious strategic position of Herat at the centre of a well-watered plain adjacent to a major river. The lack of any trace of a Hellenistic presence anywhere in the region is even more astonishing in view of surveys by the French in the 1950s, the Soviets in the 1970s and the Germans in the 2000s, where not a single Hellenistic site was recorded. Furthermore, the material collected in the survey by Marc Le Berre and Jean-Claude Gardin in 1952 was re-examined by Gardin and Lyonnet in 1979, who could not have failed to recognise Hellenistic material (for the Le Berre-Gardin survey see Ball 1982, throughout and Map 61; for the Soviet survey see Gaibov et al. 2010; the German survey is not published at the time of writing, but preliminary reports have not reported any Hellenistic material: see Franke 2008, 2015; Franke and Urban 2006).

The only other early site in the Herat area which *might* qualify is Palgird, on the Hari Rud 65 kilometres west of Herat. It is an urban site with mounded remains covering a very extensive area approximately 1.5 kilometres across – almost half the size of the old city of Herat itself – but the earliest material recorded there by Gardin and Lyonnet was Parthian of the first century AD (Ball Site 974; see also Franke 2008, 74 and Pls 122–4, and Franke 2015, 72–3).

IDENTITIES

How ‘Greek’ was Arachosia? ‘No one really *is* anything objectively’ as Rachel Mairs (2014, 103) rightly points out. Isidore (in *Parthian Stations* 10) makes the point that ‘Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia ... is Greek.’ The question of perceived ‘Greekness’ has concerned investigators almost to obsession: nineteenth-century travellers were obsessed in following in Alexander’s footsteps and ‘discovering Greeks’ in the most unlikely communities (Ball 2012; Mairs 2018; Boardman 2019 – I am indebted to the latter for showing me an early draft of this book); in the twentieth century much of the archaeological work in Afghanistan was dominated by ‘looking for Alexander’ – or at least for Greeks. Nowhere was this more so than at Kandahar. It

had its origins in 1946 when the then director-general of the Archaeological Survey of India, Mortimer Wheeler, made an archaeological tour of Afghanistan and noted the potential of Kandahar (Wheeler 1947).⁸ Its identification with Alexandria Arachosia seemed confirmed with the discoveries of the Greek inscriptions in 1958 and 1963, inspiring Wheeler (1968, 69) to write: 'We need then no longer hesitate to accept a full-blown "Alexandria" upon the site of Old Kandahar. This was no mere tired vestige of a passing army. It was a balanced Greek city with its writers, its philosophers, its teachers, no less than its executives and its growing environment of Hellenized "natives".' British interest in Greek Afghanistan gathered apace with the French discovery and excavation at Ai Khanoum after 1964, first announced to an English-speaking audience by an address to the British Academy by Paul Bernard in 1967. Hence, an element of old Anglo-French rivalry entered into the picture: the British too must have their own 'Ai Khanoum'. And so the British Institute of Afghan Studies was established in Kabul in 1972 due partly at least to Mortimer Wheeler's pressure (at that time Secretary of the British Academy, the parent body of the Institute) with this precise object: to answer the specific question whether the site of Old Kandahar 'overlies the Hellenistic city of Alexandria (or Alexandropolis) in Arachosia' (Whitehouse 1978, 9). It is significant too that members of the governing council of the institute included such prominent Classicists as John Boardman and Peter Fraser.

The investigations proved elusive as we have noted. However, the discovery of new inscriptions prompted further speculation. Solely on the evidence of the Aristonax inscription, Peter Fraser (1979, 12), then Chairman of the Society for Afghan Studies sponsoring the excavations, wrote that 'it may reasonably be assumed that the settlement [of Kandahar] included the other regular features of Greek civic life – other sanctuaries, an agora, public buildings, a theatre ...' Following a rereading of this inscription, A. N. Oikonomides (1984) suggested that the text 'not only verified the location of Alexandria at Arachosia but added also the information that the city had a special τέμενος [temenos] for the cult of its founder Alexander the Great.' He also suggested that 'a stoa in the agora of Alexandria in Arachosia donated by Aśoka seems a logical possibility' for the original location of the Greek Aśokan edict. The recent discovery of the Sophytos inscription prompted Paul Bernard (2005, 30) to emphasise 'the extraordinary vitality of the Hellenic tradition in the Greek colony of Kandahar,' described as 'a Greek melting pot in action', and Maurice Sartre (2009, 200) to write of its 'unmistakably attesting to the privileged place of Greek culture in second- or first-century B.C.E. Arachosia.'

How much can we interpret of the 'Greek' – or more correctly 'Macedonian' – identity of Kandahar? I suspect very little, and certainly not the philosophers, buildings, institutions and other cultural paraphernalia conjured up above, as there is a tendency to load far too much on inscriptions found away from their original linguistic homeland. This applies particularly to Greek inscriptions because of the huge cultural and emotive hold that ancient Greece has over the European mind (and it is notable that the last commentator of the Aristonax inscription above is a Greek). For example, an enquiry that was recorded in Greek on an inscription at Dmayr near Damascus has been taken as evidence that everybody concerned actually *spoke* Greek (Millar 1993, 318). It does not necessarily follow that anyone actually 'spoke' it apart from the person who carved the inscription (and the mason

might merely have copied it without understanding, let alone speaking it). In writing of later inscriptions, both Stefan Baums and Harry Falk emphasise that ‘those in charge of the final execution of an inscription were not necessarily literate and able to write Kharoshthi’ (Baums 2018, 57). Even the much vaunted impeccably literary Greek by the Indian who ‘wrote’ the Sophytos inscription merely implies that a native of Kandahar spoke perfect Greek (or maybe just wrote it: Sophytos’ accent might have made an Athenian cringe), just as an Indian or Pakistani today might speak perfect English. Or as someone from a Polish or a Japanese background might write in perfect literary English, such as Joseph Conrad or Kazuo Ishiguro, both cultures that had far less association with English than India does. Indeed Sophytos’ Greekness is ‘assertive to the point of defensive’ and it is ‘tempting to read some insecurity in it’ as Mairs (2014, 113, 116) writes. Perhaps Sophytos did not know a word of Greek (just as many British monarchs might be unable to read the Latin on their coins), and merely employed someone who did. The uncertainty surrounding its discovery has even given rise to doubts as to its authenticity (‘too good to be true’ as Mairs 2014, 108 comments). Behind Sophytos and his ‘too good to be true’ Greek one senses an almost pathetic identity desperation in an alien environment. Or as another Greek more aptly puts it:

He wasn’t a profound thinker or anything at all –
Just a piddling, laughable man.
He assumed a Greek name, dressed like the Greeks,
learned to behave more or less like a Greek;
and all the time he was terrified he’d spoil
his reasonably good image.

(Cavafy, translated in Keeley and Sherrard 1998, 114)

The only inscription from Kandahar that actually mentions a Greek name is that of Aristonax, but a Greek name in Arachosia might mean as little as an Arabic name in Indonesia. In an analysis of names at Lepcis Magna, for example, A. R. Birley (1988) found little unambiguous evidence for Italic settlers, with even most Latin names explained as a process of assimilation of the native Phoenicians. The Greek inscriptions may mean as little as the Aramaic. For it must be remembered that nobody would have actually *spoken* Aramaic, let alone identified with it, a language, it must be emphasised, of far-off Syria just as Greek was a language of a country even further away. Aramaic was merely a useful tool for written administration, just as Greek became – and as English is today in countries never remotely associated with Britain. A recent discussion of the Aśokan edicts in Greek at Kandahar is viewed as simply confirming Mauryan possession rather than Seleukid (Maniscalco 2018). Mairs (2014, 144) writes, ‘When is a Corinthian column in the Hellenistic Far East a sign of Greek identity, and when is it simply something that supports a roof?’ and Rougemont (2012b, 180) comments, ‘Was the Hellenism in Central Asia the Hellenism of Isocrates? No one knows.’

To sum up, Kandahar was a city already centuries old at the time of the Macedonian conquest with a large indigenous population. Even Alexander’s conquest is described as being merely ‘won over’ by Arrian (iii. 28) (‘almost as a grammatical afterthought’

as Fraser 1996, 132, wryly comments) before hurrying on to Bactria. It passed for a brief time under Macedonian rule until Seleukos got rid of it as soon as he conveniently could in about 303 BC: clearly too few – if any – Graeco-Macedonian settlers and negligible Hellenised locals for it to be worth retaining. To argue, as Bernard (1985, 92–93) has, that the ‘marriage agreement’ made between Seleukos and Chandragupta when swapping Kandahar for some elephants was some high-minded agreement to safeguard the descendants of hypothetical Greek settlers married to natives is entirely wishful thinking (see Mairs 2014, 111–112 for a summary of the suggestion): exchanging nubile princesses by monarchs was a common practice between pre-modern states. Richard Stoneman (2019, 378) speculates that if the agreement was for an (otherwise unattested) daughter of Seleukos marrying Chandragupta, ‘This would be exciting indeed, since it would make the succeeding Mauryan kings half-Greek.’ This is nonsense since in the same paragraph Stoneman makes the point that Seleukos’ wife was in any case Iranian, so any first generation issue (let alone subsequent ‘kings’) would be only a quarter Greek (and forgetting that Seleukos himself was Macedonian, not ‘Greek’). Kandahar returned to Hellenistic rule in the second century BC when it was absorbed into the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom (but even this is cast into doubt; there is, for example, a notable dearth of coins of Demetrius, the supposed conqueror, in Arachosia – see Mac Dowall 2005) for probably an even briefer period before it was conquered by the Parthians. At most there would only have been a small elite of Graeco-Macedonian – or merely Hellenised local – administrators for both these brief periods. When writing of the Seleukid East, John Boardman (2015, 63) notes that it became ‘no more “Greek” or even “Macedonian” than India became “British” in the 19th century’. There *might* be Greek philosophers, temples, an agora, gymnasium, theatre, a *boule* and so forth as the above commentators suggest lying under the soil at Kandahar, but the evidence at present simply does not support this – nor any substantial Greek community (and is unlikely ever to do so). The Greek inscriptions are not adequate to enable such bold statements of ethnicity, culture, identity or even architecture to be made. The majority of the population would have remained indigenous throughout. Of the one people in the ‘Hellenistic Far East’ where a remnant Greek population has been most claimed, the Kalash of Kafiristan, DNA research has shown no traces of any connection with Alexander or the Greeks (Ball 2012, 139). When writing of Swat during the period of the Indo-Greeks, Luca Olivieri (this volume) suspects that none of the population would have been of Greek descent, but simply ‘deep-rooted in Swat’ and that DNA of a burial revealed ‘a mixed Iranian-Ancient Steppe-South Asian ancestry.’ The Romans left their linguistic trace in a vast swathe right across Europe from the Danube to the Atlantic; the Greeks in the Hellenistic Far East left not a word. The city would have still been referred to informally as Harahuvatish throughout, reverting formally to that name at the end of Graeco-Bactrian administration, just as most Greek place names in the Near East reverted to their original Semitic names overnight at the Arab conquest: Harahuvatish (or its variant) survives in the region to this day, Alexandria does not.

The question of identity in Hellenistic Arachosia therefore is easily answered: all evidence suggests that it was overwhelmingly local, whatever that might have been in ethnic or linguistic terms. Linguistically we know even less about indigenous



Figure 15.15 A billboard in St Petersburg in 1998 (photo: W. Ball).

Arachosia than we do about Bactria. Most discussions have centred on either an Iranian or an 'Indian' element (whatever that means) or a combination of both (see Vogelsang 1985, 59 and 91–3 for a summary of the hypotheses), but might we consider a third element? The spread of Elamite into south-eastern Iran in the Bronze Age has been suggested and received support (Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992, 10), part of a postulated 'Helmand Civilisation' that included the Kandahar region as we have observed. The Elamite texts discovered in Achaemenid contexts in the Kandahar citadel have been viewed solely in terms of an administrative (but assumed unspoken) language used in the Persian Empire, as the Aramaic texts have been presumed. But might Elamite or a variant have survived at Kandahar? For it has been argued that the language of the Indus Valley Civilisation belonged to the Dravidian family and that Elamite also belonged to this, hence an hypothetical Proto-Elamo-Dravidian language group stretching from the Indus Valley to Elam in early antiquity before the arrival of Iranian languages in the Iron Age (Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992, 9–10). Of course, spoken Elamite in Hellenistic or even Achaemenid Arachosia can only be speculative. But a Dravidian element in ancient Arachosia is no more unlikely than Greek.

Like the use of English throughout the world today, the use of a particular foreign language carries a certain cachet, a language of fashion, of internationalism. In conclusion, I might draw a comparison to a bilingual text photographed in St Petersburg in 1998 (Figure 15.15): it advertises a German insurance company, in English, aimed solely at a Russian audience.

NOTES

- 1 I would like to thank Rachel Mairs for inviting me to participate in this project. I would also like to thank Henri-Paul Francfort who kindly examined a draft of this chapter and made many valuable observations and comments. All errors, I need hardly emphasise, are entirely my own.
- 2 This was a part of a broader project, the Afghan Heritage Mapping Partnership of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, aimed at recording the archaeological sites of all of Afghanistan using satellite imagery.
- 3 Egitto, who provides a gratifyingly detailed gazetteer of all sites thus recorded in Appendix C, attempts some broad dates by comparing site outlines with known sites elsewhere in Afghanistan, but this is methodologically unsound.
- 4 And so faint that it initially lay un-noticed in the excavation house, until the Greek was first recognised by Wendy Hudson, one of the staff members.
- 5 The name of the Afghan government representative during all four of the last seasons at the British excavations at Kandahar, for example, was, appropriately, Sikandarpur.
- 6 At the time of going to press, the results of the Smithsonian surveys and excavation are being prepared for publication by Mitchell Allen and William Trousdale.
- 7 From the Avestan *aryá*, hence cognate with ‘Aryan’ and ultimately ‘Iran’ and ‘Eire/Ireland’.
- 8 I am also indebted to many conversations regarding this tour with the late Lady Wheeler, who accompanied her husband; Margaret – ‘Kim’ – worked on four of the five seasons of excavations at Kandahar.

REFERENCES

- Abramiuk, Marc A. (2017). ‘A Recent Reconnaissance of the Central Helmand Valley.’ *Antiquity* 91(359): 1–6.
- Adamec, Ludwig W. (ed. 1973). *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. Vol. 2: *Farah and Southwestern Afghanistan*. Graz.
- Adamec, Ludwig W. (ed. 1980). *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. Vol. 5: *Kandahar and South-Central Afghanistan*. Graz.
- Allchin, F. R. (1989). ‘City and State Formation in Early Historic South Asia.’ *South Asian Studies* 5: 1–6.
- Allen, Mitchell and William B. Trousdale (2017). ‘Cultural Complexity in Parthian Sistan, Afghanistan,’ Paper given at the *ASOR Meeting*, Boston, MA, November 16, 2017.
- Ball, Warwick (1982). *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. 2 volumes. Paris. New edition 2019, Oxford.
- Ball, Warwick (1988). ‘The Seven Qandahars. The Name Q.ND.HAR in the Islamic Sources.’ *South Asian Studies* 4: 115–142.
- Ball, Warwick (2012). ‘Some Talk of Alexander. Myth and Politics in the North-West Frontier of British India.’ In: Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erikson and Ian Netton, eds., *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*. Groningen, 127–158.
- Barfield, Thomas (2018). ‘The Re-Emergence of Sub-National Identities and Power in Afghanistan: Cities, Regions and Ethnic Groups.’ Keynote lecture at the *Conference on Identities in Contemporary Afghanistan*, Yale University 13 April 2018. Also ‘The Core Regions of Afghanistan,’ keynote lecture at the *Afghanistan* journal launch, Royal Asiatic Society, 25 May 2018.
- Baums, Stefan (2018). ‘A Framework for Gandhāran Chronology Based on Relic Inscriptions.’ In: Wannaporn Rienjang and Peter Stewart, eds., *Problems of Chronology in Gandharan Art*. Oxford, 53–70.
- Bellew, Henry Walter (1874). *From the Indus to the Tigris*. London.

- Benveniste, Émile (1964). 'Édits d'Aśoka en traduction grecque.' *Journal Asiatique*, 252: 137–157.
- Benveniste, Émile. and André Dupont-Sommer (1966). 'Une inscription Indo-Araméenne d'Aśoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan).' *Journal Asiatique*, 254: 437–465.
- Bernard, Paul (1967). 'Ai Khanum on the Oxus: A Hellenistic City in Central Asia.' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53: 71–95.
- Bernard, Paul (1974). 'Les noms anciens de Qandahar.' *Studia Iranica* 3: 171–185.
- Bernard, Paul (2005). 'Hellenistic Arachosia: A Greek Melting Pot in Action.' *East and West* 55(1/4): 13–34.
- Bernard, Paul, Geroges-Jean Pinault and Georges Rougemont (2004). 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie centrale.' *Journal des Savants* No. 2, 227–356.
- Birley, A. R. (1988). 'Names at Lepcis Magna.' *Libyan Studies* 19: 1–20.
- Boardman, John (2015). *The Greeks in Asia*. London.
- Boardman, John (2019). *Alexander the Great. From His Death to the Present Day*. Princeton.
- Bosworth, Clifford Edmund (1968). *Sistān Under the Arabs. From the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffārids (30–250/651–684 A.D.)*. Rome.
- Cocca, E. A., B. Genito and G. Maresca (2014). 'A WebGIS about the Italian Archaeological Activities in Sistan, Iran (60s–70s of the 20th century).' In: Rolf A. Stucky, Oskar Kaelin and Hans-Peter Mathys, eds., *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East 9–13 June 2014, Basel*. Wiesbaden, 393–404.
- Conolly, E. B. (1840). 'Note on Discoveries of Gems from Kandahar.' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 9: 97–107.
- Court, Alexandre (1836). 'Conjectures on the March of Alexander.' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 5: 387–395.
- Daffinà, P. (1967). *L'immigrazione dei Sakā nella Drangiana*. Rome.
- Dupree, Nancy Hatch (1977). *An Historical Guide to Afghanistan*. Kabul.
- Egitto, Antoinette C. (2013). *Remote Sensing Assessment of Karez Irrigation Systems and Archaeological Resources in Maywand District, Kandahar Province, Afghanistan*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kansas.
- Falk, Harry (2006). *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts. A Source-Book with Bibliography*. Mainz am Rhein.
- Fischer, Klaus (1967). 'Alexandropolis metropolis Arachosias. Zur Lage von Kandahar an landverbindungen Iran und Indien.' *Bonner Jahrbücher* 67: 129–232.
- Fischer, Klaus (1989). 'BOST. i. The Archaeological Site.' *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol. IV, Fasc. 4: 383–386.
- Fischer, Klaus, Dietrich Morgenstern and Volker Thewalt (1974–1976). *Nimruz. Geländebegehungen in Sistan 1955–1973 und die Aufnahme von Dewal-i Khodaydad 1970*. 2 volumes. Bonn.
- Fisher, Michael T. and Matthew W. Stolper (2015). 'Achaemenid Elamite Administrative Tablets. 3. Fragments from Old Kandahar.' *ARTA* 1: 1–26.
- Francfort, Henri-Paul (1979a). *Les fortifications en Asie Centrale de l'âge du bronze à l'époque kouchane*. Paris.
- Francfort, Henri-Paul (1979b). *Les Palettes du Gandhāra*. MDFA XXIII. Paris.
- Franke, Ute (2008). *National Museum Herat – Areia Antiqua Through Time*. Berlin.
- Franke, Ute (2015). 'Ancient Herat Revisited. New Data from Recent Archaeological Fieldwork.' In: Rocco Rante, ed., *Greater Khorasan*. Berlin, 63–241.
- Franke, Ute and Thomas Urban (2006). *Areia Antiqua – ancient Herat. Summary of the Work Carried Out by the DAI-Mission in Collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology, Ministry of Information and Culture, Afghanistan*. Berlin.

- Franke, Ute and Thomas Urban (2017). *Ancient Herat. Research Reports of the German-Afghan Archaeological Mission to Herat, Afghanistan*. Vol. 2. *Excavations and Explorations in Herat City*. Berlin.
- Franklin, Kathryn and Emily Hammer (2018). 'Untangling Palimpsest Landscapes in Conflict Zones: A "Remote Survey" in Spin Boldak, Southeast Afghanistan.' *Journal of Field Archaeology* 43(1): 58–73.
- Fraser, P. M. (1979). 'The Son of Aristonax at Kandahar.' *Afghan Studies* 2: 9–23.
- Fraser, P. M. (1996). *Cities of Alexander the Great*. Oxford.
- Fussman, Gérard (1966). 'Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar.' *Arts Asiatiques* 13: 33–57.
- Fussman, Gérard (2010). 'KANDAHAR ii. Pre-Islamic Monuments and Remains.' *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol. 15, Fasc. 5: 475–477. Online edition, accessed 16/04/2018.
- Gaibov, Vassif A., Gennadij A. Košalenko and Galina V. Trebeleva (2010). 'Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan, Addenda, I, Herat Oasis.' *Parthica* 12: 107–116.
- Gardin, Jean-Claude (1963). *Lashkari Bazar II. Les trouvailles. Céramiques et monnaies de Lashkari Bazar et de Bust*. MDAFA 18. Paris.
- Gardin, Jean-Claude (1998). *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974–1978). Volume 3 Description des sites et notes de synthèse*, Mém. MAFAC, vol. IX, Paris.
- Gnoli, G. (1993). 'DAHAN-E GOLĀMĀN.' *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VI, Fasc. 6: 582–585.
- Gnoli, Gherardo (1967). *Ricerche storiche sul Sistan antico*. Rome.
- Hammond, Norman (1970). 'An Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Helmand Valley, South Afghanistan.' *East and West* 20: 437–459.
- Helms, Svend W. (1997). *Excavations at Old Kandahar in Afghanistan 1976–1978*. Oxford.
- Hiebert, Fredrik T. and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (1992). 'Central Asian and the Indo-Iranian Borderlands.' *Iran* 30: 1–16.
- Inaba, Minoru (2005). 'The Identity of the Turkish Rulers to the South of Hindukush from the 7th to the 9th Centuries A.D.' *Zinbun* 38: 1–19.
- Invernizzi, Antonio et al. (2004). *Seleucia al Tigri. Le impronte di sigillo dagli Archivi. I Sigilli ufficiali, ritratti (Testo di Vito Messina e Paolo Mollo). II Divinità (Testi di Ariela Bollati e Vito Messina). III Figure umane, animali, vegetali, oggetti (Testi di Ariela Bollati e Vito Messina)*, Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia. Missione in Iraq, Turin.
- Keely, Edmund and C. P. Cavafy (1998). C. P. Cavafy, *Collected Poems*. London.
- Lamberg-Karlovsky, C. C. and Maurizio Tosi (1973). 'Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya: Tracks on the Earliest History of the Iranian Plateau.' *East and West* 23: 21–53.
- Mac Dowall, D. W. (2005). 'The Role of Demetrius in Arachosia and the Kabul Valley.' In: Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac, eds., *Afghanistan, Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Indicoeleustoi/Brepols/Turnhout, 197–206.
- Mac Dowall, David W. and M. Ibrahim (1978). 'Pre-Islamic Coins in the Kandahar Museum.' *Afghan Studies* 1: 67–78.
- Mairs, Rachel (2011a). *The Archaeology of the Hellenistic Far East: A Survey*. Oxford.
- Mairs, Rachel (2011b). 'The Places in Between: Model and Metaphor in the Archaeology of Hellenistic Arachosia.' In: Anna Kouremenos, Sujatha Chandrasekaran and Roberto Rossi, eds., *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*. Oxford, 177–189.
- Mairs, Rachel (2014). *The Hellenistic Far East. Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia*. Oakland, CA.
- Mairs, Rachel (2018). 'The Men Who Would be Alexander: Alexander the Great and His Graeco-Bactrian Successors in the Raj.' In: K. R. Moore (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*. Leiden, 576–595.
- Maniscalco, Francesco (2014). *Arachosia*. Rome.

- Maniscalco, Francesco (2018). 'A New Interpretation of the Edicts of Aśoka from Kandahar.' *Annali di Ca' Foscari: Serie Orientale* 54: 239–263.
- Maresca, Giulio (2016). 'Notes on Eastern Iran During Post-Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanian Period.' In: Enrico Foietta, C. Ferrandi, E. Quirico, F. Giusto, M. Mortarini, J. Bruno and L. Somma, eds., *Cultural and Material Contacts in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Workshop 1–2 December 2014, Torino*. Torino, 148–156.
- McNicoll, Anthony (1978). 'Excavations at Kandahar 1975: Second Interim Report.' *Afghan Studies* 1: 41–65.
- McNicoll, Anthony and Warwick Ball (1996). *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975*. Oxford.
- Millar, Fergus (1993). *The Roman Near East*. Princeton, NJ.
- Minorsky, V. (1934). 'Zūn.' *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4: 1241.
- Narain, A. K. (2003). *The Indo-Greeks. Revisited and Supplemented*. Delhi.
- Oikonomides, A. N. (1984). 'The [τέμενος] of Alexander the Great at Alexandria in Arachosia (Old Kandahar).' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 56: 145–147.
- Ramachandran, T. N. and Y. D. Sharma (1956). *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Afghanistan: Preliminary Report of the India Archaeological Delegation*. New Delhi.
- Rapin, Claude (2017). 'Alexandre le Grand en Asie Centrale. Géographie et Stratégie de la Conquête des Portes Caspiennes à l'Inde.' In: Claudia Antonetti and Paolo Biagi, eds., *With Alexander in India and Central Asia: Moving East and Back to West*. Oxford, 37–121.
- Rapin, Claude and Frantz Grenet (2018). 'How Alexander entered India. With a note on Ortospāna (the ancient name of Ghazni?),' *Afghanistan* 1, 1: 141–181.
- Rougemon, Georges (2012a). *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, II/1). London.
- Rougemon, Georges (2012b). 'Hellenism in Central Asia and the North-West of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent: The Epigraphic Evidence.' *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 18, 1: 175–182.
- Sartre, Maurice (2009). *Histoires Grecques. Snapshots from History*. Cambridge, MA.
- Scerrato, Umberto (1958). 'An Inscription of Aśoka Discovered in Afghanistan: The Bilingual Greek-Aramaic of Kandahar.' *East and West* 9: 4–6.
- Scerrato, Umberto (1980). 'Due tombe ad incinerazione del Museo di Kandahar.' *Annali* 40, fac. 4: 627–50.
- Schlumberger, D. (1964). 'Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Açoka.' *CRAI*, 1964: 126–140.
- Schlumberger, Daniel, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer and É. Benveniste (1958). 'Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Aśoka.' *Journal Asiatique* 246: 1–48.
- Schmitt, R. (1986). 'ARACHOSIA.' *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol. 2, Fasc 3: 246–247.
- Schoff, Wilfred H. (1914). *The Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Stoneman, Richard (2019). *The Greek Experience of India. From Alexander to the Indo-Greeks*. Princeton, NJ/Oxford.
- Thomas, David C. (2015). 'Google Earth™ @ Ghazni.' In: A. A. di Castro and D. Templeman, eds., *Asian Horizons: Giuseppe Tucci's Buddhist, Indian, Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*. Melbourne, 495–528.
- Thomas, David C. (2018). *The Ebb and Flow of the Ghūrid Empire*. Adapa Monographs. Sydney.
- Thomas, David C. and Fiona J. Kidd (2017). 'On the Margins: Enduring Pre-Modern Water Management Strategies in and Around the Registan Desert, Afghanistan.' *Journal of Field Archaeology* 42(1): 29–42.
- Trousdale, William (1968). 'An Achaemenian Stone Weight from Afghanistan.' *East and West* 18: 277–280.

- Trousdale, William (1976). 'The Helmand-Sistan Project in South-Western Afghanistan.' In: *Actes du XXIX Congrès international des Orientalistes, Paris, Juillet 1973*. Asie Centrale, 57–61.
- Verardi, Giovanni (1977). 'Report on a Visit to Some Rock-Cut Monasteries in the Province of Ghazni.' *East and West* 27: 129–150.
- Verardi, Giovanni (2010). 'Issues in the Excavation, Chronology and Monuments of Tapa Sardar.' In: Michael Alram, Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Minoru Inaba and Matthias Pfisterer, eds, *Art and Chronology II. The First Millennium C.E. in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*. Vienna, 341–355.
- Verardi, Giovanni and Elio Paparatti (2004). *Buddhist Caves of Jāghūrī and Qarabāgh-e Ghaznī, Afghanistan*. Rome.
- Vogelsang, Willem J. (1985). 'Early Historical Arachosia in South-East Afghanistan.' *Iranica Antiqua* 20: 55–94.
- Vogelsang, Willem J. (1987). 'Some Remarks on Eastern Iran in the Late-Achaemenid Period.' In: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, ed., *Achaemenid History* 1, Leiden, 183–89.
- Vogelsang, Willem J. (1992). *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenid Empire. The Eastern Iranian Evidence*. Leiden.
- Vogelsang, Willem J. (2003). 'HERAT ii: History, Pre-Islamic Period.' *Encyclopaedia Iranica* XII(2): 205–6.
- Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer (1947). 'Archaeology in Afghanistan.' *Antiquity* 21(82): 57–65. Reprint of: 'Report of the Indian Cultural Mission to Afghanistan, 1946.' *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*. Delhi.
- Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer (1968). *Flames Over Persepolis*. London.
- Whitehouse, David (1978). 'Excavations at Kandahar 1974: First Interim Report.' *Afghan Studies* 1: 9–39.

CHAPTER 16

GANDHĀRA AND NORTH-WESTERN INDIA



Luca M. Olivieri

PREAMBLE

For many years, trying to figure out how to quantify the impact of the political presence of the Indo-Greeks in Gandhāra and North Western India, I imagined a situation comparable to the early years of the East Indian Company, with scattered, quantitatively negligible self-defended installations all but lost in the vastness of the Indian subcontinent.

Nowadays, I am inclined to think that the impact of Indo-Greek rule along the major economic corridors of ancient India (along the axis of its major rivers, the Kabul, Indus and the rivers of Punjab) was a major one, and an intentional one, with a crucial local component. With their power in India detached from the Central Asian motherland, the Indo-Greeks apparently pursued a systematic political plan involving major urban foundations, patronage of religious communities, organization of power and resources, monetary reform, intense diplomatic activity and warfare. The chronological evidence provided in this chapter connects these activities to the first successors of Menander, who perhaps began to realize fully a project originally planned by their celebrated predecessor. The impact of this activity was not only important for their subjects and for Indic culture, but also moulded and oriented the future expression of power by the dynasty of Azes, the second wave of Sakas, who basically imitated the same politics as the Indo-Greeks, acting—like their forerunners—as reformers, patrons and founders of cities.

THE LIABILITY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGIST

What changed my perspective was the recent fieldwork at Barikot, a relatively remote and diminutive town in the Swat valley, where a fortification wall and sherds with Greek graffiti had been discovered in the past. But much more important, and informative, than such discoveries is the extremely archaeologically reliable sequence of the site (see Table 16.1). The implications of this sequence, when compared with sites and sequences excavated in the past, prove to be particularly significant.

Even without archaeology, the presence of Greek rulers in India, documented by a remarkably large quantity of coins, would have been undeniable. But their actual archaeological traces are so faint that one might be tempted to consider them

Table 16.1 Barikot: archaeological sequence.

<i>Macro-phases</i>	<i>Periods</i>	<i>Best statistic chronologies</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Acculturation phase</i>	<i>Dominant material culture</i>	<i>Macro-events</i>
3b	3b	111 BCE - CE 53 99.7% 2σ cal.	Mature Urban Phase	Saka-Parthian	Saka-Parthian (first appearance) Hellenistic (disappearing), Indic pottery forms (continuity) development of Local Historic pottery tradition	reconstruction of the stone city wall
3a	3a4	-		Indo-Greek	Kharosthi script	stone city wall and ditch
	3a3	182–45 BCE 100% 2σ cal.			Indo-Greek pottery forms (first appearance) Indic (continuity)	
	3a2 3a1	- 210–94 BCE 81.2% 2σ cal. (end)		Maurya	Greek, Brāhmī (and Aramaic) scripts Indic and Graeco-Bactrian pottery forms (first appearance)	construction of the stone city wall and ditch stone drainage system built-up quarters iron, bead and glass production
2b	2b	369–201 100% 2σ cal.	Initial Urban Phase	-	Indic pottery forms (continuity) (Iranic disappears)	construction of the earthen rampart with ditch
2a	2a2	403–307 BCE 100% 2σ cal. (intermediate) 543–403 91.4 % 2σ cal. (beginning)		Achaemenid	Iranic and Indic pottery forms (both first appearance)	street network iron, bead and glass production
	2a1	654–541 BCE 61.9% 2σ cal (intermediate)		-	-	bead and glass production

characters of legend rather than real players in the field of history. Onomastics, titles, names of months, specific terms,¹ along with the few but influential literary sources, and that deluge of coins, all together spoke of a cultural presence which was—frustratingly—imperceptible at the archaeological level. While other specialists—especially numismatic—were busy constructing complex and chronologically precise schemes of successions, lineages, and dynasties, archaeologists were not able to compete with comparable discoveries in the field. In other contributions on this topic (most recently Olivieri 2018) I have had occasion to point out that the key decision affecting the archaeology of Gandhāran and the north-western region was the deliberate choice not to focus on settlement and urban archaeology. The implications of this policy have materially affected the evolution of research, resulting for example in the outdated condition of archaeological methodologies in the region, and above all making archaeology a *de facto* ancillary discipline for numismatists and epigraphists.²

In an entire century of research (1912–2018), the list of archaeological projects dedicated to early-historic settlement and urban excavations in the region comprises the following sites only: Taxila-Sirkap (Marshall 1951, Ghosh 1947–1948); Taxila-Bhir Mound (Marshall 1951, Sharif 1968, Bahadar Khan et al. 2002); Charsadda-Bala Hisar (Wheeler 1962, Coningham and Ihsan Ali 2007); Charsadda-Shaikhan-dheri (Dani 1965–1966); Udegram (Gullini 1962); Barama (Faccenna 1964–1965); Barikot (see ref. below). The first two sites are in the Taxila valley (in the trans-Indus territories); the two sites at Charsadda are near the junction of the Swat and Kabul rivers in Gandhāra proper; and the three remaining sites are in Swat, in Northern Gandhāra.

To the list one can also add the sites of Gor-khuttree (Peshawar City) (Durrani et al. 1997), Aziz-dheri (Swabi) (Nasim Khan 2010), Mra-dherai (Charsadda; Qasim Jan 2001), Pir Manakrai (Hazara) (Dar 2015), Hayatabad (Peshawar) (Khan, Durrani and Samad 2019), and Tulamba in Lower Punjab (Mughal 1967).³

Only the relatively recent dig at Barikot can be considered a major extended project (1984 – still ongoing), while all the others were either short-term projects (like those at Charsadda), or interrupted and never resumed after 1945 (like the one at Taxila-Sirkap). Barikot is also the only one where modern stratigraphic excavation systems have been tested and applied on a large scale, since the only other modern project (at Charsadda) was limited to trial trenches (Coningham and Ihsan Ali 2007). The dig carried out at Barama was meticulous, but short and small scale. The work at Udegram was based on an old-fashioned methodology and was inadequately published. The excavations directed by M. Wheeler at Charsadda were extremely carefully done, but his overall system reveals inconsistencies that make the results emerging from the excavation less than completely reliable, as we will see.

THE STATE OF RESEARCH: MATERIALS

The state of archaeological knowledge about the Greek and Indo-Greek acculturation phase in the region was assessed in a great deal of detail by P. Callieri, the pioneer and first director of the Barikot project in Swat. He dedicated two major studies to the topic (Callieri 1995, 2007), and they would still accurately capture the state of the discipline were it not for the recent results at Barikot. Apart from coins and inscriptions (see Rougemont 2012), the main elements of material culture

gathered by Callieri built up a coherent but necessarily faint picture of the Greek and Indo-Greek acculturation phase in our region. His list did not include gridiron town planning and temples, as there was already a consensus among scholars on the later chronology both of the ‘Greek’ grid-plans of Sirkap and Shaikhan-dheri (see Mairs 2009), and of the *extra muros* temples of Jandial-Sirkap (Callieri 1995: 299; Rapin 1995) and Chakdara (see K. Behrendt in Olivieri 2015b).⁴ Callieri’s list comprises instead mostly luxury objects from India and Greece found in different chronological contexts both at Sirkap and Ai Khanoum. Among the latter Callieri cites Hellenistic bronze inkpots, phial stoppers, spoon handles, and other tools, as well as bronze decorations (Callieri 1995: 298, figs. 7–17). Unfortunately, the majority of the materials from Sirkap listed above, although Hellenistic in character, come from the Saka-Parthian and later levels of the city.⁵ Among engraved gems and seals, a class of material mostly without archaeological context, Callieri isolated a certain number of Hellenistic objects (Callieri 1995: 304), including the so-called calcedony ‘Graeco-Persian’ seals (Callieri 1997: 235–237). The materials revealed by the excavations at Charsadda include a terracotta moulded handle of a jug with the possible representation of Alexander as Herakles (Wheeler 1962: pl. XXXVI.b) (from disturbed layers of Charsadda III), an alabaster statuette of Herakles (*ibid.*: pl. XLI) (from Ch. IV, associated with a tetradrachm of Menander). To the list should be added (besides pottery) the ‘Hellenistic’ terracotta figurines, and some other rarer occurrences of material linked to the introduction of Western technologies (pyramidal loom-weights and *lāsana* (λάσανα) pot stands).⁶ Particularly important are the figurines in terracotta—a relatively short-lived domestic material—whose chronological value should not be underestimated. The ‘Hellenistic Ladies’ (single-moulded figurines), although dominant in the Saka-Parthian phases, were already present in Indo-Greek times (see Fig. 17).⁷

With regards to pottery, unfortunately, this is handled in an uneven way by the various excavation projects in Gandhāra and North-Western India. As we have seen, only a few well-conducted excavations have been carried out, and only a very few of them have been published. But even when these two requirements have been satisfied, pottery is treated inconsistently in the excavation reports. Initially pottery was restricted to the presentation of selected data, complete forms at Sirkap (Marshall 1951) or representative selections at Charsadda-Shaikhan-dheri (Dani 1965–66) and Charsadda-Bala Hisar (Wheeler 1962).⁸ A major and positive exception is represented by the work by Javed Husain for Shaikhan-dheri (Husain 1980). The pottery of Barikot has been presented in several studies (Callieri 1990, 2000, etc.), including two general catalogues (Iori 2018, Callieri and Olivieri 2020.).

However, even if evidence were more abundant and coherent, the main issue would in any case remain the chronological one, in particular with reference to the main sites of the region, Taxila-Sirkap and Charsadda.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DIVIDE (FIGURE 16.1)

The ancient human geography of Gandhāra and North-Western India was essentially defined by the courses of the major rivers. The Indus river represented a true east-west cultural divide between the trans-Indus (North-western India) and cis-Indus territories (Gandhāra), i.e. between the Indo-Gangetic and Eastern

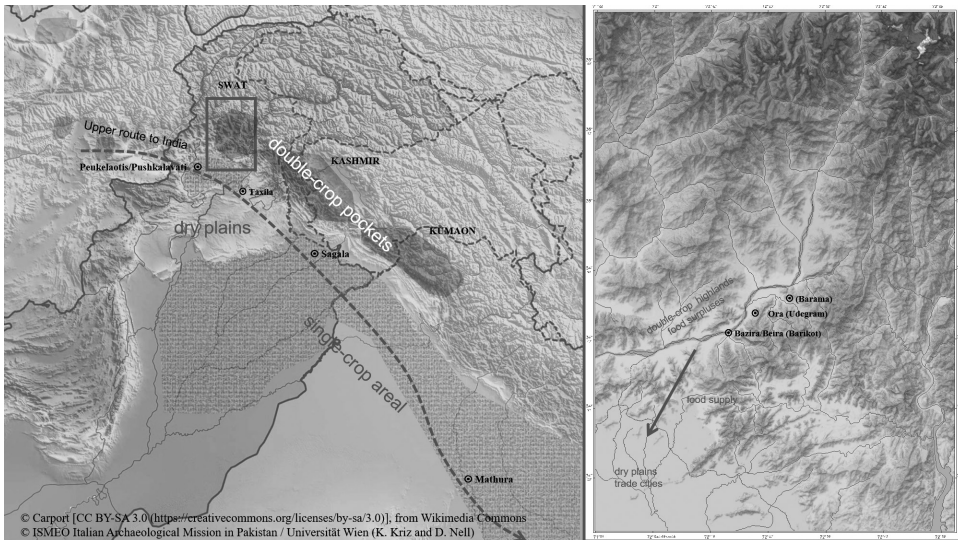


Figure 16.1 Geographical setting of Gandhāra and NW India.

Iranic spheres. These were two sides of the same world which from time to time enjoyed close contact and interaction, but in general they followed separate cultural destinies. Gandhāra itself was divided into two major ecological zones, those north of the Kabul River, sparsely irrigated by the tributaries flowing through the piedmont of the Hindukush-Karakoram, and the territories to the south, mostly formed, though not exclusively, of rougher arid steppe. Along the Kabul River from Warsak to Attock, where the river joins the Indus, runs the major trade route, the ancient *uttarapāṭha* linking Gandhāra to Hastinapura and Pāṭaliputra through Pushkhalavati (Puṣkalāvātī) and Taxila. It is a ‘winter road’, typically used when river levels are at their lowest point, so that they can be easily forded (see Arrian, *An.* 5.9.3; *Bāburnāma* fol. 131 in Thackston 2002). Along the Kabul river from Charsadda to Attock one can still see today a series of small or medium-sized mounds, ancient settlement zones, marking the river’s bank especially on the left or northern side (e.g. the sites of Mra-dheri and Aziz-dheri).

This transregional trade road and the cities and settlements established along it had supply needs for which the surrounding territories were not sufficient. Before the irrigation system established by the British in the early 20th century (the Lower Swat Canal), the territories to the west of the Indus river were by and large uncultivated. Local agriculture was not enough to feed the regional capitals, as their production would have totally depended on the monsoon crop (*kharif* crop). Instead, the naturally irrigated Swat valley offered conditions for a steady double-cropping production.⁹ Cities like Puṣkalāvātī, and later Puruṣapura (Peshawar; Gor-khutree), thus partly depended for their subsistence on the double-cropped pockets of the highlands (Coningham and Ihsan Ali 2007: 244). Apart from minerals, forestry and animal husbandry, the surplus of food resources was the ‘green gold’ offered by Swat that made it a crucial economic pool, rather than the peripheral land it was once believed to be.

THE STATE OF THE RESEARCH: THE SITES

Taxila

G. Fussman, with the frankness that characterizes his research work, when discussing the diffusion of Buddhism in Gandhāra, wrote as follows: “Il sera par contre assez peu fait allusion à Taxila malgré le halo de prestige qui entoure ce nom: Taxila n’a guère livré des documents portant directement sur le sujet ici traité” (Fussman 1994: 19). The very same wording could be applied to Taxila (Takṣaśīlā) with regard to our subject. It is now clearly established that the visible part of the city of Sirkap (Figure 16.2), with its massive urban circuit featuring square bastions linked by berms, was built from the time of the first Saka kings of the lineage of Azes. The existence of an earlier and larger ‘Greek’ town was hypothesized in a postscript by M. Wheeler to Ghosh 1947: “There are thus *two* successive Sirkaps, essentially distinct from each other” (Ghosh 1947–1948: 83–84). Wheeler identified in an area on the north side of Sirkap known as Kaccha-kot the northern quarters of the Indo-Greek city defended by a brick and stone wall with earthen ramparts (Ghosh 1947–1948: 42, n.4), abandoned when the Saka-Parthian fortification of Sirkap was built (Figure 16.3).¹⁰ The problem of chronology exposed by Wheeler, successor of J. Marshall as director of the Archaeological Survey of India and critic of his work, was re-opened by R. Allchin. In his article entitled ‘How old is the city of Taxila?’ (Allchin 1982) he reported a possible trace of the pre-Saka Parthian defensive wall

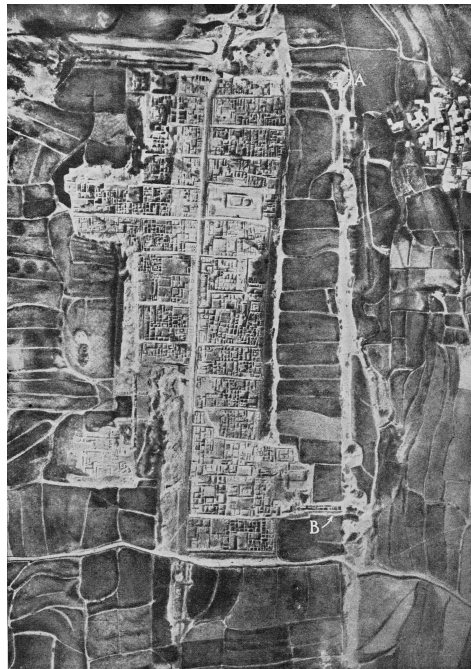


Figure 16.2 Aerial photograph of Sirkap (R.I.A.F.) showing the location of A. Ghosh trenches (after Ghosh 1947–1948: pl. I) (Courtesy DOAM).

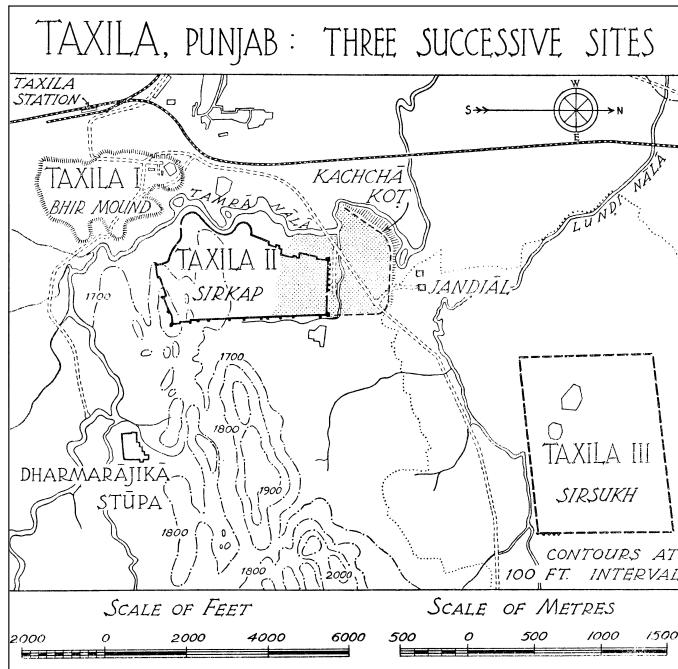


Figure 16.3 Three Taxilas (after Ghosh 1947–1948: fig. 1) (Courtesy DOAM).

in the Hathial (south-southwest of Sirkap), while he played down the importance of Kachcha-kot (“might well be of later age”, *ibid.*: 75). Overall, there is a general consensus that the original (Indo-Greek) city of Sirkap was larger than the second city of Sirkap, stretching from north to south from Kachcha-kot to the spur of Hathial for a total surface area of c. 56 hectares (Fussman 1993: 91).¹¹ But in all honesty the amount of information used for these large-scale spatial reconstructions—although extremely precious—is severely limited. The results of the Hathial work are published in a very preliminary form (Khan 1983), while the exploration of Kachcha-kot never advanced beyond the level of a surface reconnaissance. According to the revision of the excavation sequence of Sirkap, as established by Ghosh and later confirmed by G. Erdösy (1990), only a few fragmentary structures (Stratum VII in Marshall = ‘pre-structural’ in Ghosh) can be dated to Indo-Greek times. The other strata, starting from Stratum VI (= Phase I of Ghosh), which is contemporary with the construction of the defensive wall, belong to the Saka-Parthian and later periods (Figure 16.4). In practical terms, therefore, Sirkap cannot be taken into account for the reconstruction of a detailed picture of the Greek and Indo-Greek phase. However, a few important hints lead us to determine that—although not yet discovered—there was a major town there, certainly a regional capital, whose extension can for the time being only be inferred. The last layers of the ‘first city of Taxila’, Bhir Mound, were certainly part of the same urban Greek Ur-Taxila. Evidence of Hellenistic materials (Callieri 1995: 297) come both from the late (Stratum I) as well as from earlier levels (Stratum III), a very interesting fact that can be explained when analysed in light of the pottery data from the Mauryan levels at Barikot.¹²

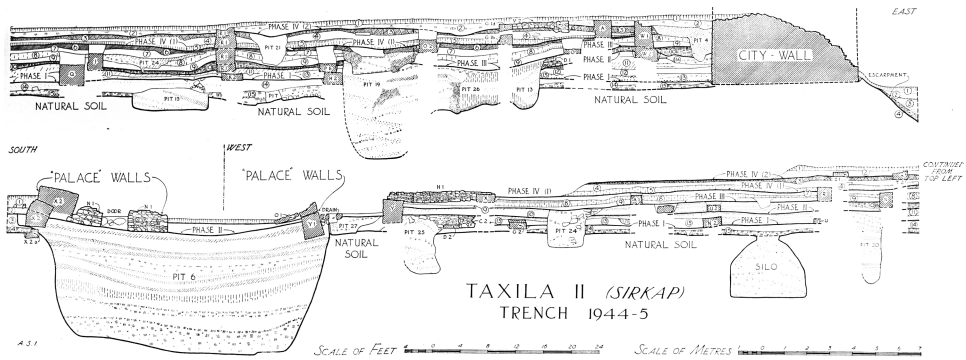


Figure 16.4 Trench B (after Ghosh 1947-1948: pl. IX) (Courtesy DOAM).

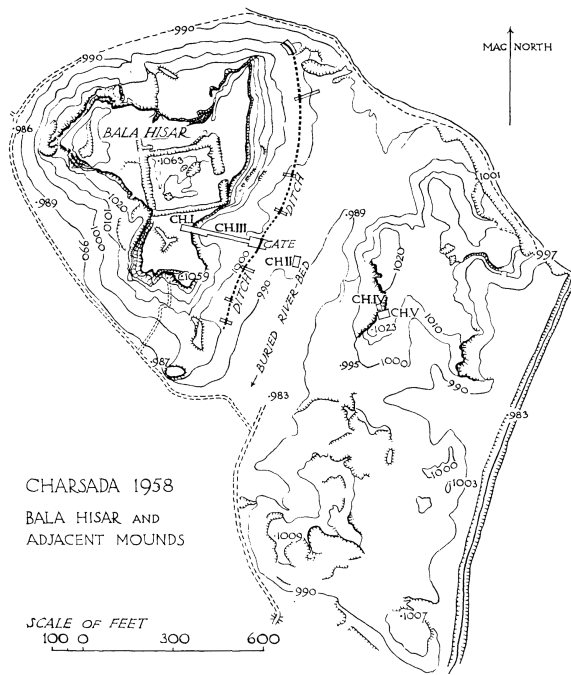


Figure 16.5 Charsadda, Bala Hisar (after Wheeler 1962: fig. 3) (Courtesy DOAM).

Charsadda

Once the contribution of Sirkap, the ‘Greek’ city *par excellence*, is ruled out, a great deal of responsibility rests on the second most important archaeological site of our region, Charsadda, identified with Puṣkalāvati/Peukelaotis, the ancient regional capital of Gandhāra. The site was the last fieldwork undertaken by M. Wheeler, where he was probably expecting to find what Marshall had failed to demonstrate at Taxila (Figure 16.5). In actual fact, Charsadda, although considered for decades a model of stratigraphic and cultural sequence, is not the best example of Wheeler’s admirable fieldwork strategy. Stratigraphy and cultural sequence are two terms which do

not necessarily neatly coincide. R. Dittmann noted some 30 years ago the intrinsic weakness of the ‘ergological approach’ according to which physical superimposition is interpreted in terms of cultural evolution.¹³ Such an approach does not take into proper consideration events that modern archaeology calls ‘negative interfaces’, which may break or even invert the physical sequence (Olivieri and Iori 2019). Wheeler, who basically interpreted the excavation on/by wall sections (which are incidentally the portions of the dig which are ‘not yet excavated’), built a system of pottery types, which were incorporated in the nomenclature of the ‘cultures’ as though they were fossils dating the *continuum* of an evolutionary process. The excavation of the deep (c. 17 metres) and narrow trench across the mound of Bala Hisar (Ch. I) (Figure 16.6), and its interpretation, was a typical example of the ‘ergological approach’, whose results were first challenged by G. Stacul (Stacul 1990) and subsequently by recent fieldwork at the site (Coningham and Ihsan Ali 2007; Petrie 2013).

With reference to Bala Hisar, on the basis of the Barikot materials, Wheeler’s Ch. I layers (50)-(39), as suggested by Stacul 1990 and confirmed by Coningham and Ihsan Ali 2007, belong to a *facies* that is coeval with the Barikot late Bronze–early

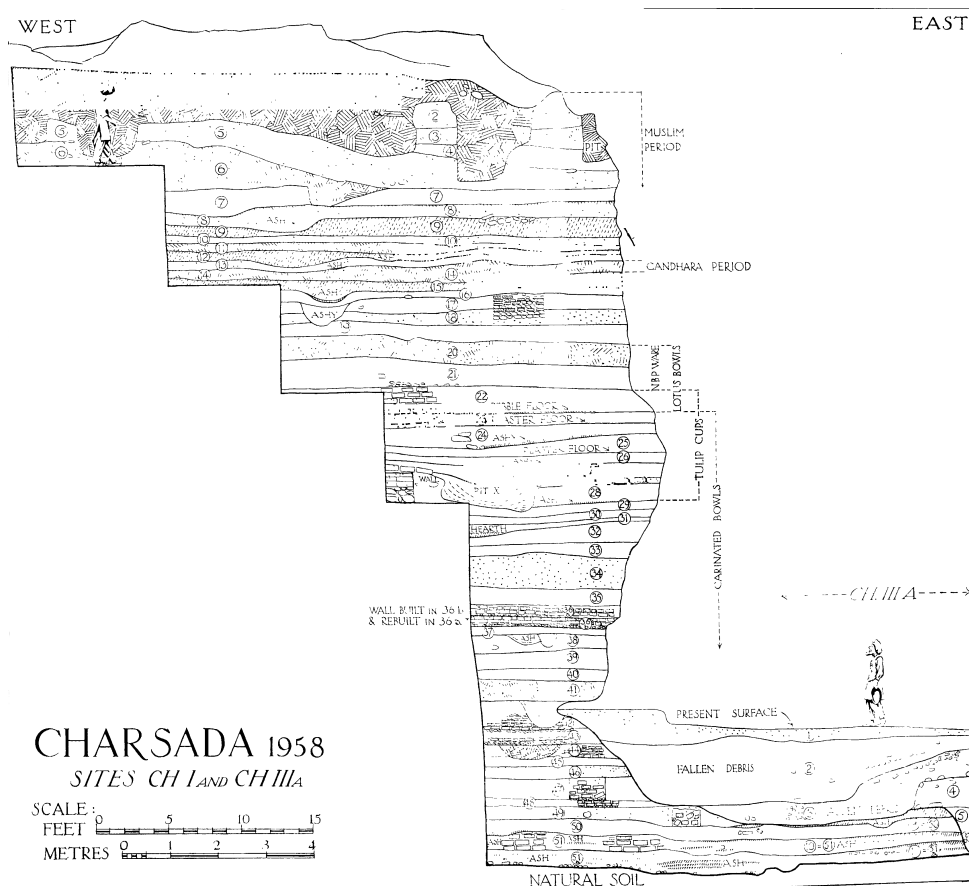


Figure 16.6 Charsadda, Bala Hisar, section of trench Ch. I (after Wheeler 1962: pl. II) (Courtesy DOAM).

Iron Age (thus earlier than Wheeler's chronology). Layers (38)–(35) are relatively unrepresentative, and I am inclined to envisage the possibility of a substantial gap in the cultural sequence, or the presence of a major negative intervention, which was possibly not detected by the excavators. This gap, which corresponds to the chronological phase between 8th and 6th centuries BCE, is present at Barikot as a long period of abandonment. In contrast, layers (34)–(25) exhibit materials comparable to Barikot Macrophase 2. This phase might start a bit earlier (5th–4th century BCE) and end a bit later than was proposed by Wheeler (late-4th/3rd BCE). We might then have expected another gap in terms of the cultural and/or physical sequence. In fact, layers (24)–(19) exhibit material that is roughly comparable with the horizon of Barikot Macrophase 3a (Indo-Greek) (including pyramidal loom weights), and might therefore be tentatively dated to a slightly later chronology (mid-2nd century BCE). Moreover, the idea that the lower trench Ch. III had exposed the ditch of the ancient Puṣkalāvātī, associated with the siege of Alexander's army, has been ruled out as its filling is dated to the middle of the 1st millennium BCE (Coningham and Ihsan Ali 2007: 48, 96–98). The postholes complex identified by Wheeler as the palisade and bridge of a postern gate, was rejected as a later feature (*ibid.*). The true 'Indo-Greek' *facies* at Charsadda is represented only by the other two trenches excavated by Wheeler, Ch. IV and Ch. V., whose materials, although coherent, are relatively scarce.

More information is forthcoming from the 'second Puṣkalāvātī' excavated at the site of Shaikhan-dheri, slightly north of Bala Hisar, in 1963 and 1964 (Dani 1965–1966) (Figure 16.7). This fortified 'grid-planned' city (whose wall ramparts were



Figure 16.7 Aerial photograph of Shaikhan-dheri (after Wheeler 1962: pl. XV) (Courtesy DOAM).

not excavated; see *ibid.*: 22) yielded an archaeological sequence which is by and large compatible with the one revealed at Barikot. What is important to note is that although the exposed structural evidence of the Indo-Greek period is extremely scarce, and the information is basically coming from deep trial trenches, the numismatic assemblage of the site makes it possible finally to determine a point which will have direct implications for the history of the site at Barikot. In fact, on the basis of numismatic finds, Shaikhan-dheri phase 1 (= Period VI) can be dated certainly after Menander, but *before* Antialkidas, that is after 130 BCE and before 115 BCE (see Allchin 1979: 756; Dani 1965–1966: 37–38) (Figures 16.11–16.13).

BARIKOT AND THE EVIDENCE FROM SWAT

Before analysing in detail the evidence from this site, and its connections with the nearby settlements of Udegram and Barama, I would like to anticipate some points concerning the major chronological and structural links between Barikot and Shaikhan-dheri, as part of the spatial dialectic between mountains and plains in early historic times. From the 2014–2017 excavation at Barikot (Figures 16.8–16.9) we know that the city, founded during a very well defined Achaemenid acculturation phase (c. 6th–5th century BCE; Olivieri and Iori 2019), was fortified at least four

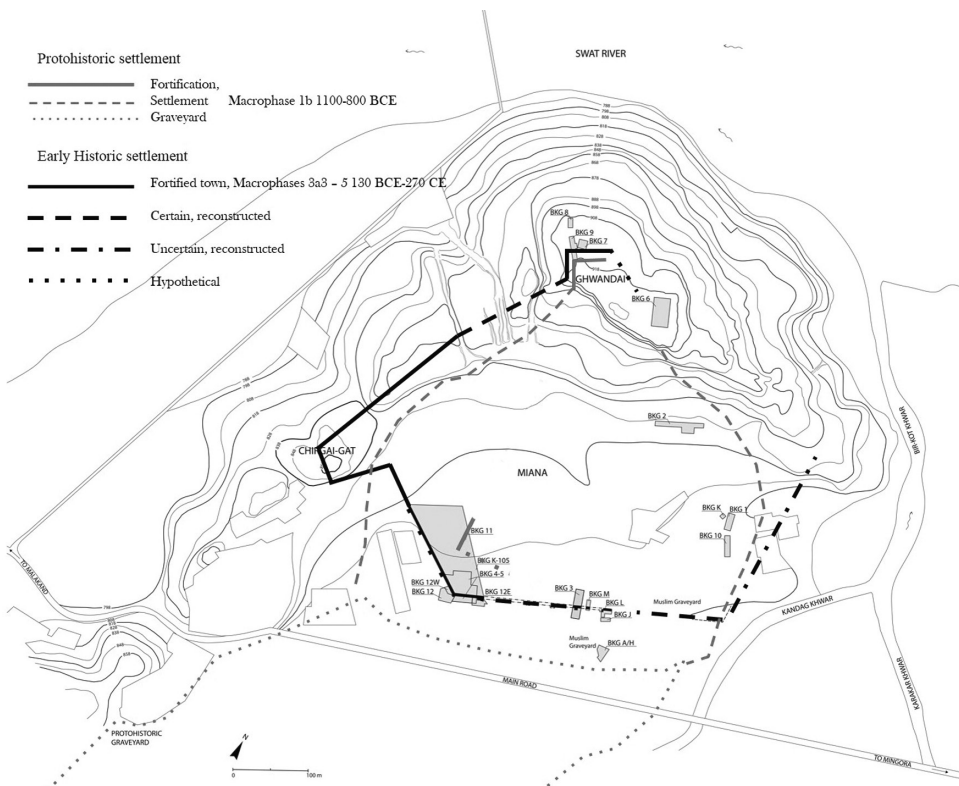


Figure 16.8 Barikot, general map (Courtesy ISMEO).



Figure 16.9 Barikot, trench BKG 11 seen from N (Courtesy ISMEO).

times, before the urban circuit fell into disrepair and was abandoned during the so-called *pax kusanica* in the mid-2nd century CE.

The first fortification is revealed by a large inner earthen rampart with an upper palisade dated to the early Iron Age (last phase and abandonment: 1251–1056 and 1125–926 95.4% 2σ cal BCE). In the outer sector of the excavation, the remains of the early Iron Age settlement were sealed by a thick silty clayish deposit, which has been interpreted as the levelling of a large rammed earth structure upon which the Indo-Greek defensive wall was built. This thick deposit, dated 369–201 100% 2σ cal BCE, covered the upper edges of the defensive ditch, proving that the ditch was already cut, i.e. the area was already fortified, when the area was further disturbed by the construction of the Indo-Greek fortification.¹⁴ Is this proof of the fortification of the polis Bazira (Βάζιρα) built by the Macedonians (see below)?

In one of the structural phases associated with Indo-Greek material (Macrophase 3a3) the massive stone masonry city wall (Figure 16.10) was built. The lower city and the acropolis were enclosed by a massive defensive wall with rectangular bastions every 28 meters, the equivalent of 100 Attic feet, 1 *pléthron*. To date, the urban wall represents the only excavated Indo-Greek urban defensive structure in South Asia (Callieri 2007). The foundation of the wall is associated with a burial pit which was dug in the external trampling surface immediately *ante* the erection of the city wall a few meters from the south-western corner bastion. The pit contained the remains of a young human female and of a small mammal, probably a dog, along with a vessel found almost intact (Callieri et al. 1992; Ricci et al. 2000; Iori, forthcoming). At first sight, one may think of a *φάρμακός* ritual, which is extensively—albeit controversially—reported in the Hellenistic and early Roman world (Hughes 1991). The weighted average date of the samples of the human remains is 182–45 BCE 100% 2σ cal (163–128 BCE 40% 1σ cal) (Figures 16.11–16.13).

The combined archaeological data suggest that with the construction of the urban circuit important structural events took place after 150 BCE, and that either Menander or his successors (Zoilos I, Antialkidas, Lysias) may have had a role in it.

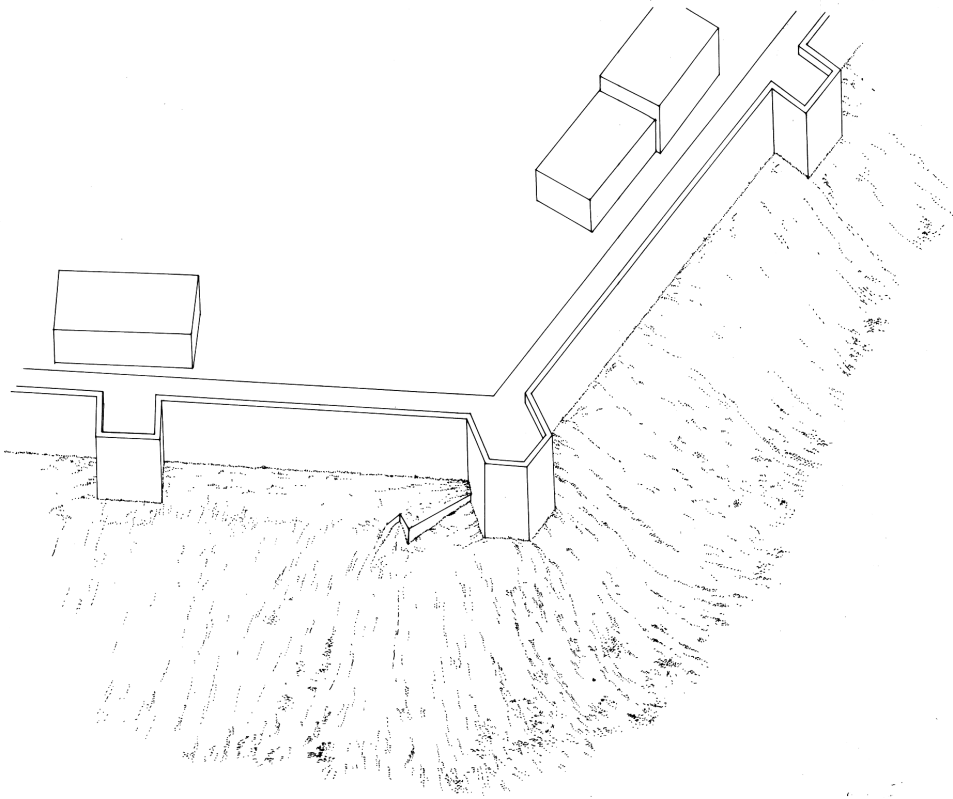


Figure 16.10 Barikot, Indo-Greek wall, SW corner (Drawings by F. Martore) (Courtesy ISMEO).

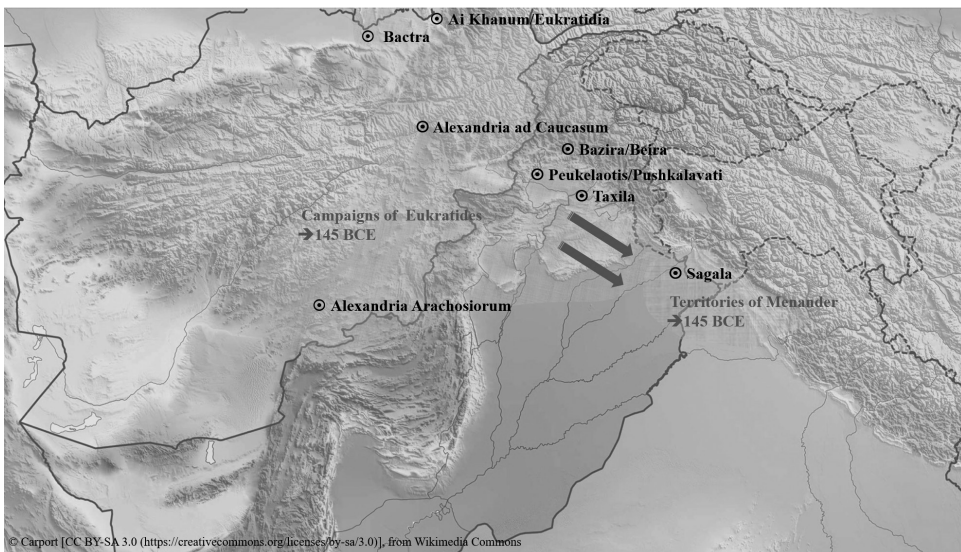


Figure 16.11 Historical maps of Gandhāra and NW India c. 150–130 BCE.

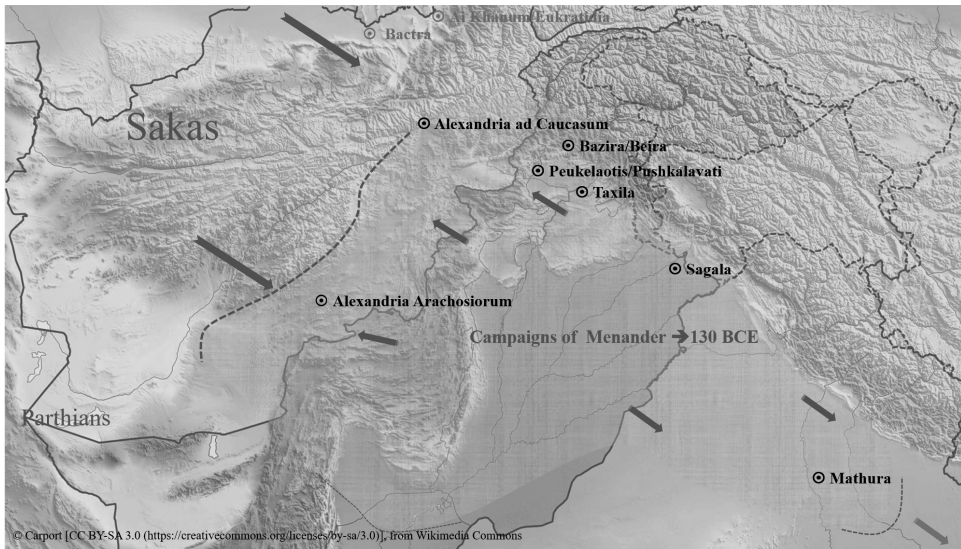


Figure 16.12 Historical maps of Gandhāra and NW India c. 150–130 BCE.

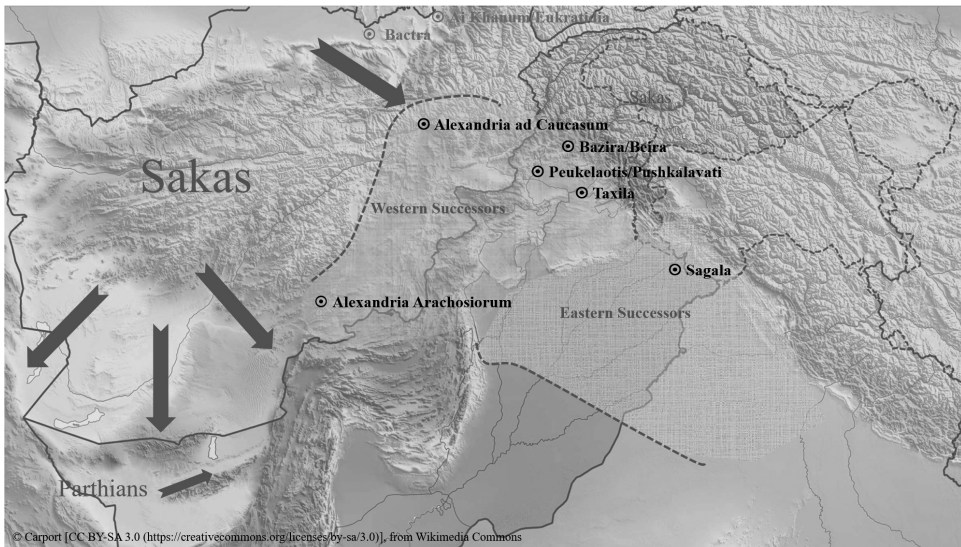


Figure 16.13 Historical maps of Gandhāra and NW India post 130 BC.

The fortification was later rebuilt and ameliorated following a destructive earthquake at the time of the Saka-Parthians, c. 50 BCE–50 CE according to the weighted average of the C14 evidence (Olivieri 2015a, Iori et al. 2015).

The political decision and the associated financial investment related to the Indo-Greek fortification can be only understood in the framework of a major political event, possibly the same as was behind the foundation of the new city of Puṣkalāvati

at Shaikhan-dheri. The new masonry urban fortification at Barikot was certainly the marker of a newly established system of power. Even when one considers the event simply as the reinforcement of an existing stronghold, the scale of such reinforcement and the economic implications of such a decision have a magnitude that cannot be explained by an ordinary maintenance programme.

Possible proof that a larger programme of power consolidation had been launched is the coeval reconstruction of the Dharmarājika stupa at one of the most important Buddhist sanctuaries of Gandhāra at Butkara I, c. 20 kilometres north-east of Barikot (see below).

On the basis of the archaeological data, we can thus now date the fortification to the second half of the 2nd century BCE, most probably *before* the reign of Antialkidas. When trying to contextualize the numismatic assemblage from Barikot, among the various Indo-Greek coins (almost all found in their correct chronological contexts) there are two which are extremely crucial for their recovery context. Both were found in contexts after the construction of the defensive wall. The first is a coin of Zoilos I (Æ, MacDowall and Callieri 2004, 54, fn. 4; 84; c. 130–120 BCE). It was found on the surface of a floor c. 0.84 metres above the filling of the foundation trench of the fortification inside the city. The second coin belongs to Antialkidas (Ar, BKG 3534; 2016). The latter is the earliest coin found in a context associated with the fortification wall (when the latter was *already* functioning).

The relative scale of the two sites, Barikot and Shaikhan-dheri, is pretty uneven. In the latter case we are dealing with a regional capital (c. 48 hectares) dominating the Gandhāran stretch of the ‘Northern Route’ to India, while Barikot was a local stronghold (c. 12 hectares) whose role can only be understood when one analyses the special economic role that it played in the spatial strategy of Indo-Greek kings (Figure 16.1).

The Greek antecedents of Barikot

The name of the ancient city, Vajirasthāna, is mentioned in a Brāhmī-śāradā inscription (c. 10th century CE) found on the hill-top at Barikot (studied by O. von Hinüber in Callieri and Olivieri 2020, Olivieri and Iori 2019). The medieval toponym can be interpreted as ‘the *sthāna* ([fortified] place) of Vajra/Vajira’. The first to associate Barikot with Βάζιρα/Beira the polis or *urbs opulenta* besieged and conquered by Alexander in the autumn of 327 BCE (Arrian, *An.* 4.27.5–9; *Cur. Hist.* 8.10.22) was Aurel Stein (Stein 1930: 28–29). Later on it was Giuseppe Tucci who convincingly associated the early toponym ‘Vajirasthāna’ with the Greek form Βάζιρα.¹⁵ The missing element for the association between Barikot and Βάζιρα/Beira was provided by Stefan Baums: “Given that the best approximation for the pronunciation of va(y) ira is [ve(j)irə], the information provided by Curtius Rufus on the pronunciation of the local name [Beira] seems extremely precise, thus revealing that the source that he used was particularly reliable on this point” (Tribulato and Olivieri 2017: 129; see also Baums 2019: 169–170).

According to Arrian (*An.* 4.28. 4) “[Alexander] built fortresses [*phrouria*] at Ora [modern Udegram, see below] and Massaga for the defence of the region, and fortified the city of Bazira” (τὰ μὲν δὴ Ὀρα καὶ τὰ Μάσσαγα φρούρια ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐξετείχισε) (see Callieri 2007; Capdetrey 2012, 325 fn. 47). On the basis of the economic importance of the Swat valley, the detour of Alexander in Swat

can be explained primarily by the necessity of providing his army with food resources. He entered Swat at the time of the second harvest, and we know from a first-hand source (Ptolemy [I Soter]), that c. 230,000 oxen were seized in Swat by the Macedonians (Arr., *An.*, 4.25.4).¹⁶ He wanted to deprive his enemies of resources, and create a secure rear zone, both strategically and logistically, for the establishment of Macedonian control, which in his mind was not going to be ephemeral. Thus, the Alexandrian fortification of Βάζιρα may have had the function of protecting an agrarian colony with a strong local component (perhaps a kind of *katoikia*) (See Capdetrey 2012: 322, fn. 17). Moreover, if one considers that the information on Beira/Βάζιρα contained in Curtius's *Historiae* is potentially first-hand, the definition of *opulenta* (Cur., *Hist.*, 8.10.2), a term clearly indicating agricultural wealth, acquires particular value. The Curtius thesaurus shows that the term *opulenta* is attributed three times to a region (conveying the abundance of resources), Bactria (twice) and Persis, and four times to a city, Tarsus, Babylon, Persepolis and Beira (Therasse 1976).¹⁷ The mention of Beira/Βάζιρα among the major metropoleis of the ancient world is undoubtedly surprising!

In summary, if our reconstruction is correct, Swat was placed under Indo-Greek control by the successors of Menander during the consolidation of their Indian territories, not long after the fall of Ai Khanoum (145 BCE; see Callieri 2000: 159). The reason for their huge military investment (the fortification at Barikot) was the necessity of creating a strategic bulwark to protect a crucial economic pool for the new Puṣkalāvātī. The importance of the ancient city at Barikot can be explained by its exceptionally wealthy natural environment, within the economic/strategic space of a macro-regional political power, and the associated high demand for resources.

A digression on chronology

A thick series of C14 dates (24 samples) helped to create at Barikot a statistically stable chronological sequence (for conventional radiocarbon ages see Figures 16.14–16.15 [68% confidence level, 1σ cal.]. Due to the presence of ‘wiggles’, in particular, in the periods 700–400 BCE and 350–200 BCE, the calibration curve displays flat behaviour, which make the single absolute determination quite uncertain. These plateaux, well known to anyone working on these chronologies, are due to solar activity and oscillation of the helio-geomagnetic field. But close interaction between archaeologists and physicists at Barikot may have contributed to mitigating this problem. The compact sequence of samples allowed us to construct a calibrated Bayesian model utilizing known anteriority/posteriority relationships, grouping of samples belonging to the same phase (Olivieri et al. 2019). The stratigraphic and archaeological data together with the absolute dates obtained from organics (mostly charred seeds) generated a cultural sequence organized per macrophases, i.e. groups of structural periods which share a coherent cultural assemblage (see section in Figure 16.16). The evidence from the early city 6th century BCE–1st century CE) is summarized in Table 16.1.

The non-Greek component: pottery

A red line throughout the whole early historic phases is represented by the continuity of Indic materials, pottery, including cultic terracotta figurines, both human and

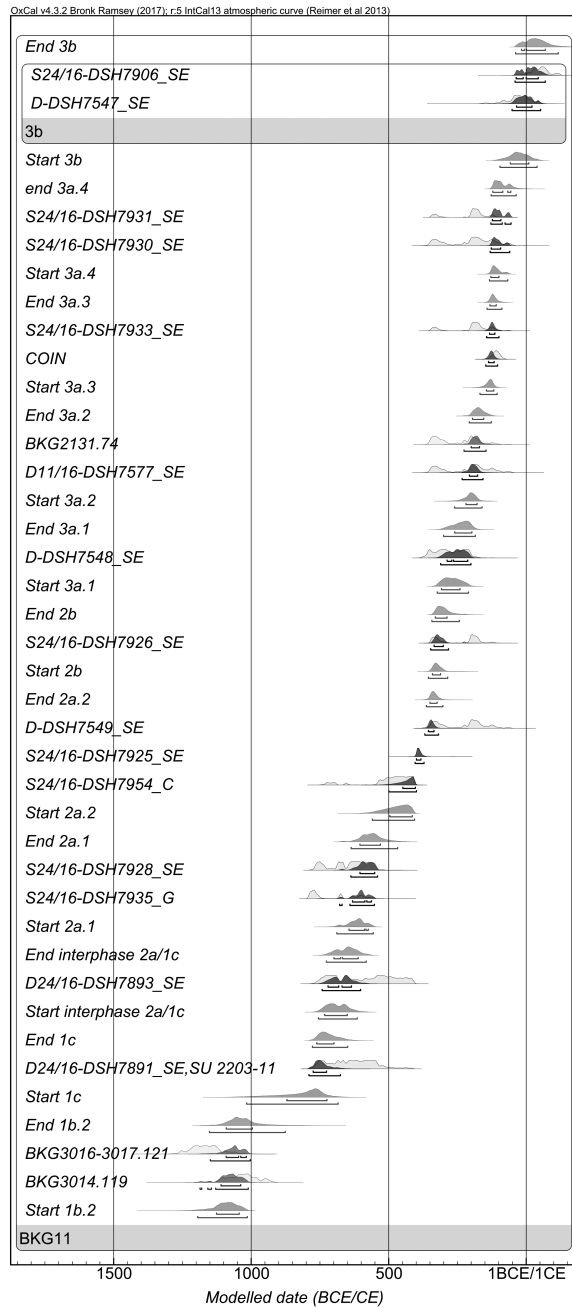


Figure 16.14 Barikot: modelled radiocarbon sequence trench BKG 11 (Courtesy ISMEO/CIRCE).

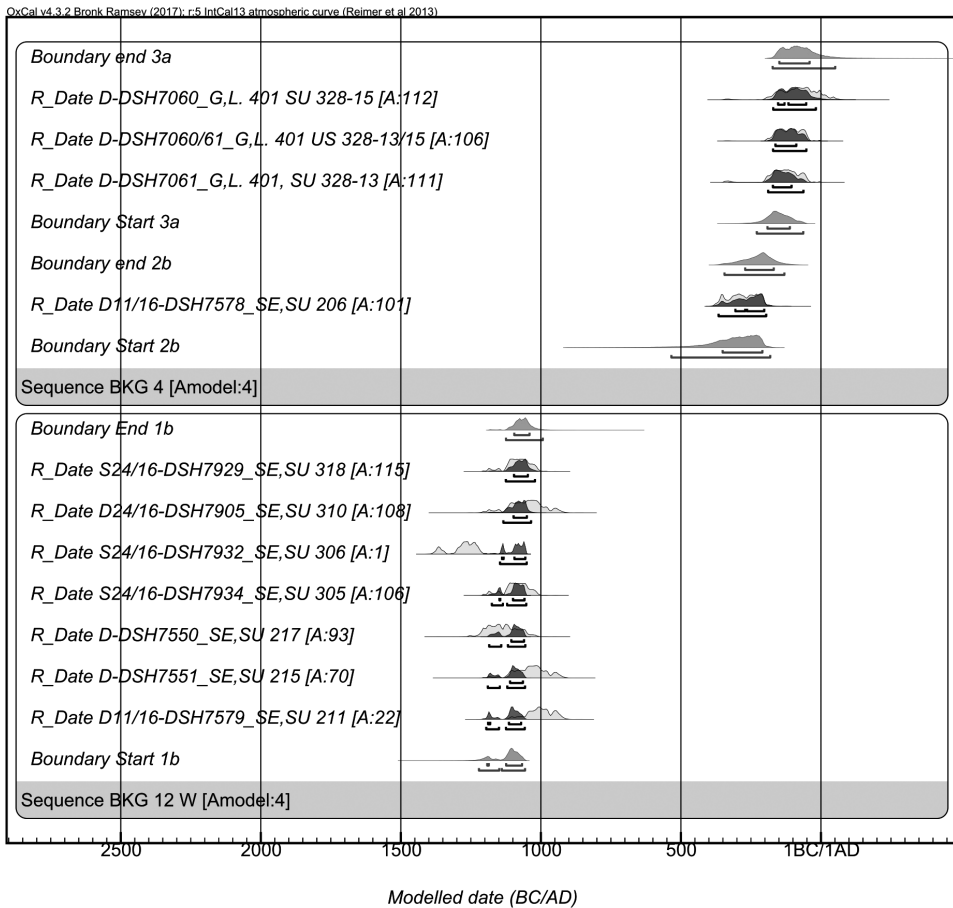


Figure 16.15 Barikot: modelled radiocarbon sequence trench BKG 12 (Courtesy ISMEO/CIRCE).

animal, that was already present at Barikot in the urban phases prior to the establishment of the mid-2nd century BCE fortification. Interestingly, such material is already present during the Achaemenid acculturation phase (Macrophase 2a), when the ceramic assemblage features elements of both Iranic and Indic origin. The Iranic pottery tradition is mainly represented by tableware ('Tulip bowls'), and, later, by a black-on-red painted ware also known as 'Eastern Triangle Ware' (Dittmann 1984, Iori 2018). On the other hand, the Indic tradition is detectable in a rich accumulation of common ware, such as carinated cooking pots, pear-shaped water jugs, truncated-conical cups, and carinated *thālīs*.

The first introduction of Indic forms in Gandhāra thus seems to have occurred at a moment when the region was part of a larger political entity, the Achaemenian Empire, and when, as a consequence, the demand for goods had increased and trans-regional trade had expanded. It is worth noting that this is the first time that Indic pottery material, the same types as were documented in the early levels of Taxila-Bhir Mound, has been positively documented in the territories of the cis-Indus.

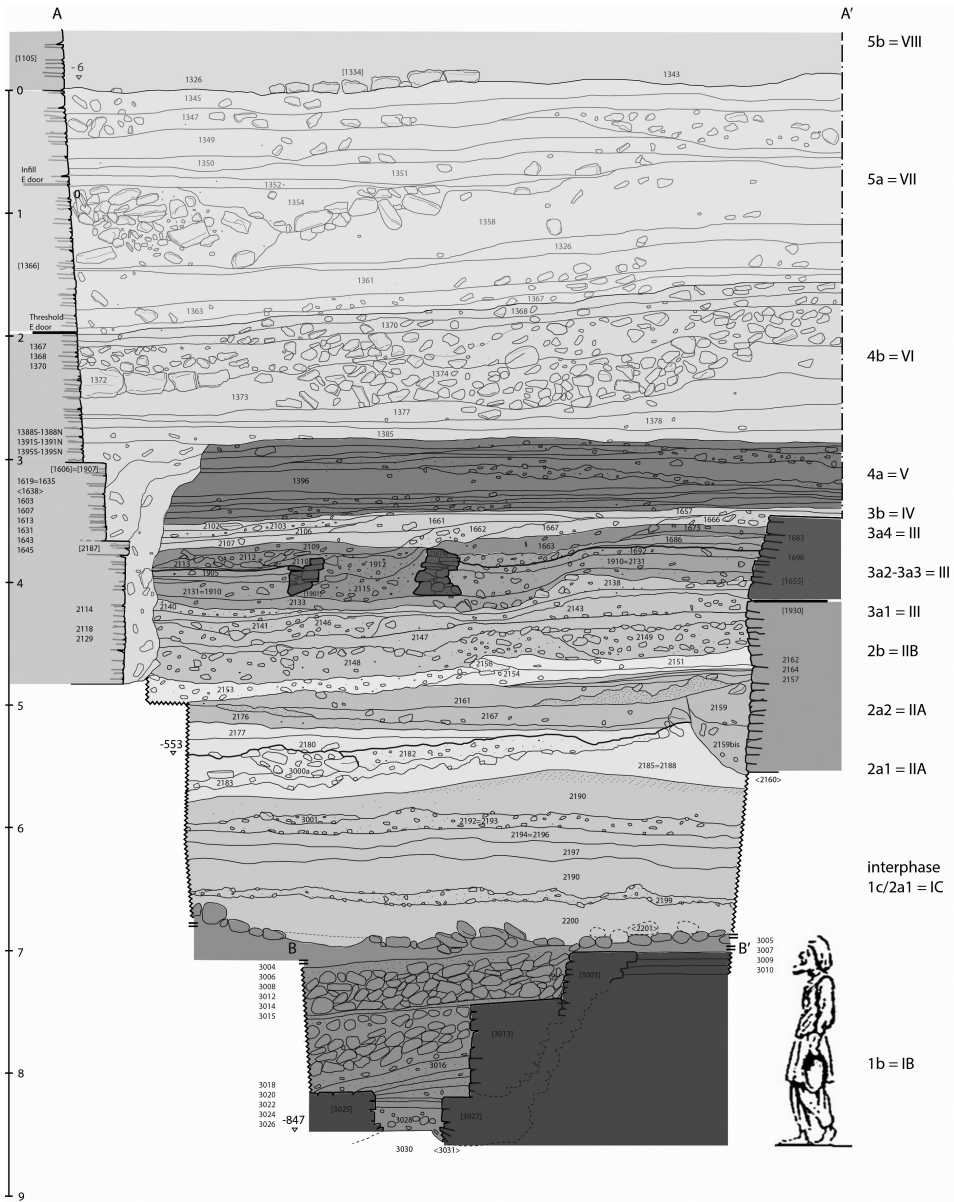


Figure 16.16 Barikot, section of trench BKG 11, sector K (Courtesy ISMEO).

In Macrophase 2b (mid-4th–3rd century BCE), apart from the appearance of Indic terracotta figurines, and the effective disappearance of Iranian vessels, the post-300 BCE assemblage features a continuity of Indic pottery forms.

The Greek component: pottery

Rather significantly, in a structural phase securely dated ante-2nd century BCE (Macrophase 3a1), thus in a pre-Indo-Greek context, the ceramic assemblage of Barikot shows, alongside the continuity of Indic ware, a clear change marked by the introduction of some Hellenistic pottery forms (such as fish-plates, krater-like vessels), strongly suggesting the existence of a trade network between the Mauryas and their Hellenized neighbours, the Graeco-Bactrians. The same trend is confirmed at Taxila-Bhir Mound, where, as we have seen, Hellenistic pottery material is documented as early as Stratum III (see above).

As clearly highlighted by Callieri (2007), the Indo-Greek period at Barikot, while showing a continuity of Indic ware (and rare occurrences also of Indic terracottas), also marks a sharp change in terms of the relative quantity through the massive introduction of Hellenistic forms along with the ‘Hellenistic Ladies’ terracotta figurines (Figure 16.17) and related materials (see above). Fish-plates are the most frequent forms along with hemispherical bowls with flat everted (sometimes painted) horizontal rims.¹⁸ Fish-plates are made in fine ‘clinky’ ware, with triangular to sub-triangular rims, and are normally red-slipped (rarely golden-slipped) (Maritan et al. 2018).¹⁹ Deep goblets and black-on-red painted bowls/dishes (mainly

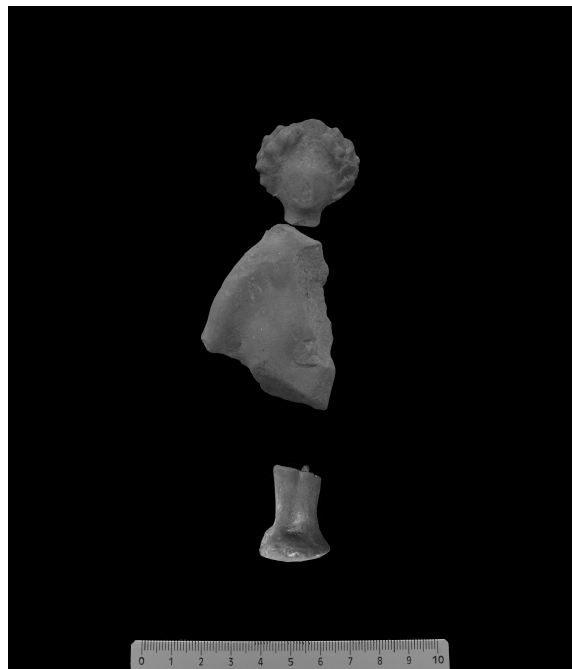


Figure 16.17 Barikot, Indo-Greek period, parts of a ‘Hellenistic Lady’ terracotta figurine (Courtesy ISMEO).

hatched or cross-hatched triangles and triangle patterns filled with parallel wavy lines) and vegetal motifs are also attested.²⁰ Interestingly, ‘lotus bowls’, a typical and well-established class of stamped ware, can be backdated by the Barikot evidence, in accordance with Shaikhān-dheri, to the Indo-Greek phases.²¹ A unique grey ware (black-slipped) *krater*-type vessel, unlike *kraters* from Ai Khanoum, which were mostly red ware and wheel-turned (Lyonnet 2013: figs. 96–100), was mould-made and then wheel-turned.²²

The multi-lingual community

Since Macrophase 2a we have noticed an interesting trend in the pottery assemblages. Exotic forms—starting with the Iranic pottery—are represented mostly by open forms, serving vessels and tableware, while pottery containers and cooking pots, mostly closed forms, belong to the Indic tradition.

The same trend is observable in the Indo-Greek acculturation phase. In Macrophase 3a the archaeological data depict a social context where an élite bearing Greek names lived in a multi-lingual and probably multi-ethnic community. This is the picture offered by the small corpus of Greek (Tribulato and Olivieri 2017) and Brāhmī inscriptions on sherds (Baums in Callieri and Olivieri 2020.), and by a sherd with a few Aramaic painted letters (Figure 16.18) (Zellmann-Rohrer and Olivieri 2019). In total in the Indo-Greek acculturation phase (Macrophase 3a) Greek and Brāhmī scripts are equally represented at Barikot (with three fragments each) but, interestingly, are incised on different types of vessel forms. While Greek inscriptions are confined to Hellenistic tableware, Brāhmī appears on sherds from typical Indic vessels. This dichotomy might be a reflection of social and ethnic stratification.²³

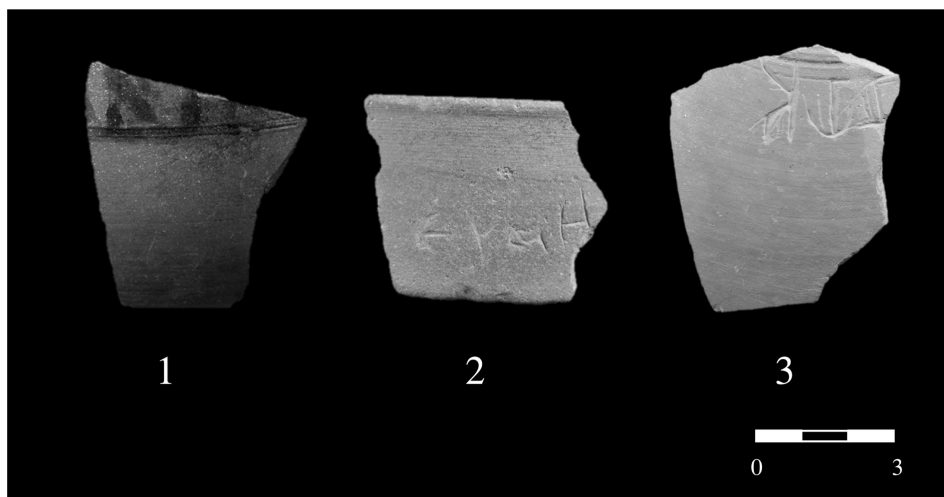


Figure 16.18 Barikot, Indo-Greek period, three sherds, three scripts (Courtesy ISMEO).

Udegram²⁴

When putting together the scarce information available from the report (Gullini 1962: 236–237), we may hypothesize that the earliest occupation phases at Udegram (Strata VIII and VII) find a parallel in Barikot Macrophases 2a–2b. Strata VI and V are considered ‘Indo-Greek’, which means that they may overlap Barikot Macrophases 2b–3a. From a floor level of Stratum V, a hoard of 23 punch-marked coins was found inside a small jug (Gullini 1962: 325, fn. 43). In the same stratum (which does not mean the same layer) was recovered a sherd with an incomplete inscribed Greek name NOY^{vac.}[] (Pugliese Carratelli 1966: 35–36; Rougemont 2012: 87 = *IK* 297; Tribulato and Olivieri 2017). Moreover, it was possible to positively compare a few documented pottery materials with those of Barikot Macrophases 3a (Iori 2018: 74–75).

In any case, we can certainly confirm the existence in the mid-2nd century BCE of an urban settlement at the site, whose extent, based on the orography and the presence of a citadel on the Mount Raja Gira, was of about 35 hectares., far larger than Barikot. In a recent work I have proposed the idea that Udegram was “a larger centre, similar to a subordinate or dependant *polis*” (Olivieri 2018: 187), possibly the seat of a major aristocratic family of the valley, the royal house of Oḍi, on which I will briefly talk in the last part of this contribution.

Barama and Butkara I

Of a different order is the situation of the pioneering small-scale work done by D. Faccenna at Barama (Faccenna 1964–1965; Iori 2016, Id. 2019). Barama is a large flat artificial mound formed by two terraces separated by a moat or vallum. The site yielded a sequence of six major structural periods (6–1) running – with interruptions – from the late Iron Age (Period 6) to the late Kushan period. Two noncalibrated radiocarbon dates from the site (Period 4: ca. 370 BCE; Period 6: ca. 635 BCE) broadly confirm the early historic occupation of the site. The site, overlooking from the north the course of Jambil river, a left-bank tributary of Swat, is located just opposite the Buddhist site of Butkara I. It has been proposed (in Iori 2016) that Barama was actually the ‘upper town’ of a larger urban settlement of c.100 hectares and that Butkara I was an urban Buddhist sanctuary located just at the south-eastern outskirts of it. The idea of the existence of a major city exactly under the modern town of Mingora, at the confluence of Jambil, Saidu and Swat, in the larger alluvial zone of the Swat valley, had already been mooted by Faccenna (Faccenna 1980–1981: 727–745, 751–756) (Figure 16.19). The hypothesis was resumed after an initial study of the pottery materials from Period 4 which undeniably present direct comparisons with the materials of Macrophase 3a of Barikot (Iori 2018: 64–73). In a note to Iori 2016 (100–101), I proposed to confirm Faccenna’s suggestion of linking the Periods 5–1 of Barama with Periods I–V of Butkara I (Faccenna 1980–1981: 751, fn. 3). The major implication of the reconstruction is the association of Barama 4 with Butkara I G.St. 2, and the associated chronology provided by Barikot 3a, i.e. mid-2nd century BCE.

“G.St. 2” stands for “first reconstruction of the Great Stupa”, i.e. the Dharmarājika stupa of Butkara I. The original construction of the stupa is dated by Faccenna to the mid-3rd century BCE (see also Falk 2005), while his first reconstruction (G.St. 2)

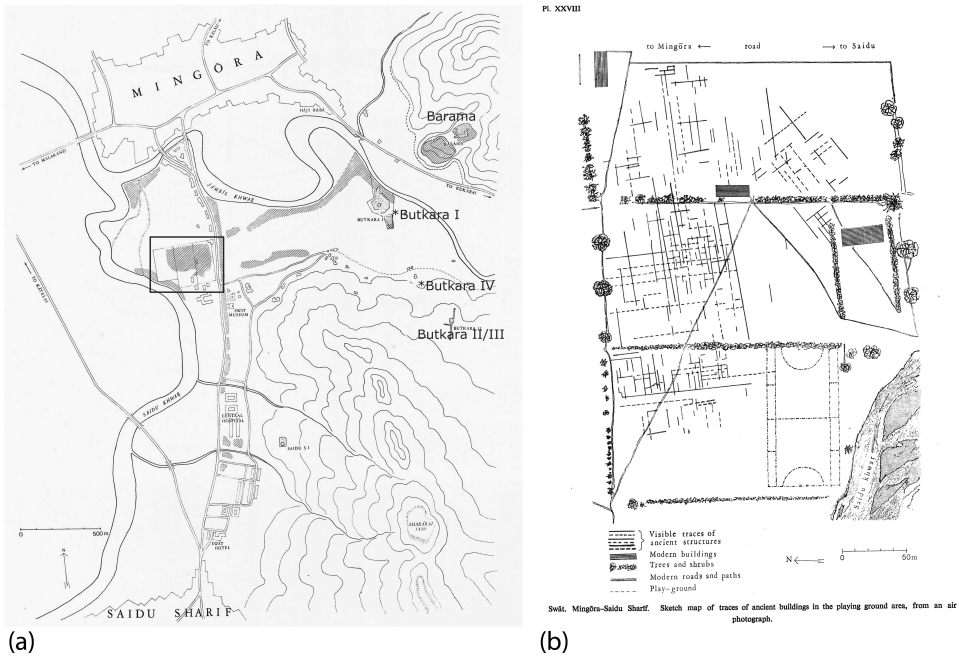


Figure 16.19 a – Mingora urban area: location of the major archaeological sites. The red box indicates the position of Fig. 19b (after Faccenna 1980–1981: pl. XXVII) (Courtesy ISMEO). b – Mingora urban area: ancient urban gridiron after an aerial photograph (after Faccenna 1980–1981: pl. XXVIII) (Courtesy ISMEO).

with its paved floor F5, is dated by a coin of Menander intentionally deposited “as an act of consecration” under the podium built around the drum of the stupa. Under floor F4, which is the original paved floor of G.St. 3 (the second reconstruction) was laid a coin of Strato I. G.St. 3 is quite coherently dated by a set of coins of Azes II (Faccenna 2003: 279–282; 283–286).

The local component: names, burial features and DNA

At Barikot, the material culture of the Hellenistic matrix was confined to the limits of the élite’s needs and habits, including coinage, writing, military architecture, the system of measurements, luxury items and a few technical implements.²⁵ Obviously, a major role was played by the local component, the most elusive one. In a splendid article S. Baums (2018b: 40–41, tab. 1.2) has summarized the question from the perspective of the epigraphical record. Greek, Indic, hybrid names and local names are used by individuals within the same family lineage: “We have to conclude [...] that although the use of Greek names in Gandhāra bespeaks the continuing historical memory and prestige of the Indo-Greek rulers (especially Menander), we can deduce nothing from it about the ethnicity or cultural self-identification of their bearers [...]” (ibid.: 41). The epigraphical records under consideration are mainly the dedicatory inscriptions to Buddhist establishments (i.e. stupas, shrines) by the members of the

houses of Oḍi (Swat) and Apraca (Bajaur?). The former are dated to the first quarter of the 1st century CE, while the latter are slightly earlier (Baums 2012: 64–65).²⁶ The role of these local princes as ‘all-weather’ *clientes* of the foreign kings (whether they were Greek, Saka or Kushan) is clearly attested by the inscription of the Oḍi prince Senavarma who, by mentioning his political brotherhood with the scion of Kujula Kadphises, signed the acceptance of a political pact with the new ruling entity. Were these local families Saka, Indian, or admixed with Greek ancestry? None of them. They were not only probably local, but also deep-rooted in Swat.

I cannot refrain from introducing here the discovery of an aristocratic multiple burial near the sanctuary of Butkara I (Olivieri 2019) (Figure 16.20).²⁷ It is a burial *ad sanctos*, which includes a tripartite vaulted structure with two double-chambered cells flanking a central what may be a decomposition cell, and at least two square cenotaphs. The DNA of five of the 20 skeletons has been analysed. Three individuals, deposited in the central chamber, show family relatedness: a male individual (167–46 cal BCE 2-σ) has a first-degree relatedness (mother-son) with a female (context date 200–100 BCE), and a second/third-degree relatedness with another male individual (41 BCE–57 CE cal. 2-σ). The DNA results are now

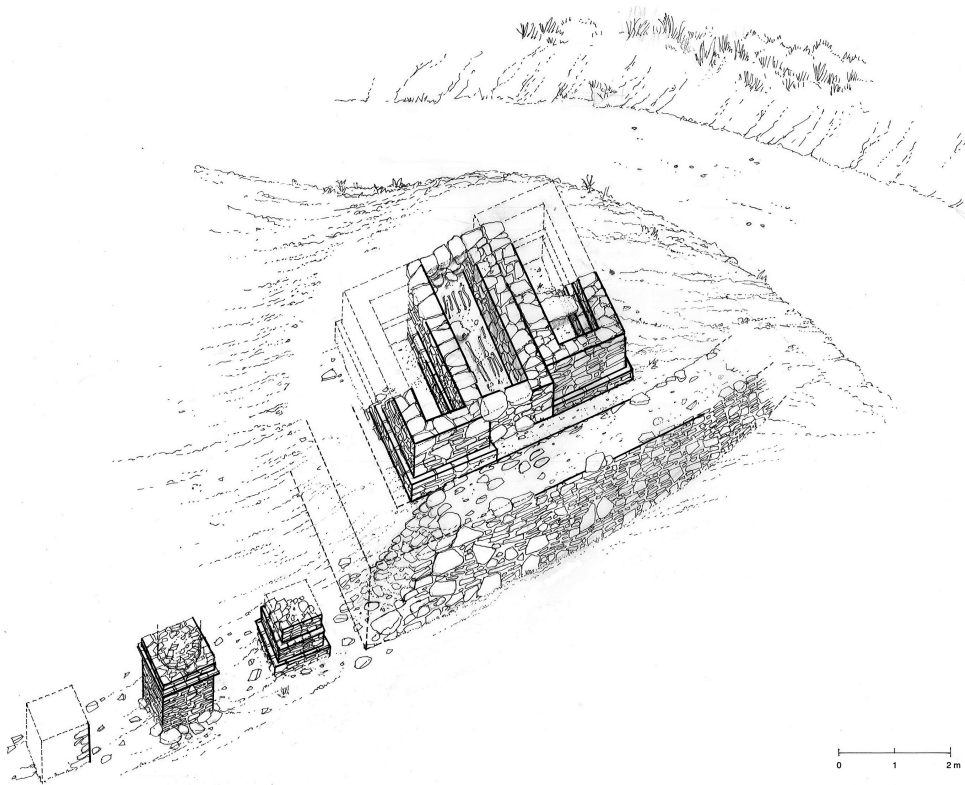


Figure 16.20 Butkara IV, the tripartite burial monument (Drawings by F. Martore) (Courtesy ISMEO).

available (Narasihman et al. 2019). In synthesis, these individuals have a mixed Iranian-Ancient Steppe-South Asian ancestry. Statistically, the admixture shows a significant increase in indigenous South Asian ancestry in comparison to Swat individuals from late Bronze-early Iron Age, to whom the five analysed individuals nevertheless maintain both a strong genetic relatedness, and, more interestingly, a parallel burial tradition.

NOTES

- 1 For onomastic names, titles, and calendrical terminology see Muccioli 2013, Baums 2018a, Id. 2018b.
- 2 The reasons are also linked to the unavoidable difference in stratigraphic processual behaviour between settlements and cultic complexes, an issue which has been elaborated in Olivieri 2017.
- 3 With the exception of Hayatabad, which is the most promising site discovered in recent years, data on this period from these sites are infrequent or unpublished (e.g. Gor-khuttree). Therefore, they are not included in the discussion. No data are available from the excavations at Ohind (Hund) near the junction between Indus and Kabul rivers. The impressive harvest of data on the Early Historic settlements of the Peshawar Plain (Ihsan Ali 2003) is unfortunately conditioned for these phases, by a weak chronology. From Pir Manakrai comes an inscribed red ware vessel with a Kharoṣṭhī and Greek onomastic inscription ([B](*)u)dha[va]masa Budhaśravaputrasa + ? o, and [H](*)e[r[a]maasa) (Dar 2015: 18, pl. XXX; CKI 1169 and 1170). The important site of Akra (Bannu Basin), which is particularly relevant for the Achaemenid acculturation phase, is analysed in detail by C. Petrie in this volume.
- 4 The list should include the existence of an Indo-Greek mint (Callieri 1995: 298), that others will discuss in this volume.
- 5 But also from Bhīr Mound Strata II and I (see below).
- 6 Pyramidal loom-weights: Dani 1965–1966: pl. XLII; Ch. III (mixed) and Ch. I, layers (22)–(24). Barikot, trench BKG 7, Period II (Indo-Greek) (Olivieri in Callieri et al. 2000: 194–195, fig. 5). *Lāsana* (λάσανα) pot-stands appear at Sirkap, and Aziz-dheri from Saka-Parthian period, but are already represented already in Indo-Greek phases at Barikot, and at Shaikhān-dheri (?). Rotary querns (*machinae*) are present at Barikot only from Saka-Parthian period.
- 7 Ghosh 1957–1948: pls. XIII–XIV; Wheeler 1962: 104; Dani 1965–1966: pls. XXIII, XXVIII–XXX, XXXIII; Callieri 2000: 150–151. See Menegazzi 2014.
- 8 The pottery of Barama and Udegram (surviving documentation) has been studied by E. Iori (2015, 2019).
- 9 For our study period, data obtained by pollen and isotope records seem to point to a semi-arid phase with reduced monsoon activity. Direct data on our region are very scarce if not absent (Coningham and Young 2015: 50–52). For the early-historic agricultural production at Charsadda, see Coningham and Ihsan Ali 2007 (241–245); for Swat see Stacul 1987 and Spengler et al. 2020; see also Young 2003. For Kashmir, see Spate 2019.
- 10 Initially Marshall was of the opinion that the urban fortification of Sirkap was built around 50 BCE (Marshall 1929: 62), and only later he attributed it to the ‘Greek’ period.
- 11 A hypothesis considered also by Marshall: “The site selected by the Bactrian Greeks for their new city embraced part of the extreme western end of the Hathiāl spur together with a small sharply defined plateau on its northern site [Kaccha-kot]” (Marshall 1960: 61). The issue of Kaccha-kot—after the publication of Ghosh 1947–1948, was liquidated by Marshall with the following words: “[...] such roughly defended suburbs were intended

- rather for temporary use of caravans, cattle, etc. [...]; but it is likely enough that many lower-caste people made their homes there” (Marshall 1960: 84).
- 12 In our reconstruction Bhir Mound III is associated to Barikot Macrophase 2b, and Bhir Mound II and I to Barikot 3a (see below).
 - 13 The “ergological approach which claims that a higher layer will always follow a lower immediately in time” (Dittmann 1984: 156).
 - 14 This is one of those ‘negative interfaces’ that archaeologists may occasionally fail to detect and interpret (visible in Fig. 15). The enormous implications of this specific case on the past reconstruction of the entire Swat sequence, and especially of the transition from early Iron Age and the so-called ‘Early Urban Phase’, have been extensively elaborated in Olivieri and Iori 2019.
 - 15 See Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Tucci 1977; Olivieri 1996; Rapin and Grenet 2018, 171–172; see also Olivieri and Iori 2019. I would like to thank here professors Claudia Antonetti (Ca’ Foscari, Venice), Stefan Baums (LMU, Munich), Matteo De Chiara (INALCO, Paris), Llewlin Morgan (Brasenose College, Oxford), and Luisa Prandi (Verona) for the many fruitful talks on these themes.
 - 16 At the time of Alexander’s march in Swat the harvesting and storing of seasonal crops had just started (*Bāburnāma* fol. 220–221 [Thackston 2002, 268]: “It was the end of the year, only a day or two left in Pisces. The lowland grain had all been taken in, and if we went now to Swat the soldiers would not find any grain and would suffer. [...] Next year we should come earlier, at harvest time [...].”
 - 17 The research was done by L. Prandi, who kindly shared this information with me.
 - 18 Lyonnet 2013: 179–190, figs. 101–108; Callieri 2000: 857–876, figs. 1 c–d.
 - 19 See Lyonnet 2013: fig. 101, 9–10; fig. 104, 1; fig. 101, 2–5; fig. 102, 1–7; figs. 105; figs. 106 1–2; figs. 108 2–8.
 - 20 Goblets: Lyonnet 2013: fig. 120, 1–6. Painted ware: Callieri 2000: 861, fig. 1 a–d; Wheeler 1962: fig. 21 126. The typical leaf and comb-like patterns are attested up to the Saka-Parthian layers at Barikot (Iori et al. 2015).
 - 21 Callieri 2000: 867–868, fig. 4.b–g; Callieri 2007: 150; Dani 1965–66: 17–214; Wheeler 1962: 40–41.
 - 22 See Rotroff 1997: 139, figs. 607–608. See also Lyonnet 2013: fig. 100, 9–10.
 - 23 On this see Tribulato and Olivieri 2017: 129–130. The separation is even more striking when one looks at the ceramic materials from Ai Khanoum. There, most of the published material has open forms and belongs to serving vessels and tableware. It is evident that the utilitarian dimension linked to storage and food production, and to the segment of the population in charge of it, was—at the Graeco-Bactrian Ai Khanoum, in contrast to Indo-Greek Barikot—sharply separated from the residential dimension (see Lyonnet 2013; see also Fussman 1993: 91).
 - 24 For the identification of the toponym (Ora - Oḍi - Udyāna) see Stein 1930, Tucci 1958, Olivieri 1996, and lastly Rapin and Grenet 2018. G. Gullini on numismatic grounds identified Strata VI and V as Indo-Greek (Gullini 1962). The coins from Udegram are not yet published (M. Alram, ongoing study). On Gullini’s stratigraphy, see Olivieri 2018: fn. 16. Lastly, see Iori 2018: 26–28.
 - 25 Whose diffusion occurred only from the Saka-Parthian period onwards.
 - 26 All the epigraphical record come from the antiquary collection. The association of the Apraca texts with Bajaur is based on indirect information. Only for two Oḍi inscriptions are the places of provenance known, and both are in Swat (CKI 334 and CKI 401; Baums 2012).
 - 27 The site, now named Butkara IV, was excavated by M. Taddei in 1963, and never published (apart from a detailed mention in Tucci 1977: 23–25). It is located some 600 metres south-east of Butkara I in the extreme periphery of the ancient city.

REFERENCES

- Ali, I. 2003. Early settlements, irrigation and trade-routes in Peshawar Plain, Pakistan. *Frontier Archaeology*, 1: 1–289.
- Allchin F.R. 1979. Evidence of early distillation at Shaikhan Deri. In M. Taddei, ed., *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Series Minor VI, Naples: 755–797.
- Allchin, F.R. 1982. How old is the city of Taxila, *Antiquity*, 65, 216: 8–14.
- Baums, S. 2012. Catalog and Revised Texts and Translation of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions. In D. Jongeward, E. Erringtonm R. Salomon, S. Baums, eds., *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries, Gandharan Studies*, vol. 1. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London: 200–251.
- Baums, S. 2018a. A framework for Gandhāran chronology based on relic inscriptions. In W. Rienjang, P. Stewart, eds., *Problems of Chronology in Gandhāran Art*. Archaeopress, Oxford: 53–70.
- Baums, S. 2018b. Greek or Indian? The *Questions of Menander* and onomastic patterns in early Gandhāra. In H.P. Ray, ed., *Buddhism and Gandhara. An Archaeology of Museum Collections*. Routledge, London/New York: 33–46.
- Baums, S. 2019. A survey of place-names in Gāndhārī inscriptions and a new oil lamp from Malakand. In W. Rienjang, P. Stewart, eds., *The Geography of Gandhāran Art*. Archaeopress, Oxford: 167–174.
- Callieri, P. 1990. Archaeological activities at Bīr-kot-ghwandai, Swat: A Contribution to the Study of the Pottery of Historic Age from N.W.F.P. In P. Callieri, M. Taddei, eds., *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, Serie Orientale Roma, LXVI, 2. Rome: 675–692.
- Callieri, P. 1995. The North-West of the Indian subcontinent in the Indo-Greek period. The archaeological evidence. In A. Invernizzi, ed., *In the Land of the Gryphons. Papers on Central Asian archaeology in antiquity* (Monografie di Mesopotamia, V). Le Lettere, Firenze: 293–308.
- Callieri, P. 1997. *Seals and sealings from the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan (4th Century BC – 11th Century AD)*. Dissertationes, I. Istituto Universitario Orientale/Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Naples.
- Callieri, P. 2000. Decorated pottery from the IsIAO excavations at Bīr-kot-ghwandai (Swat, Pakistan, 2nd cent. B.C.–15th cent. AD). In M. Taddei, G. De Marco, eds., *South Asian Archaeology 1997*, Serie Orientale Roma, XC 2. Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Rome: 857–876.
- Callieri, P. 2007. Barikot, An Indo-Greek Urban Center in Gandhāra. In D.M. Srinivasan, ed., *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kuśādhāraano*. Brill, Leiden/Boston: 133–164.
- Callieri, P., P. Brocato, A. Filigenzi, M. Nascari, L.M. Olivieri. 1992. Bīr-kot-ghwandai 1990–1992. A Preliminary report on the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission, IsMEO. *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, 52, 4. Suppl. 73.
- Callieri, P., Colliva L., Micheli R., Abdul Nasir, and Olivieri L.M. 2000. Bīr-koṭ-ghwāṇḍai, Swāt, Pakistan. 1998–1999 Excavation Report. *East and West*, 50, 1–4: 191–226.
- Callieri, P., L.M. Olivieri, 2020. *Ceramics from the Excavations in the Historic Settlement at Bīr- koṭ-ghwāṇḍai (Barikot), Swat, Pakistan (1984–1992)*. ACT-Field School Reports and Memoirs, Special Volume 2. Sang-e-Meel, Lahore.
- Capdetrey, L. 2012. Fondations, diasporas et territoires dans l’Asie hellénistique au IIIe siècle, *Pallas*, 89: 319–344.
- Coningham, R., I. Ali. 2007. *Charsadda. The British-Pakistani Excavations at the Bala Hisar*. Society for South Asian Studies monograph 5. BAR International Series 1709. Oxford.
- Coningham, R., R. Young. 2015. *The Archaeology of South Asia. From the Indus to Asoka, c. 6500 BCE–200 CE*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Dani, A.H. 1965–1966. Shaikhan Dheri excavations, 1963 and 1964. *Ancient Pakistan*, 2: 1–407.
- Dar, S.Z. 2015. Three seasons of excavations at Pir Manakrai, Haripur: Preliminary report. *Ancient Pakistan*, XXVI: 1–44.
- Dittmann, R. 1984. Problems in the identification of an Achaemenian and Mauryan Horizon in North-Pakistan. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 17: 155–193.
- Durrani, F.A., T. Ali, I. Rahman. 1997. Excavation at Gor Khuttree - A preliminary note. *Athariyyat (Archaeology)*, 1: 185–212.
- Erdösy, G. 1990. Taxila: political history and urban structure. In P. Callieri, M. Taddei, eds., *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, Serie Orientale Roma, LXVI, 2. Rome: 657–674.
- Faccenna, D. 1964–65. Preliminary report on the 1963 excavation campaign of Barama I (Swat-Pakistan). *East and West*, 15, 1–2: 7–23.
- Faccenna, D. 1980–1981. *Butkara I (Swāt-Pakistan) 1956–1962*. IsMEO Reports and Memoirs 3, 1–5. Rome.
- Faccenna, D. 2003. The Butkara I complex: Origins and development. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 9, 3–4: 277–286.
- Falk, H. 2005. The introduction of Stūpa-worship in Bajaur. In O. Bopearachchi, M.-F. Boussac, eds., *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l’Est et l’Ouest*. Brepols Publishers, Turnhout: 347–358.
- Fussman, G. 1993. Taxila: the Central Asian connection. In H. Spodek, D.M. Srinivasan, eds., *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia. The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*. NGW Studies in the History of Art Series, Washington, DC: 83–100.
- Fussman, G. 1994. Upāya-kauśalya: l’implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra. In F. Fumimasa and G. Fussman, eds., *Bouddhisme et cultures locales: quelques cas de réciproques adaptations*. École française d’Extrême-Orient. Études thématiques, 2. Paris: 17–51.
- Ghosh, A. 1947–1948. Taxila (Sirkap) 1944–5. *Ancient India*, 4: 66–79.
- Gullini, G. 1962. Udegram. In D. Faccenna, G. Gullini, eds., *Reports on the campaigns 1956 – 1958 in Swat (Pakistan)*. Mingora. Site of Butkara I. Udegram. IsMEO Reports and Memoirs 1. Rome.
- Hughes, D.D. 1991. *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*. Routledge, London/New York.
- Husain, J. 1980. *Shaikhan Dheri Pottery: A Methodological and Interpretative Approach* (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge). Cambridge.
- Iori, E. 2016. The early-historic urban area at Mingora in the light of Domenico Faccenna’ excavations at Barama-I (Swat). *Frontier Archaeology*, 7: 99–112.
- Iori, E. 2018. *The Gandharan Region (NW Pakistan) from the Late Iron Age to the Hellenistic Period. A Study in the Rise of a Complex Culture Across Local Traditions, Iranism and Hellenism Based on Ceramics* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Bologna ‘Alma Mater’ 2018). Bologna.
- Iori, E., A. Afridi, L.M. Olivieri. 2015. Urban defenses at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat (Pakistan). Data from the 2015 excavation campaign, *Pakistan Heritage*, 7: 73–94.
- Iori, E. forth. The so-called Burial at the City Wall of Barikot. An Urban Ritual? In S. Rau and J. Rüpke, eds., *Religion and Urbanity Online*. Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter.
- Khan, Bahadar, M. Hassan, M.H. Khan Khattak, M. Faiz-ur-Rehman, Aqleem Khan. 2002. *Bhir Mound: The First City of Taxila. Excavations Report 1998–2002*. Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Lahore.
- G. R. Khan, M. A. Durrani and A. Samad (2019) Preliminary Report of Archaeological Excavations at Hayatabad, Peshawar: Field Season 2017. *Ancient Pakistan*, XXX: 111–197.
- Khan, G.M. 1983. Hathial excavation: a preliminary account. *Journal of Central Asia*, 6, 2: 35–44.

- Lyonnet, B. 2013. La céramique de la maison du quartier sud-ouest d'Aï Khanoum. In G. Lecuyot, ed., *Fouilles d'Aï-Khanoum IX. L'habitat. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, 34. Diffusion De Boccard, Paris: 179–191.
- MacDowall, D.W., P. Callieri. 2004. *A Catalogue of Coins from the Excavations at Bīr-ko en Afghanistanellenistic Period. A Study in the Rise of*, ISIAO Reports and Memoirs, New Series 3. Rome: 27–90.
- Mairs, R. 2009. The 'Greek Grid-Plan' at Taxila (Sirkap) and the Question of Greek influence in the North West. In M. Willis, C. Fröhlich, eds., *Migration, Trade and People. Gandharan Art*. BASAS, London: 135–147.
- Maritan, L., R. Piovesan, M.C. Dalconi, J. Rius, A. Crespi, O. Vallcorba, L. Casal, M. Vidale, L.M. Olivieri. 2018. Looking like gold: chlorite and talc transformation in the golden slip ware production (Swat valley, north-western Pakistan). *Minerals*, 8, 200: 1–12.
- Marshall, J. 1929. Excavations at Taxila. *ASI Archaeological Reports 1928-1929*: 61–66.
- Marshall, J. 1951. *Taxila, I-III*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Marshall, J. 1960. *A Guide to Taxila*. Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, Karachi.
- Menegazzi, R. 2014. *Seleucia al Tigri, le terrecotte figurate* (Monografie di Mesopotamia,, XVI [Missione in Iraq, VI]). Le Lettere, Firenze.
- Muccioli, F. 2013. *Gli epiteti ufficiali dei re ellenistici*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Mughal, R. 1967. Excavations at Tulamba, West Pakistan, Pakistan. *Archaeology*, 4: 13–152.
- Narashiman, V.M., D. Reich, et al. 2019. The genomic formation of South and Central Asia. *Science*, 365, eaat7487. doi: 10.1126/science.aat7487: 1–15 (Supplementary Materials: science.sciencemag.org/content/365/6457/aat7487/suppl/DC1: 1–341).
- Nasim Khan, M. 2010. *The Sacred and the Secular. Investigating the Unique Stūpa and Settlement Site of Aziz Dheri, Peshawar valley, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan*, 1–3. Peshawar.
- Olivieri, L.M. 1996. Notes on the problematical sequence of Alexander's itinerary in Swat: A geo-historical approach. *East and West*, 46, 1–2: 45–78.
- Olivieri, L.M. 2015a. Urban defenses at Bīr-kot-ghwandai, Swat (Pakistan). *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 21, 1: 183–199.
- Olivieri, L.M. 2015b. *Sir Aurel Stein and the 'Lords of the Marches'*. New Archival Materials. ACT-Field School Reports and Memoirs, Archival Documents, 1. Sang-e-Meel, Lahore.
- Olivieri, L.M. 2017. *Digging up. Fieldwork guidelines for archaeology students*. ACT Report and Memoirs, Series Minor, 1. Sang-e-Meel Publisher, Lahore.
- Olivieri, L.M. 2018. Vajīrasthāna/Bazira and beyond. Foundation and current status of the archaeological work in Swat. In H.P. Ray, ed., *Buddhism and Gandhara. An Archaeology of Museum Collections*. London/New York: 173–212.
- Olivieri, L.M. 2019. The early-historic funerary monuments of Butkara IV. New evidence on a forgotten excavation in outer Gandhara. *Rivista di Studi Orientali*, 92, 1–4: 231–257.
- Olivieri, L.M., E. Iori. 2019. Data from the 2016 excavation Campaigns at Barikot, Swat (Pakistan): A shifting perspective. In A. Hardy, L. Greaves, eds., *South Asian Art and Archaeology 2016*. Dev Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi: 19–43.
- Olivieri, L.M., F. Marzaioli, I. Passariello, E. Iori, R. Micheli, F. Terrasi, M. Vidale, A. D'Onofrio. 2019. A new revised chronology and cultural sequence of the Swat valley, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Pakistan) in the light of current excavations at Barikot (Bir-kot-ghwandai). *Nuclear Inst. and Methods in Physics Research (B)*, 456: 148–156.
- Petrie, C. 2013. Charsadda. In D.K. Chakrabarti, M. Lal, eds., *History of Ancient India 3. The Text, Political History and Administration Till c. 200 BC*. New Delhi: 512–522.
- Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1966. Greek Inscriptions of the Middle East. *East and West*, 16, 1–2: 31–36.

- Qasim Jan, M.M. 2001. A short note on Mra Dherai in Charsadda, Pakistan. *Ancient Pakistan*, XIV: 41–543.
- Rapin, C. 1995. Hinduism in the Indo-Greek area. Notes on some Indian finds from Bactria and on two temples from Taxila. In A. Invernizzi, ed., *In the Land of the Gryphons. Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity* (Monografie di Mesopotamia, V). Le Lettere, Firenze: 275–292.
- Rapin, C., F. Grenet. 2018. How Alexander entered India. With a note on Ortospaia (the ancient name of Ghazni?). *Afghanistan*, 1, 1: 141–181.
- Ricci, G., et al. 2000. L'età delle mura. In A. Carandini, P. Carafa, eds., *Palatium e Sacra Via, Bollettino di Archeologia*, 31–33: 147–149, 155–160.
- Rotroff, I.S. 1997. Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, 1–2, The Athenian Agora, XXIX. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Rougemont, G. 2012. Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, Vol. I: Inscriptions in Non-Iranian Languages*. School of Oriental Studies, London.
- Sharif, M. 1968. Excavation at Bhīr Mound, Taxila, Pakistan. *Archaeology*, 6: 6–69.
- Spate, M. 2019. Reconsidering archaeological and environmental proxies for long term human-environment interactions in the Valley of Kashmir. In L.E. Yang, H.-R. Bork, X. Fang, S. Mischke, eds., *Socio-Environmental Dynamics Along the Historical Silk Road*. Springer Open, Cham: 123–149.
- Spengler, R.N., Li Tang, A. Nayak, N. Boivin, L.M. Olivieri, forth. The southern Central Asian mountains as an ancient agricultural mixing zone: new archaeobotanical data from Barikot in the Swat valley of Pakistan, *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*.
- Stacul, G. 1987. *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Swat, Pakistan (c. 3000–1400 B.C.)*, IsMEO Reports and Memoirs. XX, Rome.
- Stacul, G. 1990. On Chārsada and beyond: What is wrong with Sir Mortimer Wheeler. In P. Callieri, M. Taddei, eds., *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, Serie Orientale Roma, LXVI, 2. Rome: 605–609.
- Stein, A. 1930. An archaeological tour in upper Swāt and adjacent hill tracts. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 42. Calcutta.
- Thackston, W.M. 2002. *The Baburnama. Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*. Modern Library, New York.
- Therasse, J. 1976. *Quintus Curtius Rufus Index Verborum, relevés lexicaux et grammaticaux*. Olms Verlag, Hildesheim/New York.
- Tribulato, O., L.M. Olivieri. 2017. Writing Greek in the Swat region: A new graffito from Barikot (Pakistan). *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 204: 128–135.
- Tucci, G. 1958. Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat. *East and West*, 9, 4: 279–348.
- Tucci, G. 1977. On Swāt. The Dards and connected problems. *East and West*, 27, 1–4: 9–85. 94–103.
- Wheeler, M. 1962. *Chārsada. A Metropolis of the North-West Frontier*. Oxford.
- Young, R. 2003. *Agriculture and Pastoralism in Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan*, BAR International Series 1124. Oxford.
- Zellmann-Rohrer, M., L.M. Olivieri. 2019. An inscribed sherd in Aramaic script from Barikot (Pakistan). *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 381: 67–74.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

PART IV

WRITTEN SOURCES





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CHAPTER 17

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS AND DOCUMENTARY TEXTS AND THE GRAECO-ROMAN HISTORICAL TRADITION



Rachel Mairs

INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth- and twentieth-century intellectual ‘custody battles’ over the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms are the product of geopolitical forces but, on a more personal level, of individual scholarly training. As Svetlana Gorshenina and Claude Rapin have shown in their chapter in this volume, Russian imperial expansion into Central Asia and rivalry with Britain, and later Soviet ideological priorities, influenced how the culture and society of Hellenistic Central Asia was written about in Russia and the Soviet Union. In his contribution to this volume, Omar Coloru has similarly demonstrated how imperialism and political circumstances in Western Europe and South Asia also led scholars to write about the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms in particular ways. Within these wider intellectual frameworks, scholars have also approached the topic with a narrower, more individual perspective: that of their own educational training. Until the archaeological discoveries of the mid-twentieth century, Central Asian antiquity was the field of the philologist and the numismatist. It remains a field in which collaboration between scholars of text and language and of material culture is essential, to make the most of a fragmentary historical and archaeological record. The first scholars to write about the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek states, in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were educated according to the standard of the times, in Latin and Greek. A smaller number, particularly those who worked in Russia or South Asia, might have had some exposure to Chinese (Bayer in St Petersburg) or Indian languages (Prinsep in Calcutta). Given their grounding in Greek and Roman historical sources, it is unsurprising that European scholars tended to look at Central Asia through this lens: as a place at the fringes of the ‘Classical’ world, whose Hellenism (or otherwise) was the most important issue at stake. It was only later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that European scholars began to take account of South and East Asian textual traditions on Central Asia, and that scholars from these regions, with training in their own philological traditions, themselves entered the field.

The chapters in this section explore how three philological traditions – Graeco-Roman, South Asian and Chinese – have been and can be used to contribute to our understanding of Central Asia in the Hellenistic period. It should be read as a

complement to Section 3, on the archaeological record, and Section 5, on the numismatic record. In this chapter, I aim to outline the current state of the written evidence in Greek and Latin – including both texts from excavated contexts and those from the manuscript tradition – to explore how this evidence has traditionally been used to interpret the history and culture of Hellenistic Central Asia, and to offer some prospective avenues for future research.

INSCRIPTIONS AND DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

Inscriptions

Greek inscriptions and documentary texts from Central Asia are a relatively recent discovery. The first Greek inscription from Afghanistan was discovered only in the 1950s (the Graeco-Aramaic Aśokan edict from Kandahar). The most recent discoveries are from the 2010s, and there will almost certainly be more between the time this book goes to press and its publication.

The most convenient place to consult the Greek texts from Hellenistic Central Asia is in Rougemont's (2012) volume in the series *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*. Rougemont's collection has the great advantage of including texts on ceramics and perishable materials as well as inscriptions on stone. Canali De Rossi's 2004 corpus, while also useful, does not contain several more recently-published items. Given ongoing excavations in the region, and the continuing emergence of pieces from the antiquities market (and often subsequent disappearance back into private collections), it will remain necessary to supplement these volumes with newer publications. In recent years, new finds have tended to be announced in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (e.g. Tribulato and Olivieri 2017; Clarysse and Thompson 2007) or *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (e.g. Bernard and Rougemont 2003), and reported in the *Hellenistic Far East Bibliography* (www.bactria.org).

Stone inscriptions in Greek (or including Greek as one of their languages) come from a small number of sites: Kandahar, Djiga-tepe in the Bactra oasis, Ai Khanoum, Takht-i Sangin and Kuliab. The majority are religious and/or funerary in character, and most are very short or fragmentary. From Kandahar (Ball this volume) come three Aśokan texts, one of which is in Greek alone and another bilingual Greek-Aramaic (Rougemont 82–83), and the thanks-dedication of the 'Son of Aristonax' (Rougemont 81). The inscription of Sōphytos son of Naratos probably also comes from Kandahar (Rougemont 84). The piece from Djiga-tepe (Martinez-Sève this volume) is a fragmentary funerary stele belonging to a man named Diogenes (Rougemont 91). The Ai Khanoum (Martinez-Sève this volume) inscriptions are a portion of the Delphic maxims with an additional text describing Klearchos' bringing of them to the 'temenos of Kineas' (Rougemont 97); a gymnasial dedication to Hermes and Herakles by Straton and Triballos, sons of Straton (Rougemont 98); and two fragmentary funerary inscriptions (Rougemont 236 and 237). Takht-i Sangin (Lindström this volume) yielded a small plinth with a dedication by Atrosokes to the god Oxos (Rougemont 95). Although not inscriptions per se, it is also appropriate to consider alongside the Takht-i Sangin dedication moulds from the temple, designed for the casting of metal vessels and containing votive Greek inscriptions to

the Oxus (Rougemont 96 bis; Drujinina 2008; Ivantchik 2011). An altar dedicated by Heliodotos to Hestia in a ‘grove of Zeus’ on behalf of the kings Euthydemos and Demetrios is said to have come from Kuliab (Rougemont 151; cf. Lindström this volume). The publication of a Greek inscription from historic excavations at a temple site at Sehyak in Afghan Seistan is under preparation by Mitchell Allen, Lauren Morris and the present author. It contains, unfortunately, only sufficient preserved text to identify the language as Greek, not to gain much insight into its original contents.

Epigraphic traditions

The first publications of Greek inscriptions from Afghanistan immediately confronted scholars with the same questions of scholarly ‘custody’ as the numismatic, historical and archaeological material. Did these inscriptions support the argument that Central Asia was part of a ‘Greek’ world (Tarn’s “fifth Hellenistic state”: Coloru this volume)? The first Greek inscription discovered in the region, the bilingual Greek-Aramaic Aśokan edict could, from a Classical point of view, be seen as paradoxical: the use of a Greek inscription and the Greek language to express the political and ethical will of an Indian king. The inscription was also bilingual in Aramaic. Giuseppe Tucci, in his introduction to the full publication of the bilingual inscription, was of the view that “no doubt the inscription, that implicitly confirms the importance of the Greek element in that part of the Asian world, is bound to give rise to additional controversy. ... This inscription proves once more how very close to us are the countries of Asia, how closely bound to our own history, through remote but uninterrupted events” (Tucci in Pugliese Carratelli and Garbini 1964, xi). Although subsequent epigraphic discoveries at Kandahar made the complex linguistic, cultural and political landscape of the region clear – the monolingual Greek Aśokan edict contains Prākṛit loanwords, and one of the Aśokan texts is in a form of Prākṛit written in Aramaic script – the scholarly focus has drifted towards a Greek epigraphic perspective, away from one which privileges the hybrid, multilingual nature of these texts. Recent studies of multilingual inscriptions from elsewhere in the Hellenistic world have given equal attention to the individual languages of the text, and to their interrelationship (e.g. Pfeiffer 2004; El-Masry, et al. 2012). It is to be hoped that studies of the Aśokan texts from Kandahar and the Laghman valley will move in a similar direction (Mairs forthcoming-b). Beyond the epigraphic corpus of Central Asia, there is also considerable scope in comparative studies (see Mairs 2014b, 102–145) for a comparative treatment of the Greek inscription of Sōphytos from Kandahar and the Prākṛit inscription of Heliodoros from Besnagar in central India).

The reason why the dominant narrative has been that of the ‘Greek’ nature of the epigraphic record from Central Asia is twofold. First, discoveries subsequent to the Aśokan edicts have been monolingual in Greek, and direct references within the text relatively monocultural. Second, scholars with the specialist skillset to work with Greek inscriptions tend to be less at home with material in Aramaic or Prākṛit, and vice versa. Greek inscriptions have formed an important part of the evolving scholarly narrative about Ai Khanoum and its cultural identity (Martinez-Sève, this volume). For scholars of the 1960s, their very presence lent weight to the status of the city as an important ‘Greek’ establishment, and moreover as a worthy object of

study. Louis Robert, discussing W. W. Tarn's pessimistic hopes for the discovery of an 'Iranian Doura Europos', noted the centrality of the written text to Tarn's notion of 'Hellenistic civilisation': "la fouille d'un site grec «avec des inscriptions». Celles-ci sont en effet des documents privilégiés et irremplaçables pour l'intelligence historique" (Robert 1968, 417). The content of the Greek inscriptions from Central Asia also lent itself to a focus on the 'Greek'. Louis' Robert's classic study 'De Delphes à l'Oxus', from which I have just quoted, devotes considerable space to discussing the evidence for philosophical and cultural connections between the Mediterranean world and South and Central Asia, but it also highlights the quintessentially, blatantly Greek cultural priorities of the Ai Khanoum inscriptions from the gymnasium and the *temenos* of Kineas. What the stereotypically – almost clichéd – 'Greek' references to Hermes, Herakles and Delphi amount to in terms of the cultural identities of the city's inhabitants is a matter of considerable debate (Mairs 2014b, 179–184).

Comparison with other regions of the Classical world, broadly defined, can be instructive. Can these scattered inscriptions be said to amount to a Greek 'epigraphic habit' in Central Asia? Certainly, they constitute a fairly representative sample of the kinds of contexts which called for inscriptions elsewhere in the Hellenistic world: personal dedications to gods at religious sites; tombs or cemeteries; and even public statements of private individuals' loyalty to kings, and kings' enforcement of their own authority. On the other hand, although it is difficult to speak for the region as a whole, the thorough exploration of a site such as Ai Khanoum indicates that Greek public inscriptions were not as prominent a feature of the urban and civic landscape as they were in many other Hellenistic cities. There are many possible reasons for this, both cultural/linguistic (fewer people who could read a Greek inscription?) and practical (less extensive use of stone as a building material). As well as the Hellenistic world, the impetus to set up public inscriptions in Central Asia came also from Achaemenid and Mauryan precedent. The Aśokan Edicts at Kandahar, in particular, show interactions between the epigraphic culture of the Mediterranean and that of South Asia, where a stone inscription was considered an appropriate – and presumably efficacious – way to make a public statement of a king's military power and ethical instructions to his subjects.

Administrative documents

By far the best documented Hellenistic bureaucracy is that of Ptolemaic Egypt, where conditions of preservation allow the operations of a vast, multilingual administration to be reconstructed to a degree impossible elsewhere in the ancient world. The same climatic conditions do not prevail in Central Asia and North-West India. As in Egypt, we know that papyrus was used from the imprint of the piece from the Ai Khanoum Treasury, but we do not know to what extent, and – if it was – no more has been preserved. Animal skin was used for the few surviving documents. This may well have been the dominant writing material, in fitting with the pastoral economy of Central Asia.

The administration of Achaemenid-period Bactria (see Wu this volume) is considerably better attested than that of the Hellenistic period, but still only by a single archive of Aramaic texts, published by Naveh and Shaked (Naveh and Shaked 2012; an earlier announcement: Shaked 2004). These most probably came from the central

satrapal archive at Bactra, and many of them concerned correspondence between the satrap, Akhvamazda, and his subordinate, Bagavant, at Khulmi (on Khulmi see Martinez-Sève this volume). The Aramaic documents come down to the years immediately after the conquest by Alexander (document C₄ is dated to Year 7 of Alexander) – indicating some continuity of administration, however brief – but there is then a considerable documentary gap before the first Greek documents, which are very different in nature. We cannot therefore say to what extent the Greek administration built upon and continued the Achaemenid one, although my own inclination is towards a considerable degree of administrative continuity (Mairs 2014b, 43–46).

We can divide the Greek administrative or official documents from Bactria into two groups: ink texts on ceramic vessels from Ai Khanoum (Rougemont 90–120) and a few pieces on skin (Rougemont 92, 93), none of which are securely provenanced.

The Ai Khanoum texts relate to activities in the treasury of the palace (Rapin 1983). Commodities and quantities of coin (both Greek and Indian) are mentioned, as are the names of the officials involved, which are both Greek and Iranian (Grenet 1983). The texts are brief and to the point, and fairly formulaic. The texts on skin are a tax receipt dated to a joint reign of Antimachos, Eumenes and Antimachos, written in a place named Asangorna and containing the names of several officials (Rougemont 92); and a possible contract of Year 30 of an Antimachos, written in Amphipolis and mentioning Scythians (Rougemont 93). A second text published in Clarysse and Thompson 2007, but not included by Rougemont, is too badly damaged to yield a secure reading, although it appears to mention *phorai* ‘transport’.

It is not possible to match any of the personal or place names in these texts with people or locations attested elsewhere. The exception, of course, are the royal names, but here too the documents bring information not otherwise known: a co-regency of Antimachos, Eumenes and a second Antimachos was not otherwise attested. More than political history, however, the documentary texts are testimony to the existence of a state bureaucracy and the use of writing and institutions by individuals to manage their affairs.

Other texts

While most of the Greek writings from Central Asia fall into these two categories – stone inscriptions and administrative documents – there are others. At one extreme, we find two literary texts from the Ai Khanoum treasury: a fragment of a dramatic work on parchment (Rougemont 132) and the impression of a papyrus containing a philosophical dialogue (Rougemont 133). At the other extreme, are much shorter texts, usually on potsherds or bricks, containing only a name or a letter or two, from a wide range of sites across Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek territory, from Samarkand to Barikot. These represent the two extremes of Greek literacy in the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek states. On the one hand, there were people capable of reading and writing ‘high’ literature. Some of the inscriptions from the region also indicate that their writers had an advanced education. The Sôphytos inscription and the Aśokan edicts, in particular, use sophisticated, arcane vocabulary, something which was a feature of the literary production of the wider Hellenistic world. On the other hand, stray Greek letters used as brick marks (for example at Samarkand) do not have to involve any literacy at all, still less knowledge of the Greek language.

How closely connected was Central Asia to the Hellenistic world?

As well as their use of the Greek language, and occasional choice of *recherché* Hellenistic literary vocabulary, texts from Central Asia provide additional evidence for the integration of the region into wider Achaemenid, and later Hellenistic, networks. Robert's seminal 'De Delphes à l'Oxus' (discussed above) set the agenda by examining how the inscription of Klearchos from the *temenos* of Kineas at Ai Khanoum deliberately sets out to forge a direct connection between the banks of the Oxus and the symbolic centre of the Greek world. Robert proposed that Klearchos himself should be identified with the philosopher Klearchos of Soloi. Klearchos' inscription, and the placement of the shrine of Kineas in the centre of the city, also share practices in common with foundations of settler colonies elsewhere in the Greek world (Mairs 2014a). Other inscriptions also make outright declarations of their attachment to Greek culture. Sōphytos is the most overt, in his invocation of Apollo and the Muses, and emphasis on his education.

There are more subtle, but still visually arresting, ways in which texts show connections to wider worlds. The palaeography and formulae of Aramaic and Greek documentary texts from Bactria are very similar to those of contemporary Egypt, the region of the ancient world with the best documentary record, and which was, like Bactria, also part of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic empires. Folmer compares the Arsames correspondence (from Egypt, but written in Babylon or Susa) with the Bactrian corpus and concludes that the many similarities "contribute to the image of a well-organized system of chancelleries working to produce official documents in a uniform way across the empire. This amounts to an astonishing achievement considering the spatial and temporal distances between the material in question" (Folmer 2017, 442). This evidence of widely-spread networks of scribal training and practice continues into the Hellenistic period. Rea says of the Greek tax receipt that "I would not have been able to tell from the writing alone that it did not come from Egypt" (Rea, et al. 1994, 262). In their publication of the other two Greek documents on skin, Clarysse and Thompson also point out the close adherence of Greek documentary hands and epigraphic letter forms to examples from elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, but also urge caution in using these as dating criteria (Clarysse and Thompson 2007). Just as the material culture of Central Asia demonstrates long distance connections and integration into pan-Eurasian networks of trade and imperial control, so too does the written record.

How widely was the Greek language used?

The presence of Greek inscriptions and administrative documents obviously cannot be taken as a proxy for the use of Greek as a spoken language of communication. In Central Asia at least, for most of the period with which we are concerned, Greek was the only available language of literacy. This means that it took on functions regardless of its status or otherwise as a widespread spoken language. In the Achaemenid period, Aramaic held this same position. The situation south and east of the Hindu Kush was somewhat different, with the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts already in use (see Jansari this volume). We should be especially cautious in taking isolated Greek letters as evidence of presence of the Greek language. As has been shown for more

recent colonial contexts, foreign scripts introduced by settlers or colonisers can be received and take on their own meanings by indigenous populations (e.g. van Toorn 2006 on Australia). The culmination of this in Central Asia is the adaptation of the Greek script to write the Bactrian language under the Kushans (Cribb this volume).

Although it may be supposed, from the later evidence of the Bactrian and Gāndhārī languages, that multiple Middle Indo-Iranian languages were spoken across the region, we have very little evidence of these, aside from onomastics. The only Greek texts in which we can see indisputable linguistic interference are the Aśokan edicts from Kandahar and, as translations or reworkings of Prākṛit originals, these have a special status. Iranian names in Greek texts include Atrosokes at Takht-i Sangin and the names of Sōphytos and his father Naratos at Kandahar have been identified as Indian (Pinault 2005). In Bactria, theophoric Oxus-names are especially prevalent, such as Oxēboakēs in the Ai Khanoum economic texts. These are the tip of the linguistic iceberg: hints at a much more complex landscape of languages and cultural traditions in Central Asia.

THE GREEK AND ROMAN TRADITION

There is no surviving Greek or Latin historical work which deals with the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms at any length: a source of immense frustration to the first European historians of the region (Coloru this volume). For the Mediterranean world, scholars had long been used to being able to draw on the works of Greek and Roman historians who wrote both detailed studies of individual periods or events (such as Julius Caesar's *Gallic War* or Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*) or more comprehensive histories, often seen from the perspective of a particular state (for example, Livy's *History of Rome*). When these same scholars came to write on Hellenistic Central Asia, the relative lack of Greek and Roman historical sources was seen as a serious detriment, a major impediment to 'writing history' of Central Asia. Modern historians writing from this perspective, whether Bayer or Tarn, have therefore seen their goal as one of historical reconstruction: recreating a lost narrative. This led many of them into creative (to use a euphemism) reconstructions of Central Asian dynasties based on the numismatic record (Glenn this volume, and Section 5). Rather than a deficiency in a lost historical record (which may never have existed) it is more productive to take the few Greek and Roman historical writings we do have on Central Asia as an opportunity. How can the evidence transmitted by these authors – but, more importantly, how they contextualise this 'information' and where they derive it from – supplement and complement the evidence from material culture and epigraphic and documentary sources?

Most of the relevant passages from Greek and Roman writers on the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms are conveniently collected in English translation in the appendices to Holt's *Thundering Zeus*. They occupy less than six pages (Holt 1999, 178–184). Even collections with a broader remit, such as McCrindle's compendia of Greek and Roman sources on India (e.g. McCrindle 1926; discussed by Mairs 2018), are able to fit the entirety of the 'Classical tradition' on their topic into a single volume. The majority of Graeco-Roman sources which do touch upon the region are written by authors who had no first-hand familiarity with it and – especially in the Roman period – had cultural expectations which led them to stereotype

Central Asia and India as lands of mythical creatures and barbarian customs. They must be read with this in mind. I provide here a brief resume of the most important Greek and Roman historical sources, and shall return below to consider how these might most productively be used.

Contemporary accounts

No contemporary account of Alexander's campaigns survives, although we know that a number were written, including by Ptolemy and Nearchos. Alexander historians such as Arrian, Quintus Curtius Rufus and Plutarch, do not deal with the subsequent history of Hellenistic Central Asia, but do contain potentially valuable information on historical geography and city foundations. They are discussed in several of the contributions to the present volume for that reason, but I shall not review them further here.

There are also no surviving contemporary accounts on the early Seleukid East, or the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms themselves, although again we know that these did once exist. Perhaps the most tantalising is the work of Megasthenes, a Seleukid ambassador to the Mauryan court (see Jansari this volume, and on Greek sources on India and the Mauryas more generally, Karttunen 1989). It is not known whether any inhabitant of the Graeco-Bactrian or Indo-Greek states ever wrote a history of their own. Given the evidence for the composition of scholarly works in Greek at Ai Khanoum (see above) it is possible that they did.

Polybios

Polybios' *Histories* cover the period 264–46 BC and were written in Greek in the mid-second century BC; the work does not survive in its entirety. He is one of the most useful historians for the Hellenistic world as a whole, but provides little information on Central Asia and India. Bactria is prominent only when it is of relevance to the Seleukids, notably in the eastern anabasis of Antiochos III. Polybios describes Antiochos' invasion of Bactria (10.49) and the siege of Bactra (11.34), including negotiations with Euthydemos and his son Demetrios. Volume II of Walbank's *Historical Commentary on Polybios* includes these episodes (Walbank 1967).

Strabo

In his *Geography*, written in Greek in the early first century AD (translation with notes: Roller 2014; historical and topographical commentary: Roller 2018), Strabo mentions several political events in passing: the Graeco-Bactrian revolt from the Seleukid empire (15.1.3); Euthydemos' 'rebellion' against the Seleukids (11.9.2) and the Graeco-Bactrian expansion into India under Demetrios son of Euthydemos and Menander (11.11.1). He also names Diodotos (11.9.3) and Eukratides (11.11.2). The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms are, however, never his main focus. He is more interested in the rise of the Parthian Empire, describing the lie of the land in Central Asia, or transmitting ethnographic factoids likely to scandalise a Greek readership (for example, the supposed Bactrian habit of throwing their dead to dogs: 11.11.3; cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 499 D).

Justin and Pompeius Trogus

Trogus, a Gallo-Roman, wrote his *Philippic Histories* – a ‘universal history’ – in Latin in the first century BC. The work is lost, but was summarised in Latin by Justin in the second century AD (translation and commentary: Yardley and Develin 1994). Chapter 41 of Justin’s *Epitome* deals with the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms, but only very briefly; like Strabo, he is more concerned with Parthia and the Seleukid Empire. Justin mentions that Diodotos (whom he calls Theodotus) rose to power at around the same time as Arsakes in Parthia (41.4). He identifies a second synchronism in the rise to power of Mithradates of Parthia and Eukratides of Bactria, and says that Eukratides was beset by conflicts with neighbouring states and later murdered by his own son (41.6).

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea

This Greek mariner’s manual, by an unknown author, was most probably written in the first century AD (Casson 1989). It is a practical guide to contemporary routes, ports and trade goods along the route from the Red Sea coast of Egypt, southern Arabia and the Horn of Africa to southern India. At the time it was written, the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms had already disappeared, but it records that memory of them was still current. At Barygaza, in modern Gujarat, it states (47) that drachms of Apollodotos and Menander could still be found, and the author was aware that these were kings of the period after Alexander.

Using these sources

It is not possible to use these sources to reconstruct a coherent political history of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek states, certainly not in the style one might of other, better-documented regions of the Hellenistic world. Attempts have, of course, been made, as I noted above. Tarn set out to reconstruct the general outlines of the hypothetical lost work written by “Trogus’ source” (Tarn 1951 [1938], 45–53). Combinations of the Greek and Roman sources with numismatic evidence tend to produce narratives which are more construction than reconstruction (e.g. Rawlinson 1909). If we abandon the project of composing a narrative political history, then the prospects for making productive use of these sources are rather better. Topographical information can, for example, be used to propose identifications of excavated sites (on possible locations of Eukratideia, see Lecuyot, Martinez-Sève and Stančo, this volume). It is, of course, necessary to exercise caution in this exercise, just as it is (for example) important not to rush to ascribe destruction levels at archaeological sites to individual military campaigns mentioned by Greek and Roman historians. Justin’s synchronisms – if these are accurate – can be used to provide chronological anchors, and play a role in determining the dates of the reigns of kings known only from the numismatic record (Mairs forthcoming-a). Polybios’ account of the siege of Bactra can suggest how Graeco-Bactrian kings presented themselves to other Hellenistic monarchs. Most poignantly, the scarce mentions of Central Asia and India in surviving Greek and Roman accounts are some indication of how little they impinged upon the consciousness of the world to the west, whatever their own views may have been of their position in that world.

REFERENCES

- Bernard, Paul and Georges Rougemont (2003) “Une nouvelle inscription grecque de l’Afghanistan,” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1159–1161.
- Canali De Rossi, Filippo (2004) *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco: Un Repertorio*. (Inscripfen Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 65.) Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- Casson, Lionel (1989) *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Clarysse, Willy and Dorothy J. Thompson (2007) “Two Greek Texts on Skin from Hellenistic Bactria,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 159, 273–279.
- Drujinina, Anjelina (2008) “Gussform mit griechischer Inschrift aus dem Oxos-Tempel,” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 40, 121–135.
- El-Masry, Yahya, Hartwig Altenmüller and Heinz-Josef Thissen (2012) *Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr.* Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Folmer, M. L. (2017) “Bactria and Egypt. Administration as Mirrored by the Aramaic Sources,” in B. Jacobs, W. F. M. Henkelman and M. W. Stolper (eds.), *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich - Imperiale Muster und Strukturen*, 413–454. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Grenet, Frantz (1983) “L’onomastique iranienne à Ai Khanoum,” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 107, 373–381.
- Holt, Frank L. (1999) *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*. (Hellenistic Culture and Society XXXII.) Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ivantchik, Askold I. (2011) “Новые греческие надписи из Тахти-Сангина и проблема возникновения бактрийской письменности,” *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 279, 110–131.
- Karttunen, K. (1989) *India in Early Greek Literature*. (Studia Orientalia 65.) Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.
- Mairs, Rachel (2014a) “The Founder Shrine and the ‘Foundation’ of Ai Khanoum,” in Naoise Mac Sweeney (eds.), *Foundation Myths in Dialogue: Discourses about Origins in Ancient Societies*, 103–128. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mairs, Rachel (2014b) *The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language and Identity in Greek Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mairs, Rachel (2018) “The Men Who Would Be Alexander: Alexander the Great and his Graeco-Bactrian Successors in the Raj,” in Kenneth Moore (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, 545–563. Leiden: Brill.
- Mairs, Rachel (forthcoming-a) “Central Asian Challenges to Seleucid Authority: Synchronism, Correlation and Causation,” in Paul J. Kosmin and Ian S. Moyer (eds.), *Cultures of Resistance in the Hellenistic East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mairs, Rachel (forthcoming-b) “Lexical Borrowing and Code-Switching in Translated Texts: The Case of Trilingual Inscriptions,” in Tor Ivar Østmoe and Anastasia Maravela (eds.), *Translation in Antiquity; Translating Antiquity*.
- McCrinkle, J. W. (1926) *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenēs and Arrian*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.
- Naveh, Joseph and Shaul Shaked (2012) *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.) from the Khalili Collections*. (Studies in the Khalili Collection.) London: The Khalili Family Trust.
- Pfeiffer, Stefan (2004) *Das Dekret von Kanopos (238 v. Chr.): Kommentar und historische Auswertung eines dreisprachigen Synodaldekretes der ägyptischen Priester zu Ehren Ptolemaios’ III. und seiner Familie*. (Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete. Beiheft 18.) München: K. G. Saur.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2005) “Remarques sur les noms propres d’origine indienne dans la stèle de Sôphytos,” in Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (eds.), *Afghanistan*:

- Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, 137–142. (Indicopleustoi: Archaeologies of the Indian Ocean 3.) Turnhout: Brepols.
- Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni and Giovanni Garbini (1964) *A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Asoka. The First Greek Inscription Discovered in Afghanistan*. (Serie Orientale Roma 29.) Rome: Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente.
- Rapin, Claude (1983) “Les inscriptions économiques de la trésorerie hellénistique d’Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan),” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 107, 315–381.
- Rawlinson, H. G. (1909) *Bactria: From the Earliest Times to the Extinction of Bactrio-Greek Rule in the Punjab (being the Hare University Prize Essay, 1908)*. Bombay: The ‘Times of India’ Office.
- Rea, John, R. C. Senior and Adrian S. Hollis (1994) “A Tax Receipt from Hellenistic Bactria,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104, 261–280.
- Robert, Louis (1968) “De Delphes à l’Oxus: Inscriptions grecques nouvelles de la Bactriane,” *Comptes-rendus de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 416–457.
- Roller, Duane W. (2018) *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roller, Duane W. eds. (2014) *The Geography of Strabo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rougemont, Georges (2012) *Inscriptions grecques d’Iran et d’Asie centrale*. (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. I Inscriptions in Non-Iranian Languages.) London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Shaked, Shaul (2004) *Le satrape de Bactriane et son gouverneur: Documents araméens du IV^e s. avant notre ère provenant de Bactriane*. (Persika 4.) Paris: de Boccard.
- Tarn, W. W. (1951 [1938]) *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tribulato, Olga and Luca Maria Olivieri (2017) “Writing Greek in the Swat Region: A New Graffito from Barikot (Pakistan),” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 204, 128–135.
- van Toorn, Penny (2006) *Writing Never Arrives Naked: Early Aboriginal Cultures of Writing in Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Walbank, F. W. (1967) *A Historical Commentary on Polybius. Vol. II: Commentary on Books VII–XVIII*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Yardley, J. C. and R. Develin, eds. (1994) *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*. (Classical Resources Series 3.) Atlanta: Scholars Press.

CHAPTER 18

READING THE *MILINDAPAÑHA*

Indian historical sources and the Greeks in Bactria



Olga Kubica

IMPORTANCE OF THE *MILINDAPAÑHA*

Since the excavation by the French *DAFA* mission and Soviet scientists between 1965¹ and 1978 at the confluence of the Oxus (Amu Darya) and the Kokcha rivers of Ai Khanoum – an ancient city in Afghanistan, identified with Alexandria on the Oxus, with its theatre, gymnasium, heroon of Kineas, and many epigraphic and sculptural remains of clearly Greek character – it is hard to deny a Greek presence in Bactria in the times following Alexander's conquest. But even before the second half of the twentieth century, which brought that spectacular archaeological discovery, researchers had quite a lot of information about the reign of the Greeks in Bactria and their expansion towards India. European scholars with Classical training often focused mainly on the Greek and Roman written sources, in which most references are devoted to one Greek ruler of Bactria, namely Menander (Μένανδρος), who is presented by Strabo (II.11.1 citing Apollodorus of Artemita) as surpassing Alexander himself in terms of the number of conquered peoples. All the more interesting is that the same name is also the most frequently cited Greek name in the Indian sources.

From the 1890s an object of great interest among researchers was the Buddhist dialogue *Milindapañha* or *The Questions of Milinda*.² This title denotes a Pāli version of the text, the original of which was probably written in Gāndhārī, one of the Prākṛit languages. The Pāli version exists in Sinhalese, Burmese and Thai editions. In the Burmese edition, it is included in the Pāli Theravada canon as a book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. However, it is not included in the Sinhalese and Thai editions of the Pāli canon. Thus, it may be termed as *paracanonical*. The oldest manuscript of the Pāli text is dated to AD 1495 (cf. Von Hinüber 1987). However, the text was also known in India in ancient times, as may be inferred from four mentions of *The Questions of Milinda* made by a Buddhist scholar, Buddhaghosa around the beginning of the 5th century AD. Apart from the Pāli version, there are also Chinese versions of this text,³ which differ significantly from the Pāli text. Perhaps there was also a Tibetan version, which, however, is currently unavailable (cf. L.A. Waddell 1897).

This text is a record of the dialogue between King Milinda and the elder (*Thera*) Nāgasena. The conversation with the sage dispels the king's doubts, and thus he becomes converted to Buddhism. There would be nothing surprising about it, if not for the fact that the name Milinda is the Pāli counterpart of the Greek Μένανδρος.

Therefore, it is exceptional compared to the rest of the preserved Indian literature as the only text which is entirely devoted to a Greek ruler. Researchers immediately identified Milinda with Menander I Soter, who ruled from around 165 or 155 BC to 130 BC, without even trying to consider other options. The cultural and political centre of the Indo-Greek kingdom in the time of Menander was the region of Gandhāra,⁴ and the *Milindapañha*, as noted by R. Salomon, is “the earliest explicit testimony of the encounter of Buddhism with the cosmopolitan cultures of Gandhāra” (Salomon, Barnard et al. 1999, 5).

The text has been interpreted by some researchers in the context of Hellenistic influence. A. Weber (1890, 927) suggested that the text may be associated with the Platonic dialogues. However, the inventiveness of early European researchers found its climax in the theory by W. W. Tarn (1938) postulating the existence of a short Greek text entitled *Questions of Menander*, which supposedly constituted the original version, on which the preserved Pāli text is based. Tarn based his hypothesis on a comparison of the text of the *Milindapañha* with the *Letter of Pseudo-Aristeas*, which tells the story of 72 Jewish elders invited by Ptolemy II to Alexandria to translate their Scriptures into Greek, being the account on which the legend about the origin of the Septuagint was based. In Tarn’s opinion, the similarity between the two texts can be justified only by hypothesising a common prototype. Tarn tried to show that both texts referred to the tradition of Alexander’s conversation with the naked Indian philosophers (γυμνοσοφισταί). But currently most researchers depart from such comparisons and interpret the text in the context of the Asian milieu.⁵

HOW TO READ THE *MILINDAPAÑHA*

What strikes an unprepared reader of the dialogue is its fabulousness. Someone who does not know how to decipher the camouflaged Greek names appearing in the text may simply read it as a Buddhist legend. Although the dialogue begins with a quite realistic, yet idealizing, depiction of an actual place, namely Sāgala (Śākala, modern Sialkot), it is immediately followed by the story of previous births (Pāli *Pubba-yoga*) of Nāgasena and Milinda. It is said that Assagutta residing in the Himālayas heard “by means of his divine powers of hearing” (Rhys Davids 1890, 11) Milinda complaining about the lack of a suitable interlocutor, who could dispel his doubts concerning the Buddhist teachings. Subsequently, the Arahats appear in the heaven of the thirty-three (Pāli *Tāvātimsa*, Sanskrit *Trāyastriṃśa*) to ask Sakka (Sanskrit Śakra), the king of the gods, to send the god Mahāsena to converse with Milinda.

However, as noted at the outset, the *Milindapañha* is unusual and it cannot be read simply as a legend, because the action is embedded in historical facts. Apart from Menander, who is shown surrounded by his subjects, the Yonakas,⁶ in the capital of his kingdom, Sāgala, other camouflaged Greek names also appear in the dialogue, such as Devamantiya, identified with Demetrios; Anantakāya, identified with Antiochos; or the unidentified Mankura and Sabbadinna (Rhys Davids 1890, XVIII–XIX). In this respect, the *Milindapañha* can be considered a historical source. Due to this combination of fairy tale themes embedded in historical reality it seems most reasonable to read this dialogue after Rhys Davids as a historical romance and bear in mind that “the didactic aim overshadows the story” (Rhys Davids 1890, XVII).

MENANDER IN OTHER INDIAN SOURCES

The historicity of the *Milindapañha* is based chiefly on the reference to Menander, and therefore, in order to read the dialogue in accordance with the intention of the author, one should look at the historical memory of that Indo-Greek ruler. Menander as a historical figure is very well documented. Greek writers mention Menander's conquests (Strabo 11.11.1; cf. Strabo 15.1.27), his coinage (*Periplus Maris Erythraei* 47), and his death (Plutarch *Moralia* 821 D and E). These passages have been discussed elsewhere (Kubica 2014) and they are only mentioned here to show the importance of Menander, whose legend probably survived long after his death; and for comparison with Indian sources, on which the current paper is focused. The Indian sources on Menander include: archaeological finds (the Bajaur reliquary inscription of Menander, the Reh inscription and Menander's coinage) and literary works (*Yuga Purāṇa* and *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata*).

Probably the most important source shedding light on how to read the *Milindapañha* is the Bajaur reliquary inscription of Menander.⁷ This reliquary is a flattened round casket of dark steatite (soapstone), discovered by tribal people digging the foundations of a fort in Shinkot, in Bajaur territory, which is situated 20 miles west of the confluence of the Pañjhora and the Swāt rivers, on the Pakistani-Afghan border. The steatite casket contains seven inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī script, typical for this area. Inscription A⁸ refers to the reign of *Mahārāja Minedra*,⁹ identified with king Menander.¹⁰ Because all researchers agree that A is the oldest preserved inscription found on the casket, therefore it should be considered that the time of Menander saw the first establishment of the relics, and that probably the establishment was done at his request, as argued by S. Konow (1947, 56). According to Konow (1947, 54), the inscription confirms the tradition according to which Menander sympathized with Buddhism. In G. Fussman's opinion (1993, 104), the reason for the reference to Menander was merely respect towards his person. However, the theory of the Buddhist inclinations of Menander does not exclude that Menander was also respected by the Buddhists. Respect towards his person was not the reason for the reference, if we assume that the inscription was issued at the request of the ruler himself. On the other hand, we cannot assume on the basis of the casket that Menander was a Buddhist. He could have simply sympathized with Buddhism as a ruler, supporting the philosophy as conducive to his interests.

In addition to Menander, two or three more people are mentioned in the inscription. Viyakamitra (B), who actually ordered the establishment of the reliquary, and Vijayamitra (A'), who ordered the reestablishment of the reliquary, were either the same person, as claimed by Konow (1947, 57) and Fussman (1993, 106), or Vijayamitra was Viyakamitra's descendant, as argued by D.C. Sircar (1942, 321) and E. Lamotte (1988, 422). Whether the first or the second version is consistent with reality, both Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra were referred to as *apraca-rajā*. This title was incorrectly interpreted by some scholars, who did not know about the Apraca Dynasty of Bajaur. N.G. Majumdar (1937, 4) claimed that this title should be understood as *apratyag-rāja* signifying "one who has no royal adversary". In his opinion, Viyakamitra must have been a vassal king under the rule of Menander. Sircar (1942, 321) agreed with the explanation presented by Majumdar, and he asserted that *apratyag-rāja* seems to be a feudatory title, denoting "an unrivalled king". Konow

(1947, 57) was closest to the truth, when he stated that Vijayamitra may be an Iranian or semi-Iranian name. Lamotte (1988, 422f.) in turn argued that Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra could have been Indian names. He also noticed that some of the vassal kings under Indo-Greek rule were meridarchs of Greek origin (see Cribb, this volume),¹¹ and that they also showed evidence of their Buddhist inclinations. Lamotte stated that Vijayamitra must have been a Buddhist, which is confirmed by coins found in Sirkap (Taxila) bearing his name in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī together with some Buddhist symbols, such as *triratna* and *caitya* (cf. Marshall 1951). However, according to Fussman (1993, 105), the title *apraca-rajā* should be understood as “king of Apraca”. And indeed, the territory of Bajaur was under the rule of the Apraca Dynasty from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD. In Fussman’s opinion (1993, 111), the subordination of Vijayamitra to Menander is an example of paramount power or of a feudal-type pyramid of rulers. Vijayamitra *apraca-rajā* is also mentioned in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription found on the Rukhuṇa reliquary,¹² which bears a reference to both an era of Azes and an era of the Yonas (Salomon 2005). According to the new dating of the era of Azes (cf. Falk, Bennett 2009), which probably began around 47 BC, the inscription should be dated to around AD 15 (or according to Baums 2018a, 66: AD 26/27). Hence it follows that the reign of Vijayamitra began in or about 12 BC and subsequently, the date of the rededication of the Bajaur reliquary should be fixed at c. 7 BC (Salomon 2005, 379; or according to Baums 2018a, 66, AD 4/5). As one can see, Vijayamitra and his inscription on the Bajaur reliquary are dated to about 140 years after Menander I. Such a large gap between the dates of the inscriptions appearing on one casket seems unlikely. This fact is perhaps proof of the existence of Menander II Dikaios, a Buddhist ruler, who probably was also the main character of the *Milindapañha*.¹³

The last inscription on the reliquary mentions a scribe named Viśpila with the qualifier *aṇamkaya* (in the inscription, in the instrumental case: *aṇamkayena*). Majumdar (1937, 5) misread this word as *aṇamkatena*, in his opinion corresponding to *āṇakṛtena* “who was ordered” (sc. by Vijayamitra). However, according to Konow (1947, 58) *aṇamkaya* is an Indian transcription of the Greek word ἀναγκαιός, which was used in Hellenistic times for a king’s counsellors (cf. Konow 1939). The reading of the word *aṇamkaya* as the Greek ἀναγκαιός suggested by Konow was also accepted by Lamotte and Fussman (1993, 109). Konow further argued that Viśpila was an Iranian name, most probably Parthian. He also observed that “the Parthians played a great role in the preservation and evolution of Greek notions and especially of Greek art in the Indian borderland” (Konow 1947, 58). It is worth noting that the Parthian name further indicates a later dating of this reliquary at the turn of our era, when the Indo-Parthian Gondopharid dynasty ruled parts of present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan and northwest India (Cribb, this volume). From the preserved inscriptions it becomes clear that the Bajaur territory was a multicultural region with a complex feudal structure. There seem to have been no clear divisions on ethnical, religious and political grounds. *Yona-Kamboja* were listed jointly in the Indian sources not without good reason, as Greeks and Iranians seem to have had equal impact in the areas of today’s western Pakistan and northwest India.¹⁴

The name of Menander also appears in the Bajaur reliquary inscription of Śātruleka¹⁵ dated to AD 19/20,¹⁶ a steatite ovoid container. This inscription also bears reference to *apraca-rajā* (“king of Apraca”), who is identified by Baums (2012,

217) with Vijayamitra II. It is interesting that Menander in this inscription is presented as a family member of the king of Apraca, namely son of the donor, Śatruleka, who himself is Vijayamitra's sister's son (*apracarajabhagineya*). This inscription can serve as proof of the multiculturalism of the Bajaur region during the reign of the Apraca dynasty. As noticed by Baums (2018b, 41), Menander, who himself bears a Greek name after the Indo-Greek ruler, is a son of Śatruleka and Davili, who have foreign names, and a relative of Vijayamitra, Subhūtikā and Indrasena, who have Indian names.

Another possible reference to Menander was found in a Prākṛit inscription using Brāhmī script engraved on a pillar from Reh (east of Mathura) discovered in 1979 by D. P. Sharma. The pillar might have been unearthed before, because at the time of the discovery it was used as an object of cult – a so-called *liṅga*. Thus, some researchers, misled by the modern function of this pillar, call this inscription an inscription on a Śiva-*liṅga* (cf. Gupta 1985, Fussman 1993). And if that was the original function of this pillar, then the reference to Menander would be surprising, because *liṅga* is a symbol associated with the worship of Hindu deity Śiva.¹⁷ On the other hand, as suggested by A. D. H. Bivar (1985) in his review of an article by G. R. Sharma (1980), tutor of D. P. Sharma, it is not certain whether the original purpose of the Reh pillar was the worship of Śiva. Bivar argued (1985, 95) that the resemblance of the pillar to the Śiva-*liṅga* may be purely accidental.

According to G. R. Sharma (1980, 7f.), the text of the Reh inscription: “1 *mahārājasa rājarājasa* | 2 *mahāmtasa trātārasa dhāmmi*- | 3 *kasa jayāmtasa ca apra*- | 4 (*jīta*) *Minānada* [de?] *rasa*” is simply a Prākṛit translation of the Greek original: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΤΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Moreover, in his opinion, this inscription is evidence for the Yavana invasion of Magadha around 150 BC, described in the passage from the *Yuga Purāṇa* discussed below. Sharma described the alleged attack of the Graeco-Bactrian forces as exceptionally violent, making Menander “the scourge responsible for the holocaust” (1980, 11). However, the reading of the fourth verse is uncertain (cf. e.g. F. L. Holt 1999, 177 note 14; Bivar 1985, 94ff.). Moreover, most scholars do not agree with G. R. Sharma's interpretation. B. N. Mukherjee (1981, 245) argued that these are not the titles of Menander, but of Azes II. According to P. L. Gupta (1985, 200) these titles refer to Wima Kadphises, while according to Bivar (1985, 95) they may refer rather to Apollodotos II, Hippostratos or one of the Indo-Scythians. However, according to Fussman (1993) one cannot unequivocally reject the attribution of this inscription to Menander, although it would be strange to find his name on a Śiva *liṅga*. If we assume that the inscription refers to Menander I Soter and that the original function of that pillar was the worship of Śiva, it would turn out that Menander I cannot be unambiguously associated with Buddhism alone, and the observation by J. Neelis, who claimed that Menander “probably supported a wide array of religious groups seeking his support, just like any other South Asian ruler” (2011, 106) would prove to be accurate.

Regarding Menander's coins, *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (47) mentions that they were found in Barygaza. According to Fussman (1993) this mention indicates Menander's rule in Gujarat. But in my opinion, it merely points to the high quality and broad dissemination of his coinage. In reality, a large number of Menander's coins were found in the Kabul Valley, Swāt and Gandhāra, Taxila and east of

Mathura. There are a lot of silver coins found, which may point to the power of Menander. As Fussman noticed (1993, 94), the coins may suggest that Menander either ruled or pretended to rule over some part of Bactria, which is problematic taking into consideration the chronology of the other rulers. Furthermore, Eukratides might have controlled the areas of Kabul, Gandhāra and Taxila, where Menander ruled. Because Menander and Eukratides were partially contemporaneous, according to Fussman they were probably at war, and Menander won and tried to regain the Bactrian territory, which was a source of Greek legitimacy in India. He regained that territory, but only temporarily.

Menander's coins were catalogued by O. Bopearachchi (1991) and later by O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper (1998). Most of Menander's silver coins have on the obverse the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ("Of King the Saviour Menander") and on the reverse the Kharoṣṭhī legend MAHARAJASA TRATARASA MENAMDRASA ("Of great King the Saviour Menander"). However, there are a few coins which bear the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ("Of King the Just Menander") on the obverse and MAHARAJASA DHARMIKASA MENAMDRASA ("Of great King the follower of *Dharma* Menander") on the reverse. According to Rhys Davids, "The use of this epithet is very probably the foundation of the tradition preserved by Plutarch, that Menander was, as a ruler, noted for justice; and it is certainly evidence of the Buddhist influences by which he was surrounded" (Rhys Davids 1890, XXI). However, Bopearachchi (1990, 72ff.) suggested that Menander I Soter and Menander II Dikaios were two different homonymous rulers. Therefore, if we assume that there were two rulers of that name, then all sources, which bear a reference to Menander, should be carefully analysed. It should be noted that the coins of Menander II show a more Buddhist character than the coins of Menander I. Therefore, as already suggested, the *Milindapañha* probably refers to Menander II and not Menander I.

Regarding the images used by Menander on his silver coins, the obverse with the Greek legend shows Menander's bust. There are different types of the bust: diademed or helmeted, throwing a javelin or without javelin. The reverse with the Gāndhārī legend in the Kharoṣṭhī script shows a helmeted and draped Athena Alkidemos. It



Figure 18.1 Silver coin of Menander I from Puṣkalāvātī (Garstang Museum in Liverpool, no. 287). Denomination: drachm. Standard: Indian. Weight: 2.48g. Diameter: 18mm. Obverse: draped bust of Menander, facing right, wearing a crested helmet with diadem. Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.



Figure 18.2 Reverse: helmeted and draped Athena Alkidemos, advancing left, viewed from behind, holding a shield in her outstretched left arm, and hurling a thunderbolt with her right. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī script: MAHARAJASA TRATARASA MENAMDRASA.



Figure 18.3 Silver coin of Menander I from Puṣkalāvati (Garstang Museum in Liverpool, No. 289). Denomination: drachm. Standard: Indian. Weight: 2.49g. Diameter: 19mm. Obverse: diademed and cuirassed bust of Menander, facing left, viewed from behind, wielding spear with his upraised right hand. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.



Figure 18.4 Reverse: helmeted and draped Athena Alkidemos, standing right, holding the aegis in her outstretched left arm, and hurling thunderbolt with her right. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī script: MAHARAJASA TRATARASA MENAMDRASA.

is difficult to draw firm conclusions as to the motives for the choice of that symbol by Menander. Fussman agreed with Tarn, who concluded that “one reason for Menander’s adoption of Athena was that she had been one of the three regular deities on the coinage of Alexander” (Tarn 1938, 261), and therefore by adopting this symbol Menander wanted to emphasize his Greekness. Or Athena might also have been chosen by Menander because of her function as a saviour of the people. Worth mentioning is also the eccentric theory by Blair (2009, 3), according to whom the depiction of Athena on Menander’s coins resembles his wife, Agathokleia, whose coins also represent the queen accompanied by Athena. In Blair’s opinion, Menander wished to present himself as the husband of the goddess. Blair further used this example to prove that Menander was worshiped like a god in the Hellenistic manner, and that the worship of the ruler as a god inspired the worship of the Buddha as a god. However, such a theory seems unfounded. Firstly, it is not certain whether Agathokleia was the wife of Menander. Secondly, the theory of Menander’s desire to be seen as a god does not explicitly follow from the image of Athena on his coins, because presenting Athena on coins was not unheard of in Hellenistic times. Furthermore, it is clear that Blair misrepresented the sources in accordance with the agenda of proving that the worship of the Buddha as a god is a phenomenon which has Greek sources. However, leaving the question of the reasons for the use of the symbol of Athena on Menander’s coins aside, Fussman (1993, 86) rightly concluded that the majority of silver coins have warlike symbols, which correspond to the image of Menander as presented in literary sources.

Concerning the bronze coins, they are diverse and hard to interpret. They imitate the Indian punch-marked coins (see Glenn this volume). According to Fussman (1993, 88) they give the impression of eclecticism and ambiguity corresponding to the image of Menander in the *Milindapañha*. Only one copper coin shows an eight-spoked wheel on the obverse and a palm leaf on the reverse. However, as P. Bernard noticed (1994, 112), the wheel is “the Indian symbol of universal kingship”, and so it is not an exclusively Buddhist symbol. Thus, the statement by Rhys Davids (1890, XXI) that “the bulk of the coins are clearly pagan” seems to be valid. However, his opinion that “none of Menander’s coins show any decisive signs of his conversion” (Rhys Davids 1890, XXIV) seems to be unnecessary, because it implies that the conversion of the ruler can be determined on the basis of his coins, which seems to be erroneous.

Fussman in the appendix to his article (1993, 120ff.) also pointed to one very important feature of Graeco-Bactrian coins, namely their symbolic value. The purpose of his appendix was to explain the presence of Graeco-Bactrian coins in the Kunduz treasure after the Yuezhi invasion of Bactria. According to Fussman all current hypotheses are unacceptable: either that the Greeks regained the territory of Bactria, or that these coins were used in international trade, or that they were special coinage for paying tribute. In his opinion, the presence of these coins may be explained either by postponing the date of the conquest of Bactria by the Yuezhi (which would require further evidence), or by the fact that the nomad invaders did not care about the local coinage, but simply held territorial control and let the Greeks keep the symbolic power of their coins. This justification seems to be very reasonable and may further resolve a lot of problems with the dating of rulers on the basis of coins.

In conclusion, it is worth noting after Bernard that on the basis of the extant coins of Greek kings in Bactria and India, which show that the official state pantheon was entirely Greek, “one would have expected to find Greek-style temples in Bactria” (Bernard 1994, 112). However, the religious architecture and archaeology do not reflect this state of affairs. As Neelis remarked, “comments by Paul Bernard on discrepancies between the official state pantheon and religious architecture and archaeology may help to reconcile differences between depictions of deities on Menander’s coinage and his reputation as a Buddhist patron in Buddhist literary traditions” (Neelis 2011, 105 note 114).

Regarding the literary sources, in the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī Saṃhitā* there is a passage about the Yavanas, who occupied Sāketa, Pāñcāla and Mathura, attacked Pāṭaliputra (other names: Puṣpapura, Kusumapura, in Megasthenes’ account Palibothra, modern-day Patna), and retreated from Madhyadeśa because of home conflict. It is worth briefly characterizing the *Yuga Purāṇa* text before proceeding to a more detailed analysis of this passage. *Yuga Purāṇa* is the last section of the *Gārgī Saṃhitā*. It is a Sanskrit astrological text, structured as a chronicle, which presents historical events in the form of a prophecy. It is unique in that it presents events not described anywhere else in Indian literature, namely the invasion of the Indo-Greeks into the Indian subcontinent.

The passage about the Yavanas is important because it may relate to the events described by Strabo (15.1.27), who reported that the Greeks went as far east as the Ganges River and the Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra).¹⁸ It is worth noting that the passage from the *Yuga Purāṇa* is also confirmed by Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya*), who provides a reference to the *Yavana* invasion of Sāketa. As already mentioned, the Reh inscription can also be treated as evidence for the *Yavana* invasion of Magadha around 150 BC (cf. Sharma 1980, 7f.). Sircar (1963) deals with this passage and its manuscripts, which are very hard to interpret, because the versions given by the manuscripts differ among themselves and because of the prophetic character of the text. He treats the *Yavana* invasion of Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra) as a historical fact. In his opinion, it should be dated to the time between c. 200 BC (Śāliśūka) and c. 185 BC, when Puṣyamitra killed Bṛhadratha and occupied the throne. The reference to *Dhamamīta* suggests, in his opinion, that probably the Yavanas, who invaded Pāṭaliputra, were led by Demetrios. However, as noted by Fussman (1993, 84), no Greek name, neither that of Menander nor of Demetrios, appears in the passage, not even in a disguised Sanskrit form. Moreover, in Fussman’s opinion, the existing version of the *Yuga Purāṇa* is certainly later and has been manipulated and corrected by its different editors and commentators, so as to extract the maximum amount of historical information according to their sentiment, whereas the two verses referring to the attacks of the Yavanas on Pāṭaliputra are impossible to date.

The Greeks knew well about Palibothra (Παλιβοθρα), because Megasthenes probably stayed there as an ambassador to the Indian king Chandragupta Maurya (Jansari this volume). He described the city as the most famous and the biggest city founded by Herakles in India, as has been reported by Diodorus Siculus (2.39.3). This city was located on land belonging to the people called by the Greeks Prasii (Πράσιοι; Strabo 15.1.36). The Prasii or Palibothri were according to Megasthenes the most powerful Indian people, and their capital Palibothra was a large and wealthy city (Pliny, *NH*, 6.26). It was surrounded by a wooden palisade (Strabo 15.1.36) and

by a ditch (Arrian, *Indika*, 10). The existence of the wooden palisade mentioned by Megasthenes was further evidenced by the excavations carried out in Patna, although not all researchers accept this evidence (for references cf. K. Karttunen 1997, 88). The presence of these fortifications suggests that the city could frequently be under attack, but certainly does not prove that the Greeks attacked the city.

On the basis of this late prophetic text it is difficult to conclude whether and when the Greeks actually attacked Magadha. The text of Strabo, in turn, does not prove unequivocally that there was a military campaign. Also, the text of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* must be treated with caution. As a grammar book, it does not necessarily give realistic sentences to illustrate grammatical phenomena. All these texts individually are questionable, but there must be a reason that three independent sources refer to similar events.

The only literary source, except the *Milindapañha*, mentioning Menander by name is *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata* by Kṣemendra. As stated by Takakusu (1896), two Cambridge manuscripts of this Buddhist work mention incidentally the name Milinda. Although *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata* is a late source, from 11th century Kashmir, describing the former lives and good deeds of Buddha, it is still of great value, as noted by P. Demiéville (1924, 35). However, it was so neglected that the French scholar felt it is worth highlighting. Chapter 57, entitled the *Stūpāvadāna*, depicts a missionary journey of the Buddha, during which he liberates people from ignorance and manages the construction of new *stūpas*. In verse 15 we read that “the Blessed One said to Indra, come to this place to see: A king named Milinda build a *stūpa* in the country”.¹⁹ The *Stūpāvadāna* is related to the *Vinaya* of Mūlasarvāstivādin. However, as noted by Demiéville (1924, 43), one cannot fail to be struck by the fact that it places the prophecy about the *stūpa* of Milinda at the point where our reading of the parallel *Vinaya* text leads us to expect the prediction of the Kaniṣka *stūpa*. In his opinion, if this substitution was made by Kṣemendra, to whom Milinda was known from elsewhere, perhaps from some version of the *Milindapañha*, then the *stūpa* would have been located in Śākala. Therefore, it seems easier to assume that Kṣemendra used an ancient text replacing Kaniṣka with Menander. In Demiéville's opinion, if that were the case, we must admit that this testimony, or at least the opinion of posterity about it, would ultimately be one of the strongest testimonies to the conversion of Menander. Plutarch's anecdote (*Moralia* 821 D and E) about the death of Menander, the division of his ashes and the building of *μνημεῖα* (probably *stūpas*) commemorating the Indo-Greek king should also be mentioned here, as it is reminiscent of stories about the Buddha or about Piyadassi (Aśoka).

Demiéville also draws attention to the location of the country of Vāloḥṣa, mentioned in verse six of the *Stūpāvadāna*, where we read: “Then the Tathāgata won the country called Vāloḥṣa; there he was worshipped by Kuvera (a rich man), a leader of the guild Suprabuddha”.²⁰ S. C. Das identified the country of Vāloḥṣa or Bāloḥṣa with Bactria, but according to some scholars such an identification is unfounded. Firstly, because the ending *-oḥṣa* is not justified by any name for Bactria existing in other languages. And secondly, if one acknowledges the identification of Milinda with Menander, and attribute to the tradition reported by Kṣemendra the slightest historical foundation, then ancient authors and numismatics assure us that at the time of Menander the Greeks had abandoned Bactria (Justin *Epitome* 41). But, as noted by Demiéville (1924, 40), in *Mahāvastu* there is a legend about the merchants

Trapuša and Bhallika, the first converts from Bactria, born in a place in the north (Uttarāpatha) called Ukkala, and coming from the south (Dakṣiṇāpatha), from where they brought all kinds of wealth. They met the Buddha on the road, who gave them hair and nail clippings, and ordered them to build *stūpas*. They built the *stūpa* of Hair in a town (*nagara*) called Vāluḥṣa and the *stūpa* of Nail in a place called Śilukṣa. The name Vāluḥṣa resembles that of Vālokṣa. And indeed, Xuanzang refers to the *stūpas* of Trapuša and Bhallika as situated in the “cities of Trapuša and Bhallika”, which lie a few tens of *li*²¹ from Bactria.

Therefore, the text of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata* is interesting in many respects, and thus Rhys Davids, who argued that “the passage is only interesting as showing that the memory of king Milinda still survived in India at the time when Kṣemendra wrote in the eleventh century AD” (1894, XVII), clearly overlooked certain issues. This text, however, requires a separate study and a thorough examination of the relationships between the various legends and texts.

CONCLUSION

From the above overview of Indian sources referring to Menander several conclusions may be drawn regarding the reading of the *Milindapañha*. Firstly, there were probably two different Indo-Greek rulers named Menander. Menander I Soter was probably mentioned in Strabo and on the coins bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ; while Menander II Dikaios was referred to in the Bajaur reliquary inscription and on the coins with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Other sources are not so easily attributable. However, it seems that the main character of the *Milindapañha* should be identified with Menander II Dikaios, who showed more Buddhist inclinations. Secondly, Indian historical sources, both archaeological and literary, should be used with caution, because frequently legends are intertwined with history. Moreover, didactic, prophetic, or religious aims obscure the picture of real events. However, one should not throw out the baby with the bathwater. It cannot be denied that Menander is mentioned very often in both Greek and Indian sources. He was therefore a very well-known Indo-Greek ruler, who in collective memory, to use the concept coined by M. Halbwachs in his book *La mémoire collective* (1950, English translation 1992), survived as a ruler known for his Buddhist inclinations. The historicity of Menander’s conversion may be considered, but searching for a definitive answer is a methodological error. Finally, Indian sources, especially the Bajaur reliquary inscription shed light on the multiculturalism of the areas of today’s western Pakistan and northwest India and the complex feudal relations between *Yona* and *Kamboja* (Greeks and Iranians).

NOTES

- 1 The site was discovered much earlier, in 1926 by J. Barthoux from the *DAFA*.
- 2 The Pāli *Milindapañha* was edited by C.V. Trenckner (1880). The text was translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids (1890, 1894) and by I. B. Horner (1963–64), into German by F.O. Schrader (1905), into French by L. Finot (1923) and later by É. Nilot (1995), into Italian by G. Cagnola (1923) and into Russian by A. V. Paribok (1989). It was also abridged by B. Pesala (1998). Further bibliography on *Milindapañha* was compiled by S.

- Behrsing (1934a, 1934b). Some more recent items relating to the interpretation of this text have, however, been issued since that time, among which a few articles important from the point of view of Indo-Greek relations should be mentioned, e.g. G. Fussman (1993), Y. Vasil'kov (1993), D. H. Sick (2007), S. Blair (2009), and S. Baums (2018b). Worth mentioning is also a chapter devoted to the *Milindapañha* in the *Handbook of Pāli Literature* by O. von Hinüber (1996).
- 3 Shortly after the publication of the first edition of the Pāli *Milindapañha* (1880), B. Nanjio in his catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist *Tripitaka* (1883) included information about two texts which are associated with the dialogue between king Milinda and *bhikṣu* Nāgasena. One is *Naxian bi qiu jing* (Sanskrit *Nāgasenabhikṣusūtra*; no. 1358 in Nanjio's catalogue) written in the time of the Eastern Jin dynasty, around AD 317–420, and being a dialogue between king Milan and *bhikṣu* Naxian. It is worth noting that the title character here is the sage, and not the king. The second text is *Zabaozang jing* (Sanskrit *Śamyuktaratnapitakasūtra*; no. 1329 in Nanjio's catalogue) written in AD 472. It is not a dialogue, but a tale (*avadāna*) about king Nanda and *bhikṣu* Nā-ka-ssū-na. A few years later, S. Lévi and E. Specht (1892) announced the existence of two different versions of the Chinese work entitled *Naxian bi qiu jing*, one incorporated into a 13th century Korean edition, the other in the Chinese editions of Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties (cf. Demiéville 1924, 1). Also J. Takakusu (1896) asserted that there are two separate editions of the *Milindapañha* among the Chinese Buddhist books.
 - 4 The kingdom of Gandhāra lasted from the 1st millennium BC to the 11th century AD. It was located along the Swāt and Kabul river valleys (the areas of present-day north Pakistan and northeast Afghanistan). Its main cities were Puruṣapura, Takṣaśilā, Puṣkalavati and Śākala. During the reign of Darius the Great Gandhāra was a satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire (cf. Behistun inscription). In 327/6 BC it was conquered by Alexander the Great. In 305 BC Seleukos I Nikator ceded under the treaty Gandhāra, Arachosia and Paropamisadae to Chandragupta Maurya in exchange for 500 war elephants (cf. Strabo 15.2. 9; Appian, *Syr.* 55). Later it was ruled by Aśoka. The subsequent decline of the Mauryan Empire enabled the expansion of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the establishment of the Indo-Greek kingdom with its centre in the region of Gandhāra. See also Olivieri and Jansari, this volume.
 - 5 For the polemic against Tarn cf. J. Gonda (1949), O. Kubica (2014) and Vasil'kov (1993).
 - 6 The Yonakas may be identified with the Greeks or in a wider sense with westerners, cf. H. P. Ray (1988).
 - 7 Three articles in *Epigraphia Indica* (EI) have been devoted to this reliquary and the inscriptions contained therein (Majumdar 1937, Sircar 1942, Konow 1947). These articles focus mainly on establishing the relative chronology of the inscriptions. For the translation and other references cf. Baums (2012, 202f.) and the *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* (Baums and Glass, <http://gandhari.org/catalog/>, CKI 176). It should be noted that according to H. Falk (2005) the inscriptions A-C are modern forgeries. However, Baums (2012, 202 and 2018a, 64) disagrees with this view.
 - 8 Inscriptions denoted after Fussman (1993, 101).
 - 9 Not *Minadra*, as read by Majumdar (1937, 2) or *Mīnēndra*, as interpreted by Sircar (1942, 318 note 4). According to Konow (1947, 53) “*e* of the second syllable is absolutely certain”.
 - 10 As noticed by Majumdar (1937, 3) and Sircar (1942, 318 note 4), this version of the name differs from other versions, such as Pāli *Milinda*, *Menadra* on his coins and *Miṇamdra* on a relief from Gandhāra (Konow 1929, 134, LXX).
 - 11 Cf. the Swāt relic vase inscription of the Meridarkh Theodotos, cf. Baums (2012, 204) and the *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* (Baums and Glass, <http://gandhari.org/catalog/>, CKI 32).
 - 12 CKI 405 in the *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* (Baums and Glass, <http://gandhari.org/catalog/>). For the translation and other references cf. Baums (2012, 212f.).

- 13 However, Baums (2018a, 64) believes that the early dating of Menander's inscription to the mid-2nd century BC explains its "deviations from the standard formula" and proves its authenticity (cf. note 14 above). But the same argument can be applied to Menander II and the first half of the first century BC.
- 14 Another object from the Bajaur territory indicating a Greek presence in these areas is the seal of Theodamas. According to E. C. M. Senart (1889) it comes from the first half of the 1st century AD, from the time of the rule of an Indo-Parthian ruler Abdagases I. The seal bears the inscription *suṭheūdamasa*. In Senart's opinion like ΣΥ on the coins of Kadphises, imitating the coins of Hermaios (EPMAIOY), *su* here stands for "Syrian" (ΣΥΠΟΣ) In his opinion, the term Syrian could be a substitute of Hellen. And thus, Theodamas wanted to affirm his nationality by adding *su* to the inscription written in a foreign alphabet. However, the interpretation of the legend on the coin of Kadphises (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ EPMAIOY) is not so evident. Indeed, ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ may be a deformation of the Greek title ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ with added abbreviation ΣΥ. However, the deformation urges caution and calls into question the reading of ΣΥ as an abbreviation of ΣΥΠΟΣ, suggesting it could be a further deformation.
- 15 CKI 257 in the *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* (Baums and Glass, <http://gandhari.org/catalog/>). For the translation and other references cf. Baums (2012, 216f.).
- 16 According to Baums (2018a, 66) AD 30/31.
- 17 The cult of that deity has its roots in the times of the Vedic religion. Śiva was identified with the Indo-European deities, such as Rudra, Agni or Indra, and therefore perhaps Śiva's worship has an Indo-European origin, although Sir J. Marshall considered the Mohenjodaro seal as a "proto-Śiva" figure, and thus shifted the origin of Śiva's worship to the times of the Indus Valley civilization. However, this identification has been criticized by some modern scholars, such as G. Flood. I am also of the opinion that the seal represents an ascetic rather than a deity.
- 18 More specifically Palibothri (Παλιβοθρι) or Prasii (Πράσιι) being the inhabitants of Magadha with its capital in Pāṭaliputra.
- 19 Translated by Demiéville (1924, 39): "Le Bienheureux dit à Indra, venu en ce lieu pour voir: Un roi nommé Milinda construira un stūpa dans ce pays".
- 20 Translated by Demiéville (1924, 38): "Puis le Tathāgata gagna le pays appelé Vālokṣa; il y fut vénéré par un Kuvera (un richard), le chef de guilde Suprabuddha".
- 21 A traditional Chinese unit of distance, around 500 meters.

REFERENCES

- Baums, S., 2012. Catalog and Revised Texts and Translations of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions. In: D. Jongeward, E. Errington, R. Salomon and S. Baums, eds., *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries*. Seattle: Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project, pp. 200–251.
- Baums, S., 2018a. 'A Framework for Gandhāran Chronology Based on Relic Inscriptions'. In: W. Rienjang and P. Stewart, eds., *Problems of Chronology in Gandhāran Art: Proceedings of the First International Workshop of the Gandhāra Connections Project*, University of Oxford. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, pp. 53–70.
- Baums, S., 2018b. 'Greek or Indian? The Questions of Menander and Onomastic Patterns in Early Gandhāra'. In: H. P. Ray, ed., *Buddhism and Gandhara. An Archaeology of Museum Collections*. 1st edn. Oxford/New York: Routledge, pp. 33–46.
- Behrsing, S., 1934a. 'Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie'. *Bulletin of the School of the Oriental Studies*, University of London, 7(2), pp. 335–348.
- Behrsing, S., 1934b. 'Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie (Continued)'. *Bulletin of the School of the Oriental Studies*, University of London, 7(3), pp. 517–539.

- Bernard, P., 1994. 'The Greek Kingdoms of Central Asia'. In: J. Harmatta, ed., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. II. The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations. 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, pp. 96–126.
- Bivar, A. D. H., 1985. 'Review of Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo-Greek Invasion of the Gaṅgā Valley'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, 117(1), pp. 94–96.
- Blair, S., 2009. 'Answers for Milinda: Hellenistic Influence on the Development of Gandharan Buddhism'. *TCNJ Journal of Student Scholarship*, 11, pp. 1–11.
- Bopearachchi, O., 1990. 'Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques'. *Studia Iranica*, 19(1), pp. 39–85.
- Bopearachchi, O., 1991. *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: catalogue raisonné*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1991.
- Bopearachchi, O. and Pieper, W., 1998. *Ancient Indian Coins*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers.
- Cagnola, G., 1923. *Dialoghi del re Milinda/ versione dall'inglese di G. Cagnola*. Milano: Casa Editrice Isis.
- Demiéville, P., 1924. 'Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha'. *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, 24, pp. 1–258.
- Falk, H., 2005. 'The Introduction of Stūpa-Worship in Bajaur'. In: O. Bopearachchi and M. Boussac, eds., *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, pp. 347–358.
- Falk, H. and Bennett, C., 2009. 'Macedonian Intercalary Months and the Era of Azes'. *Acta Orientalia*, 70, pp. 179–216.
- Finot, L., 1923. *Les questions de Milinda: Milinda-Pañha*. Paris: Bossard.
- Fussman, G., 1993. 'L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville Revisité'. *Journal Asiatique*, 281(1–2), pp. 61–138.
- Gonda, J., 1949. 'Tarn's Hypothesis on the Origin of the Milindapañha'. *Mnemosyne*, Fourth Series, 2(1), pp. 44–62.
- Gupta, P. L., 1985. 'Kushāṇas in the Yamuno-Gangetic Region. Chronology and Date'. *Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"*. *Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi*, 45(2), pp. 199–222.
- Halbwachs, M., 1950. *La Mémoire collective*. Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France.
- Halbwachs, M., 1992. *On Collective Memory: Edited, Translated, and with an Introduction by Lewis A. Coser*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Holt, F. L., 1999. *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*. Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Horner, I. B., 1963–64. *Milinda's questions*. Translated from the Pali, by I. B. Horner. Vols. I–II. London: Luzac.
- Karttunen, K., 1997. *India and the Hellenistic world*. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.
- Konow, S., ed., 1929. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I: Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the exception of those of Aśoka*. Calcutta: Government of India: Central Publication Branch.
- Konow, S., 1939. 'A Greek Term in an Indian Inscription'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland (New Series)*, 71(2), pp. 265–266.
- Konow, S., 1947. 'Note on the Bajaur Inscription of Menandros'. *Epigraphia Indica*, 27(12), pp. 52–58.
- Kubica, O., 2014. 'Beyond Influence: A Reflection on the History of Research on the Milindapañha with a Comparison of the Text to the Kitāb al Khazari'. *Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum*, 101, pp. 187–206.
- Lamotte, E., 1988. *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Saka Era; Translated from the French by Sara Webb-Boin under the Supervision of Jean Dantinne*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste.

- Majumdar, N. G., 1937. 'The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander'. *Epigraphia Indica*, 24(1), pp. 1–8.
- Marshall, S. J. H., 1951. *Taxila. An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1914. In Three Volumes*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Mukherjee, B. N., 1981. *Mathura and its Society: The Śāka-Pahlava Phase*. Calcutta: K. L. M. Private Limited.
- Nanjio, B., 1883. *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Neelis, J., 2011. *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks. Mobility and Exchange within and beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia*. Leiden/Boston: Brill Academic Publishers.
- Nolot, É., 1995. *Entretiens de Milinda et Nāgasena. Traduit du pâli, présenté et annoté*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Paribok, A. V., 1989. *Milinda's Questions (Milindapañhā) [Вопросы Милинды (Милиндапаньха)]*. Translated from Pali, with Introduction and Notes. Moscow: Памятники письменности Востока.
- Pesala, B., 1998. *The Debate of King Milinda: An Abridgement of the Milinda Pañha*. Rev. edn. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.
- Ray, H. P., 1988. 'The Yavana Presence in Ancient India'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient / Journal de l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Orient*, 31(3), pp. 311–325.
- Rhys Davids, T. W., ed., 1890. *The Questions of King Milinda*. Translated from the Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rhys Davids, T. W., ed., 1894. *The Questions of King Milinda*. Translated from the Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids. Part II. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Salomon, R., 2005. 'The Indo-Greek era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist reliquary inscription'. In: O. Bopearachchi and M. Boussac, eds., *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, pp. 359–401.
- Salomon, R., Barnard, M. and Allchin, F. R., 1999. *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra. The British Library Kharosthi Fragments*. London: British Library.
- Schrader, F. O., 1905. *Die Fragen des Königs Menandros*. Berlin: P. Raatz.
- Senart, E. C. M., 1889. 'Notes d'épigraphie indienne. II. Sur quelques pierres gravées provenant du Caboul'. *Journal Asiatique*, 7(13), pp. 364–375.
- Sharma, G. R., 1980. *Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo-Greek Invasion of the Gaṅgā Valley*. Allahabad: Abinash.
- Sick, D. H., 2007. 'When Socrates met the Buddha: Greek and Indian Dialectic in Hellenistic Bactria and India'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 17(3), pp. 253–278.
- Sircar, D. C., 1942. 'A Note on the Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander'. *Epigraphia Indica*, 26(46), pp. 318–321.
- Sircar, D. C., 1963. 'The Account of the Yavanas in the "Yuga-Purāṇa"'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 95(1–2), pp. 7–20.
- Specht, E. and Lévi, S., 1892. 'Deux traductions chinoises du Milindapañho'. *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists. Vol. I*. London: pp. 518–529.
- Takakusu, J., 1896. 'Chinese Translations of the Milinda Pañho'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 28(1), pp. 1–21.
- Tarn, W. W., 1938. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trenckner, V., ed., 1880. *The Milindapañho: Being Dialogues between King Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena*. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Vasil'kov, Y., 1993. 'Did East and West Really Meet in Milinda's Questions'. *The Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1(1), pp. 64–77.

- Von Hinüber, O., 1987. 'The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Milindapañha'. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 11, pp. 111–119.
- Von Hinüber, O., 1996. *A Handbook of Pāli Literature. Vol. II*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Waddell, L. A., 1897. 'A Historical Basis for the Questions of King 'Menander' from the Tibetan, etc'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, 29(2), pp. 227–237.
- Weber, A., 1890. 'Die Griechen in Indien'. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 2, pp. 901–933.

CHAPTER 19

CHINESE HISTORICAL SOURCES AND THE GREEKS IN THE WESTERN REGIONS^{1,2}



Juping Yang

INTRODUCTION

Contacts between China and the Hellenistic world may be traced back to the establishment of the Silk Road. From the Chinese diplomat Zhang Qian (second century BC) onwards, many Chinese and foreign envoys, merchants and even monks passing to and from central China and the Western Regions (Xiyu, 西域) as far as the Mediterranean and India, brought information of Hellenistic civilization into China. Reflections of these messages and oral reports can be found in early Chinese official historical books. Although the records are sometimes confused, ambiguous or even anachronistic, they actually provide first-hand information about the Western Regions which Greeks once settled, controlled and inhabited for almost three centuries. From Parthia (Anxi, 安息), Chinese envoys could also get some information directly related to the Hellenistic legacy. Regrettably, no Greeks are mentioned in the Chinese historical records, though 45 Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings are known from coins (Bopearachchi 1991: 453). Only one Indo-Greek king, Menander, is referred to in the Chinese translation of a Buddhist sutra, *Naxian Biqu Jing* (那先比丘經, *Milindapañha* in Pāli; see Kubica this volume).

The so-called *Early Four Historical Books* (前四史) consist of *Shiji* (史記) by Sima Qian (司馬遷, 145–c. 86 BC), *Hanshu* (漢書) by Ban Gu (班固, AD 32–92), *Houhanshu* (後漢書) by Fa Ye (範曄, AD 398–445), and *Sanguozhi* (三國志) by Chen Shou (陳壽, AD 233–297). One particular chapter in Sima Qian's *Shiji* is devoted to the introduction of important historical events, and the main peoples, countries and kingdoms in the Western Regions, i.e. the areas from the west of China to the Mediterranean. From Sima Qian onwards, it became conventional to have one or more chapters focusing on the affairs of the Western Regions in Chinese formal historical books. The reasons for this are as follows: on the one hand, there had been a continuous link between central China and the Western Regions, regardless of changes in the political situation in China or the local regions, and on the other hand, Chinese knowledge of the Western Regions increasingly grew as time went on. The periods of the earlier and later Han Dynasties (206 BC–220 AD) and the Three Kingdoms (AD 220–280) largely coincide with the Hellenistic Period and the age of the empires of the Kushans, Parthia and Rome, that coexisted from the first century AD onwards. These three empires occupied the lands of the former Hellenistic

kingdoms and naturally became the successors to Hellenistic civilization. Meanwhile, the western line of the Silk Road from the Pamirs to the Mediterranean happened to cover all these lands. Therefore, the chapters about the Western Regions in the *Early Four Historical Books* most probably contained much useful information about Hellenistic civilization.

“Dayuan Liezhuan” in *Shiji* (“大宛列傳 Collective Biographies of Dayuan” in 史記 the *Records of the Grand Scribe*): Hellenistic Central Asia after Alexander the Great and Philhellenic Parthia

The materials on the Western Regions by Sima Qian mainly come from the report submitted to the Emperor Han Wudi (漢武帝, r. 141–87 BC) by Zhang Qian (張騫, 164–114 BC), the envoy sent to the Western Regions by the emperor in order to unite the Dayuezhi (大月氏) as an ally to fight the Xiongnu (匈奴) together. The Dayuezhi, originally a nomadic people in the northwest of China, had been defeated by the Xiongnu, another nomadic tribal federation in the north of China, who were also a formidable threat to and enemy of Han China. Although his mission failed, he brought back home first-hand information about the Western Regions. Because he is the first Chinese traveller who entered the mysterious Western Regions outside China, what he observed and experienced are most valuable for our research on the Hellenistic Far East. The “Collective Biographies of Dayuan” in the *Shiji* even became the basic sources for the other three books of the later “*Early Four Historical Books*”.

The first country Zhang Qian visited was Dayuan (大宛). From there, he was led to Kangju (康居) by a guide from Dayuan, whereafter he arrived in Dayuezhi and Daxia (大夏). By that time, the Dayuezhi had subdued Daxia and settled in the north of the Gui River (犂水, the modern Amu Darya) (Sima: 3158). On the way he also heard of another five or six peoples and countries and got some information about them.

Both Dayuan and Kangju should be located in Sogdiana, between the Syr Darya and the Hissar Mountains, with Dayuezhi and Daxia in Bactria, around the Amu Darya. These four countries were in the previous territories of Alexander’s empire, the Seleukid kingdom and the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

Dayuan is generally identified with the area of Fergana, where the furthest Alexandria (Alexandria Eschate) was built by Alexander the Great and rebuilt by Seleukos I (Arrian 4.4.1; Appian 11.57). It is possible that the pronunciation in Chinese of “Yuan” could come from the Yona or Yavana, the name for the Greeks in Sanskrit. Modern Uzbek still has a similar word “Yunon” for “Greek” (personal photos at the Ark Museum, Bukhara, September 21, 2014). Zhang Qian is the first Chinese official who named this area as Dayuan. *Da* in Chinese means “big, large, and vast” in geographical space, therefore Dayuan means that “Yuan” is a large country. If this hypothesis is accepted, it seems to hint at a story: Zhang Qian met local people who called themselves Yonas or Yavanas, and then named their country Yuan in transliteration. If so, it could be that in Dayuan, Zhang Qian met the descendants of those Greek colonists who came there under Alexander and his successors. It is also possible that the local people only retained their previous name from the Greeks but their ethnic identity had changed, given that the rule of the Greeks in Sogdiana was relatively shorter than in Bactria, lasting only to the reign of Euthydemus I (c. 200–190 BC).

Kangju was located between the valley of the Zarafshan River and the land on both sides of the Syr Darya. Marakanda, modern Samarkand, was the capital of Sogdiana, and the temporary seat of Alexander's headquarters when he was busy conquering the local tribes (Arrian 4.6–9). A Greek citadel was discovered at the Afrasiab site of Samarkand (Grenet 2002; 2004/5; Lyonnet this volume). It is possible that the Greek garrisons there retreated into Bactria with the successive invasions of the Sakas and Dayuezhi.

Dayuezhi, as “a moving country” (行國), now settled down in the north of the Amu Darya. It could have been the Dayuezhi who finally conquered the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom (Daxia). Ancient Termez may be the Alexandria on the Oxus (“Alexandria Oxiana”)(Leriche 2007:133) referred to only by Claudius Ptolemy (Ptolemy 6.12). There was a ferry at Kampyr Tepe on the northern bank of the Oxus River, a very important strategic position and the site of a citadel of the Greek garrison (see Stančo this volume). Whether the court of the Dayuezhi was in this city is still disputed.

Daxia, according to Zhang Qian's report, had been reduced to a dependent state in the south of the Amu Darya by the Dayuezhi before his arrival there. However, whether Daxia could be identified with the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, or another kingdom established by the Sakas (塞人) who had come to Bactria before the Dayuezhi, is also problematic. I follow the opinion of most scholars in regarding Daxia as the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. If so, some of the inhabitants of Daxia could be remnant Greeks. According to the report of Zhang Qian, they remained there protecting themselves in their cities (“They live in houses in cities enclosed by walls... There is no powerful king in the country. The cities and towns always have their own little chiefs” (Sima: 3164)). The Chinese envoy arrived in Daxia in c. 128 BC. This means that soon after the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom was destroyed, Zhang Qian stepped onto the stage of Central Asia.

This is the geographical and political situation in Central Asia seen and heard by Zhang Qian. It is clear that the areas Zhang Qian passed through in Central Asia had once been conquered and ruled by Alexander and his followers. Zhang Qian also heard of a large country, Anxi (安息), to the east of Dayuezhi, which has been identified with Parthia, because Anxi could be the transliteration by Zhang Qian of Arsakes, the founder of the Parthian kingdom. Although this was a non-Greek kingdom, it occupied almost half the territory of the Seleukid kingdom and consciously accepted and adapted Greek cultural legacies (for details see Yang 2013a). Therefore, what Zhang Qian had seen and heard in the Western Regions most probably contained information on their Hellenistic legacy (for information about Hellenistic culture brought to China by Zhang Qian see Yang 2007a, 2013b; here, I only provide a brief summary and some supplements to this).

First of all, Zhang Qian seems to have been astonished by the enormous number of towns and cities in Dayuan, Bactria and Anxi. There were more than 70 walled towns and cities both large and small in Dayuan, hundreds in Anxi, and some in Bactria (Sima: 3160, 3162, 3164). These records have been confirmed by Classical authors and by modern archaeological discoveries. According to Strabo and Justin, the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom once ruled “a thousand cities” (Strabo 15.1.3; see also Justin: 41.1.8.).³ Although these records need to be further verified – the allegation of the “one thousand cities” in particular must be an exaggeration – some of them already existed and, by the time of Zhang Qian, had become prosperous. Zhang

Qian may have visited some of these cities, whether or not there were still Greek inhabitants in them. When Zhang Qian returned to China, he took the route along the southern mountains of the Tarim basin (Sima: 3159). This means he would probably have passed by Ai Khanoum if he went eastwards up the Amu Darya and over the Pamir Mountains.

Secondly, Zhang Qian provided information about the Hellenistic coins issued by the kings of Anxi (安息): “The coins of Parthia are made of silver. The face of the king appears on the coin. As soon as one king dies the coins are changed, on which appears the new face of his successor” (Sima: 3162). Evidently, Parthian coins reflect the basic features of Hellenistic coinage: first, on the obverse is the king’s head or bust, and on the reverse Greek patron gods; second, every new ruler or king issues new coins; third, silver coinage plays the main role (on the basic features and evolution of Hellenistic coins, see Metcalf 2012: 173–294; Carradice and Price 1988: 104–136).

Thirdly, for the first time in his life, Zhang Qian saw grapes and wine, which were abundant in these regions and may be associated with the Greeks who had been settled in western and Central Asia (Sima: 3171: “The wine is made of grapes in Dayuan and the lands around it. The rich can have the storage of wine as much as over ten thousand Dan (石) and its quality can be kept good as long as several decades”). Although we are not sure that the Greeks following Alexander and his successors were the first to introduce the grape into Central Asia, it was certainly Greek settlers who brought in this new viniculture. According to Strabo, they first introduced their methods of viniculture to Susiana and Babylon: “They did not cut trenches, but only thrust into the ground iron-pointed stakes, then pulled them out and replaced them at once with the plants.” Strabo also reports that the soil of Aria and Margiana, both bordering on Bactria, was well suited to the vine, and that the land of Aria especially was “exceedingly productive of wine, which can be kept good for three generations in vessels not smeared with pitch” (Strabo 15.3.11). Related evidence can be found in the Chinese historical records. According to the Collective Biographies of Dayuan, wine was one of the special products of Anxi, Dayuan and other areas. From this we may infer that before Zhang Qian arrived in the Western Regions viniculture and wine making had already become known and popular among the local people. This correspondence of western and eastern sources is not a coincidence, but a reflection of the history of viniculture in these regions. After Zhang Qian’s travels to the Western Regions, viniculture was introduced into central China by way of the Silk Road and was first cultivated extensively in Chang’an (長安), the capital of the former Han dynasty (Sima: 3171–3172: “The envoys of the Han emperors brought the seeds of the grapevine and the purple medic back to Central China. So the emperor Wudi (Tianzi天子, the Son of Heaven) began to plant them in lands of great fertility. The number of Heavenly Horses (天馬) rose steadily and many foreign envoys came to the capital, so that the grapevine and the purple medic were planted over large areas near the palaces and hotels”). It is possible that the pronunciation of the Chinese word 蒲陶 (*Pu Tao*, “grape”), first transliterated by Zhang Qian, comes from the Greek word “βότρυς, *botrus*” which means a bunch of grapes (Chavannes 1962: Vol. 2, Chap. 8, 7).⁴

Fourthly, the political situation in Daxia described by Zhang Qian⁵ corresponds with Strabo’s report that the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was destroyed by four Scythian

tribes from the north: namely the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli (Strabo 11.8.2). One of these, the Tochari, may be identified with the so-called Dayuezhi in Chinese, because the former lands of Bactria were generally called Tuhuoluo (吐火羅) in later Chinese records.⁶ It happened that the Dayuezhi people occupied Bactria just after the Greeks inhabitants retreated into India, around the mid-second century BC (see Sima: 3161–3162, 3164).⁷ Of course, one group of Sakas probably invaded Bactria before the arrival of Dayuezhi. These could be the Sacarauli also mentioned by Strabo, namely the Sai People (塞人). The Sakas may have given a heavy blow to the Greek kingdom but they did not destroy it completely. They then moved south and entered the south of modern Afghanistan, and finally India, as the so-called Indo-Scythians (see Cribb this volume).⁸ Possibly, during the mid-first century AD, Kushan, one of the five yabgu (翮侯) of the Dayuezhi confederation, subdued the other four yabgus and established the vast Kushan Empire (Fan: 2921).

Fifthly, according to the record of Sima Qian, “from Dayuan to Anxi the customs were similar and people could understand each other although they spoke different dialects” (Sima: 3174). It means that there was a common language in this area, and *koine* Greek could have played such a role. Greek inscriptions and remnants of papyri were found at the site of Ai Khanoum (see Mairs this volume). A few fragments of Greek parchments containing a tax receipt and records of payments were also discovered at other places in Bactria. Moreover, Zhang Qian mentioned the habit of calligraphy in Anxi: “they write horizontally on leather” (Sima: 3162). Zhang Qian was extremely interested in these special materials and the system of writing, as it was totally different from the Chinese custom of writing vertically on bamboo slips or pieces of silk.

Finally, there is a story that the king of Dayuan was killed by aristocrats who colluded against him (*Shiji* 123). This event might throw light on the tradition of Macedonian kingship where the power of kings was restricted by a council which consisted of aristocrats from various tribes. Perhaps this tradition still remained to some extent in the ruling rank of Dayuan in Sogdiana. The control of Sogdiana by the Greeks weakened with the coming of the Sakas and Dayuezhi successively. It is understandable that some Hellenistic political tradition may still have remained since, after all, not too much time had passed between the retreat of Greeks and the conflict between Han China and Dayuan (104–101 BC).

In a word, the travels of Zhang Qian in the Western Regions should be re-evaluated and reviewed. He was the first Chinese official to enter the former Hellenistic world and could have met Greeks there himself.

“Xiyu Zhuan” in *Hanshu* (“西域傳 The Descriptions of the Western Regions” in 漢書 *The Han Histories*): The Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kingdoms

Indo-Greek is a modern term popularised by the historian A. K. Narain in his monumental book *The Indo-Greeks*, published in 1957 (W. W. Tarn had earlier used “the Greeks in India” to refer to those remaining in the northwest of ancient India in his enduring book (1938). It is generally used to point to the Greeks who stayed in India after Alexander, especially the Greeks who invaded India from Bactria from the early second century BC and remained there till their disappearance around the turn of the first century BC and AD. The reconstruction of the history of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians mainly relies on their coins. However,

fortunately, the *Hanshu*, the second of the *Early Four Historical Books*, throws light on these Indo-Greeks to a certain extent.

The *Hanshu* recorded the history of the Former Han Dynasty up to AD 25. In the chapter of “Xiyu Zhuan”, the last recorded event took place in AD 23. The date means that more than a hundred years had passed from the time of Zhang Qian and Sima Qian. The political situation and cultural environment in the Western Regions had changed considerably. Meanwhile, the Chinese had become more and more familiar with the countries and peoples there. Some which were only heard of at the time of Zhang Qian had established diplomatic relations with the Han Empire. The Silk Road from China to the Mediterranean had emerged. With the extending and developing of this route, more detailed foreign information was brought into China. Ban Gu’s source on the Western Regions was obviously his brother Ban Chao (班超) who had been in charge of the affairs of the Western Regions for about 30 years (AD 73–102). Two important countries were described in more detail by him: Jibin (罽賓) and Wuyishanli (烏弋山離). Both appear to have had some connection to the Indo-Greeks or their legacy.

According to the record of Ban Gu, Jibin was located in the northwest of India, possibly in Gandhāra.⁹ For Jibin, two issues should be discussed further.

First, its coins. According to the *Hanshu*: “its coin are made of gold and silver. On the obverse is a man riding on a horse, on the reverse a man’s face” (Ban: 3885). This coinage can be compared to Hellenistic coinage and is especially similar to that of the Indo-Scythian kings because of the same figures on the obverse: a man mounted on a horse. However, the figures on the reverse of the Indo-Scythian coins are generally Greek gods standing frontally or in profile.¹⁰ In any case, only the coins of the Indo-Scythians are close to those described by Ban Gu, compared to the other coins in the area.¹¹

The second issue concerning Jibin is the identity of the Rong Qu Prince (容屈王子) who overthrew the king of Jibin with the assistance of an envoy of the Han court. These events were recorded as follows:

The Han Dynasty got into contact with Jibin from the Emperor Wudi [漢武帝, 140–87 BC]. The King Wutoulao [烏頭勞] of Jibin thought that his kingdom was so far away from China that Chinese troops could not reach it, so he killed the Chinese envoys repeatedly. After Wutoulao died, his son succeeded to the throne in the reign of Han Yuandi [漢元帝, 48–33 BCE]. He sent envoys to China with tribute to apologize for the wrongdoing of his father. A Chinese general Wen Zhong [文忠] escorted his envoys back. However, the king tried to murder Wen Zhong again. Having discovered the conspiracy, Wen Zhong joined forces with the prince of Rong Qu [容屈王子], Yinmofu [陰末赴], and together they invaded Jibin and killed its king. Then Wen Zhong made Yinmofu the king of Jibin and granted him the seal and ribbons [as a sign of his subjection to China] on behalf of the Han Emperor.

(Ban: 3885–3886)

According to W. W. Tarn and other scholars, Rong Qu is possibly the Chinese transliteration of “Yonaki” (“Greek city”). The city, then, would be Alexandria-Kapisa (Alexandria of the Caucasus). Yinmofu could be Hermaios, the son of the ruler of the Greek city. Wutoulao might be the name of Scythian Spalyris (Spalahores) (r.c.

60–57 BC or 50–47 BC) who called himself the brother of the King (ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως) on his coins. Wen Zhong mistakenly regarded ἀδελφοῦ as the king's name and transliterated it as 'Wutoulao' (烏頭勞).¹² It is generally believed that Hermaios was the last Greek king of the family of Eukratides in northwest India. If this hypothesis were tenable, Hermaios would be the first and also the last Indo-Greek king who accepted investiture from China and established a formal political relation with the Han court, and the Greek kingdom of Jibin could be admitted as a vassal state of China (on diplomatic relation between Jibin and Han China, see also Yang 2013c). Tarn even assumed that Wen Zhong was the first Chinese official who "came into actual contacts with Greeks or the Greek language" (see Tarn 1951: 341), however, as verified above, it should be Zhang Qian rather than Wen Zhong, who was the first Chinese diplomat to have had contacts with the Greeks and the Greek language. Unfortunately, the relationship did not remain friendly for long, and troubles and conflicts continued to take place between the Indo-Greek kings and the Chinese envoys in Jibin. Later, Jibin twice sent envoys to the Han court to apologize for their treachery, but they were refused, and the relations between the two countries were cut off (Ban: 3886–3887).

What need to be pointed out is that Tarn's argument was totally rejected by A. K. Narain in the 1950s¹³ and also opposed by Osmund Bopearachchi in recent years. Bopearachchi thinks that the reign of Hermaios should be in c. 90–70 BC (Bopearachchi 1991: 453), which evidently does not match the time when Yinmofu ruled as a king according to the records of the *Hanshu*. However, no matter whether Yinmofu can be identified with Hermaios or not, it is quite possible that Han China might have had some contacts with the Indo-Greeks who still remained in the northwest of India in the first century BC. Ban Gu in particular remarked that: "The people of Jibin are ingenious in carving, ornamenting, engraving and inlaying; in building palaces and mansions; in weaving wool, ornamental perforation and embroidery" (Ban: 3885). This means that both the art of Greek sculpture and the Chinese techniques of silk weaving were well-known there.

Wuyishanli (烏弋山離) is the last country at the end of the southern branch of the Silk Road. It should be located to the south of Kabul in Afghanistan and include the areas of ancient Seistan and Arachosia. "Wuyishanli" may be a transliteration of Alexandria Prophthasia or Alexandria at Kandahar (Sun 1978, Yu 1992: 168–171, Cohen 2013: 255–256, 283–286). According to the records of Ban Gu, the coins here were rather peculiar: "on the obverse is a man's head and on the reverse a mounted man" (Ban: 3889). In fact, this is a common type of Graeco-Bactrian or Indo-Greek coinage; we might recall the coins issued by Eukratides (171–145 BC): Head or bust of the king/ Dioscuri, the imitation of Diomedes (c. 95–90 BC), and those of the so-called Nameless King in the early Kushan period. However, this would be an anachronism. The former two examples are somewhat earlier, and the latter is too late (c. AD 90–110).¹⁴ Admittedly, there are other Indo-Greek kings who issued similar coins, such as Philoxenos (c. 100–95 BC) and Hippostrates (c. 65–55 BC), and Philoxenos even once controlled all of northwest India including Arachosia (on the coins of these three Indo-Greek kings and their territories, see Bopearachchi 1991: 453, pl. 16–19, 4; pl. 43–44, pl. 64–65; Senior 2001: Vol. I, 9, 19). But could we regard his coins as just what Ban Gu described? The territory of Hippostrates was in west Punjab and lies outside of our consideration. Another option could be the

coins of the Indo-Parthians (another variety of Hellenistic coins) that conform to the type of Wuyishanli: head of a man/mounted man (such as the coins of Gondophares I (AD 20–55), Orthagnes, AD 35–55, Abdagases, AD 55–65, Sorpedones AD 60; see Li 2008:140–147; see also Senior 2001: Vol. II, 148–180).

Obviously, Ban Gu had noticed the differences in the coinage of Jibin and Wuyishanli. Although the identification of these two kinds of coins remains uncertain, both of them mirror the basic features of Hellenistic coinage.

“Xiyu Zhuan” of *Houhanshu* (“西域傳 Biography of the Western Regions” in 後漢書 *the History of the Later Han Dynasty*): Daqin (大秦), Tiaozhi (條支) and Gandhāran Buddhist Art

In the later Han Dynasty, Chinese knowledge of the Western Regions became more and more extensive, with the expansion of exchanges between China and distant countries in the eastern Mediterranean and India through the Silk Road. Although the Hellenistic kingdoms had already disappeared by that time, information related to the Hellenistic legacy was continually brought into China. The “Xiyu Zhuan” of *Houhanshu* provides some clues of it.

Houhanshu was written and completed in the early fifth century AD. Concerning the compiling principle of “Xiyu Zhuan”, the author Fan Ye has said:

Ban Gu had recorded the cultures and customs of the Western Regions in *Hanshu* in detail. What is described in ‘Xiyu Zhuan’ differs from the former. All events recorded in it took place after the beginning of the reign of Jianwu [建武, AD 25–57, one of the reigns of the Emperor Liu Xiu, 劉秀] and had been recorded by Ban Yong [班勇] at the end of the reign of Emperor Andi [漢安帝, AD 107–125].
(Fan: 2912–2913)

This means that, in his chapter on the Western Regions, the author would not repeat what Ban Gu had described but focus on the new materials from Ban Yong, the son of Ban Chao. As the successor to his father and a general, he had undertaken military service in the Western Regions twice. The first was in the first year of the reign Yongchu (永初元年, AD 107) of Emperor Andi (漢安帝). The second was in between the sixth year of the reign Yuanchu (元初六年, AD 119) of Emperor Andi (漢安帝) and the second year of the reign Yongjian (永建二年, AD 127) of Emperor Shundi (漢順帝). Although his stay in the Western Regions did not last longer than his father’s, he offered more new information. By that time, the political situation of the Western Regions had changed significantly. Firstly, both the Seleukid and Ptolemaic Kingdoms in the eastern Mediterranean had been annexed by the Roman Empire. The latter had expanded eastwards to the Euphrates River and was confronting Parthia (Anxi) along it. Secondly, those small kingdoms of Greeks, Scythians and Parthians in north-western India had been replaced by the Kushan Empire. Thus, at that time there were three strong powers which existed side by side with China in Eurasia, namely the empires of Rome, Parthia and Kushan. With the exception of Han China, the other three empires largely occupied regions that had belonged to the Hellenistic world. Parthians, Scythians and the people of Dayuezhi (Kushans) were all originally nomads. In order to rule these newly occupied and civilized regions well, they had to assimilate the cultures of the conquered peoples, and adopt or adapt the Greek-styled

coins, Greek gods and art as well as other legacies of the Hellenistic world. Although it is hard to identify them clearly from the “Xiyu Zhuan” in *Houhanshu*, more implicit clues can still be noticed. Particularly, for the first time in Chinese historical books, Daqin was introduced in more detail (Fan: 2919–2920).

In the preface of “Xiyu Zhuan”, the author generalized on the close relations between China and the countries in the Western Regions as far as the Mediterranean: “From Tiaozhi and Anxi to the other countries that are far beyond 40,000 *li* away from China and near the sea, all tried to pay tribute to China through several successive interpreters” (Fan: 2910). Undoubtedly, there is some exaggeration in these words, but certainly some of the extremely distant countries had contacts with China. “Paying tribute” is just a way of communication and does not mean a real vassal relationship. Envoys from these countries must have brought some information about their culture to China. It may be due to these external influences that the style of stone carving changed during the Han Dynasty (see Nickel this volume).

Buddhism in India and its introduction into China are also described in the *Houhanshu* in great detail. The “people of Shendu [身毒, India] practice the Buddhist way, not to kill any life, or to wage war. Gradually, all these taboos have become customary for the Indians” (Fan: 2921). This is the first time that Buddhism is mentioned in Chinese historical books. It is said that the Emperor Mingdi (漢明帝) had a dream in which a tall golden man with light above his head appeared. He questioned his ministers as to who that man might be. One of them told him: “in the West, there is a god called Buddha. His body is sixteen *chi* (尺) high [c. 3.7 meters] with a golden color.” The Emperor Mingdi even sent an envoy to India “to inquire about the Buddha’s doctrine. Thereafter, the images of the Buddha began to appear in China” (Fan: 2922). This marked the spread of the Hellenistic element contained in Gandhāran art into China.

In the records about Anxi a famous episode occurs concerning Gan Ying (甘英), a Chinese envoy, who was sent to Daqin (大秦) by the Protector General Ban Chao. When he arrived at Tiaozhi city and tried to cross the sea to Daqin, he was persuaded not to go further by sailors on the western frontier of Anxi, who warned him about a horrible life at sea. The story has been discussed by many scholars. Tiaozhi has been described in *Shiji* and *Hanshu*. It was a far-away country to the west of Anxi. The people of Tiaozhi were good at acrobatics. However, in another section of *Shiji*, the acrobats seem to come from another country Lixuan (黎軒). Moreover, these acrobats were sent to Han China by Anxi as an exotic tribute to the emperor (Sima: 3163, 3173). We cannot be sure of the identity of these acrobats from Tiaozhi and Lixuan (or Liqian 犁軒 in *Hanshu*; Ban: 3888, 3890), but they could be Greeks from the Seleukid kingdom (Tiaozhi?) or Ptolemaic Egypt (Lixuan?).

In *Houhanshu*, Tiaozhi is the farthest country or city Chinese envoys could reach in the Western Regions in the Han dynasty. There are different opinions as to where this “Country-city of Tiaozhi” (條支國城) was. If it was a kingdom, undoubtedly, it should denote the Syrian Seleukid kingdom with Antioch on the Orontes as its capital, which, however, had been annexed by the Romans in 64 BC; if it was a city, could it have been Syrian Antioch, or Charax (Chavannes) at the Persian Gulf. The French sinologist E. Chavannes held this view (Hill 2009: 217), which was supported by Leslie and Gardiner (1982). Or does it stand for Susiana and the areas in the province of Fars to the east of the Persian Gulf (Hill 2009: 216)? Whatever it was, a kingdom or a city (or both, with the name of the capital to indicate the country), it

was certainly located to the west of Anxi and near the sea. According to the record in *Hanshu*, Tiaozhi had once been subjugated for a period by Anxi (Ban: 3888). This can be confirmed by another record in this chapter: “Gan Ying arrived at Tiaozhi through Anxi and he was so near the sea that he was hopeful to see Daqin” (Fan: 2931). Gan Ying travelled westwards in the ninth year of the reign Yong Yuan of Emperor Hedi (漢和帝), namely AD 97 (this is a traditional way of numbering the years of the reign of an emperor, originating from Han Dynasty). “Yong Yuan” is the title of the reign of Emperor Han Hedi, starting from 89 AD. At that time, Antioch was no longer the capital of the Seleukid kingdom but the capital of the Syrian province of the Roman Empire. According to the record in this chapter the city was

On the top of a hill and more than 40 *li* [c.16.6 kilometres] in circumference. It borders on the Western Sea, and the sea winds around it on the south, east, and north. Thus, accesses are blocked on three sides. It is only to the northwest that there is communication by road on firm ground.

(Fan: 2918)

This means that the city was near the sea. But which sea is it? In my opinion, this sea should be the Mediterranean, and this “Tiaozhi” city should be Antioch on the Orontes in Syria. Gan Ying might have gone into this region and this city himself; otherwise the records about them could not have been so detailed. As we know, the report of Gan Ying is the only direct source on the “country-city of Tiaozhi”. The site of Antioch on the Orontes in Syria has been unearthed. Its topography, products and climate (Downey 1961: 15–23, 77–80, Fig. 11) largely concurs with the Chinese records about “Tiaozhi” in *Shiji*, *Hanshu* and *Houhanshu* to different degrees of certainty (see *Shiji*: “Tiaozhi is located in the west of Anxi [Parthia] for several thousand *li*. It is near the West Sea. The climate is humid; rice is grown in its land. There are big birds with eggs as big as a jar.” (Sima 1959: 3163) In *Hanshu*: “It is near the West Sea. The climate is humid; rice is grown in its land. There are big birds with eggs as big as a jar.” (Ban: 3888). The Greek geographer Strabo (64–63 BC–AD 25) also discusses Antioch during his time: There were outer walls around the whole city and inner walls around every part of Tetrapolis. The city was 120 stadias (equal to 22.2 kilometre) away from the exit to the Mediterranean. It only took one day from the port to the inner territory (Strabo 16. 2.4–7). If Gan Ying had actually visited Antioch on the Orontes in Syria, he must have seen the city Strabo discussed. The Chinese scholar Yu Taishan even assumed the harbour of Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, might have been the Tiaozhi city (Yu 2005: 271). This should, however, be doubted: Gan Ying might have known the port but probably only regarded it as one part of Tiaozhi city or Tiaozhi country because he did not mention anything about this port city.

Of course, the hypothesis that the Tiaozhi should be located on the Persian Gulf is not unreasonable, because the Persian Gulf could be considered the western boundary of Anxi. If one sets off from the Persian Gulf by ship, turns round the Arabian Peninsula, passes through the Red Sea, and lands in Egypt, one could get to Daqin (Lijian, 犁鞬, it should be the Lixuan, mentioned in *Shiji*; Fan: 2919). According to Pliny (6.31.138–140), Charax on the Persian Gulf at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates was founded on an artificial platform that was two miles in width (about 3.2 kilometres or 7.7 *li* in Chinese measurements). Because we do not know

the length of the other two sides, we cannot calculate the circumference of the city. However it seems to have been a little less than 40 *li* (16.6 kilometres). The English translator of Pliny's *Natural History* in the Loeb Classical Library suggested that the width of this city should be enlarged to three or six miles. He appears to think that the city referred to by Pliny was too small. The city had been rebuilt by Antiochos III (223–187 BC) and renamed Antioch after himself, from which the Chinese transliteration of Tiaozhi (條支) might originate. Later the city was destroyed and once again and rebuilt by its neighbour, the Arab King Spasines. He constructed bulwarks for the city and raised adjacent lands. The length of the new city was, at six miles, a little longer than its width. So, its circumference seems to be much more than 40 *li* (16.6 kilometres.). However, at that time the city had been renamed after the Arab king. Therefore, the evidence for Charax as Tiaozhi is insufficient.

However, no matter which city Gan Ying actually arrived at, either the one on the Orontes or the other in the Persian Gulf, the information about a city founded by Greeks as the capital of the Seleukid kingdom was spread over China.

As for the land of “Daqin”, it is generally assumed that Egypt is meant. By this time, it had been a province of the Roman Empire for more than a century. It was much nearer and more convenient to go to Egypt from Antioch on the Orontes than it would have been from the Persian Gulf. If it is assumed that Daqin could denote Rome in the Italian Peninsula, or any other region of the Roman Empire in the eastern Mediterranean, it would appear more reasonable and easier for a traveller to set off from Syrian Antioch to these areas including Egypt. Naturally, all the hypotheses are based on the premise that Gan Ying must have been familiar with the orientation of Daqin.

According to “Xiyu Zhuan” of *Houhanshu*, Daqin is also called Lijian (犁鞬), or “the Country in the Western Sea” (海西國) (Fan: 2919). There was for a long time a popular hypothesis that “Lijian” in *Houhanshu* was to be identified with “Alexandria” in Egypt (this was first proposed by French sinologist Paul Pelliot in 1915; see Pelliot 1962b), and consequently Daqin in this period referred to Egypt under Roman rule. Nowadays, ideas about it differ. Some scholars think that Daqin should denote the Roman east or the Roman Empire including the former Syrian Seleukid kingdom and Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty (see Leslie and Gardiner 1982; Hill 2009: 255–256). As stated above, the most remote area reached by Gan Ying was either the eastern coast of the Mediterranean or the head of the Persian Gulf. Wherever Tiaozhi was, it is certain that Gan Ying had arrived in the western part of the former Hellenistic world, then under the Parthian and Roman Empires. The description of Daqin in this chapter should be based on his information which might have been gathered partly from his observation and partly from hearsay. It is therefore fragmentary, unreliable and may even have some idealized views.

For example, the description about the political and administrative system of Daqin could be such a patchwork. The information about Daqin in *Houhanshu* concurs with the reports in “Xirong Zhuan” (西戎傳, Treatise on the Peoples of the West) of *Weilue* (魏略) included in a note of *Sanguozhi*. Both have the same sources, but the latter is more detailed than the former. Some clues in both of them seem more or less to reflect the current situation of the Roman Empire. They mention a great country with more than four hundred cities built in stone, with public and private

palaces and houses with two stores, the capital located on a river near the sea, post stations along the way, a council (or senate) of 36 generals, and a king who was not autocratic and could be dethroned or exiled by the council (Fan: 2919; Chen: 860–861). This report can hardly be in accordance with the political system of the Roman Empire. Perhaps it includes some features of Hellenistic monarchy, and at the same time some idealized fantasies about a distant country.

Even so, the Chinese clearly knew of the existence of Daqin, as vast as China, and what its people looked like (interestingly, like the Chinese themselves). It “issued golden and silver coins and ten silver coins equalled one golden coin” (Fan: 2919), which indicates that the Chinese knew the relative value of gold and silver in Hellenistic coinage: one to ten (according to the calculation of Meadows 2014: 178, the ratio of the gold to silver is 1:10). In the Roman Empire a golden *aureus* was valued at 25 silver *denarii*. Although the weight of gold and silver coins gradually diminished (the weight of a golden *aureus* fluctuated between 8 and 6.5 grams and a silver *denarius* between 3 and 3.9 grams), the relative values of gold and silver were still maintained at one to ten or a little higher (see Scheidel 2009: 171–172). It has been shown that in the later Roman Empire, the relative value of gold versus silver seems to have been largely the same as in Hellenistic period.

The answer as to whether or not Daqin or the Roman Empire had direct contact with China through the Silk Road is not beyond doubt. According to the records of *Houhanshu*, the kings of Daqin tried to establish direct relationships with China, but were stopped by Anxi, which controlled the middle section of the Silk Road, struggling to monopolize the trade of silk. Daqin had to trade with Anxi and Tianzhu (天竺, India) by sea. This fact means that trade with Anxi and the Roman Empire had actually not been deterred completely. Furthermore, envoys from Daqin eventually arrived at the most southerly prefecture (Rinan Jun, 日南郡) of China and contributed gifts to the Chinese emperor in the ninth year of the reign of Yanxi (延熹) of Emperor Huandi (桓帝), i.e. AD 166 (Fan: 2919–2920). These self-proclaimed envoys might actually be Roman merchants from India, because gifts such as elephant tusks, rhinoceros horns, and tortoiseshell seem to have been brought from India. These records verify the emergence of the maritime Silk Road from Rome to China at least in the second half of the second century AD. However, there is essentially little Hellenistic information brought into China by Roman merchants.

“Xirong Zhuan” in *Weilue* (“西戎傳 Treatise on the Peoples of the West” in 魏略 *The Brief History of Wei Dynasty*) as a supplemental note in *Sanguozhi* (三國志 *The Record of the Three Kingdoms*): Alexandria in Egypt and Centaurs in China

The introduction of the Western Regions in “Xirong Zhuan” in *Weilue*, is similar to those in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of *Houhanshu*. The author, Yu Huan, lived in the period from the last years of the Wei Dynasty (AD 220–265) to the Jin Dynasty (AD 266–316), i.e. the second half of the third century AD. As an entire book *Weilue* had been lost, but fortunately the scholiast Pei Songzhi (裴松之, 372–451) quoted the “Xirong Zhuan” in *Sanguozhi* as an appendix (for a detailed description, see Chen: 858–863). It contains very important material for research on the historical relations between China and the Western Regions. However, as far as our topic is concerned, there is little new information in it. The book refers to a particular city in Daqin by various names: “Chisan” (遲散城), “Wudan” (烏丹城), “Wuchisan” (烏遲散城)

: Chen: 860). According to Yu Taishan, all these names are derived from the transliteration of the name of one and the same city: “Wuchisandan” (烏遲散丹), namely Alexandria in Egypt (Yu 2005: 344 n. 106). It is also said that Daqin “issues gold and silver coins, and ten silver coins are valued at one gold coin” (Chen: 861). Obviously, Yu Huan and Fan Ye used almost the same sources. However, the description of Daqin by Yuhuan is more detailed and informative than the one by Fan Ye. It is possible that the former might have got new material from other sources or the latter cut some unreliable materials.

An unknown country was referred to by Yuhuan in this chapter:

The elder of Wusun (烏孫) says that there is a country named Ma Jing [馬經國] in the Northern Dingling [北丁零]; the voice of the people there sounds like that of a Banwu [which is a kind of bird similar to a goose]. The upper parts of their body from the knees upwards are human, but they have the shins and hooves of a horse with fur below their legs. So they run as quickly as a horse. They are valiant soldiers.

(Chen: 863)

The image of half-human and half-horse people looks more or less like the centaurs in Greek myth.¹⁵ It is most probable that the mythical figure was introduced into central China through Anxi (Parthia), because at the site of Nisa, one of the capitals of the Parthian kingdom, about 40 rhytons have been discovered, on some of which figures of centaurs were decorated (see Masson 2008; Abdullaev 2008; Pappalardo, 2008; and Bruno this volume). Unexpectedly, in 1984, Chinese archaeologists discovered a fragment of woollen trousers in a tomb in the Tarim Basin, dated between the third and first century BC, on which a galloping centaur blowing a horn or a trumpet resembling a Greek and Roman *salpinx* was depicted (Xinjiang Museum 1989; Wagner et al: 2009). Of course, this indirect and scattered evidence is not enough to verify that there was a link between them and the legend of horse-like people. However, given the close relation between Parthia and China, it is possible that the story of Greek centaurs was spread into China orally. Figures of centaurs discovered in the Tarim Basin in fact heralded Hellenistic influence in China.

CONCLUSION

From the analysis above, we may safely conclude that from the time of Zhang Qian, some information about the Hellenistic world, and later the Roman east, was spread into China, despite the difficulty of reconstructing the exact courses at the present state of research. Zhang Qian displayed a new world to the Chinese people. He followed, as it were, the traces of the Greeks in Sogdiana and Bactria into Central Asia. Consequently, his description was to serve as a basic source for later historians. With the changes in rulers in those areas, some Greek cities developed, some ceased to exist, and new cities appeared. Hellenistic coins with Greek mythical stories, Greek gods, language, sculpture and architecture continued to be adopted or adapted in various degrees by new peoples and kingdoms. Despite the fact that the Hellenistic kingdoms disappeared in Eurasia around the end of the first century BC, the influences of Hellenistic culture still played an important role in the interactions between

Chinese and western civilizations through the Silk Road. This is why it is possible to glean some clues about the Greeks and their legacies in *Hanshu*, *Houhanshu*, and *Sanguozhi* after *Shiji*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In a sense, this chapter is an update and revised version of the article “Some clues of the Hellenistic World and the Roman East hidden in China’s *Early Four Historical Books*”, published in *Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society*, 46/47 (2014/2015) 121–143. It also refers to other related articles by me. Here I thank the previous editor, Dr D.W.P. Burgersdijk for his generous permission. Many thanks also to Professor Kurt Raaflaub, Professor Jeffrey Lerner, Dr Henk Singor and Mr. John Hill for their long and great support to me. Meanwhile, I am very grateful to Dr Rachel Mairs, the editor of this book, for her trust and encouragement.

NOTES

- 1 This chapter is one of the research results of the Key Project of the National Foundation for Social Science in China: “Hellenistic Civilization and the Silk Road” (No. 15ZDB059).
- 2 Xiyu (西域) is a special toponym indicating areas to the west of the Central China. In the context of Han China, it had two meanings. One is the Inner (or Minor) Western Region (小西域) controlled by China from Dunhuang to the Pamir. It also could be called “the Western Regions in China” (中国西域). The other is the Greater Western Regions (大西域) which extends to the west as far as Chinese people knew, generally up to the Mediterranean. In this chapter, ‘the Western Regions’ points to the latter which largely covers the former Hellenistic World.
- 3 For discussion of the “thousand cities”, see Leriche 2007: 121–153. Although admitting that numerous military colonies or settlements in Bactria were actually established by Greeks in Bactria, he thinks that “the Greeks did not pursue a systematic policy of founding towns”; they “did not really found a major city except for Ai Khanoum ... the creation of cities was only exceptional in Greek Bactria”. His conclusion is that “‘Bactria of a thousand cities’ appears to be a phrase applicable not so much to the Hellenistic period but rather to the one which followed the departure of Greeks.” Leriche’s idea should certainly be taken into consideration, but it is worth noticing that precisely the cities and towns founded by Greeks in Bactria and India catalysed the developments of Kushan cities.
- 4 Paul Pelliot cites this explanation put forward by Ritter, which was supported by Kingsmill and Hirth, while he himself was hesitant to accept it. See Pelliot 1962a: Vol. I, Chapter 5, 82–83. The American scholar B. Laufer does not agree with this identification; see Laufer 1919: 226. However, his conclusion may be outdated because new evidence in Greek discovered at Ai Khanoum and coins with Greek legends in Bactria and Parthia confirmed the spread of Greek in Central Asia of the Hellenistic Period and beyond. Zhang Qian surely heard the word and took it as the name of the vine, transliterating it as Chinese 蒲陶.
- 5 “There is no powerful king in the country but the cities and towns always have their small chiefs. The soldiers there are weak and fearful to fight. ... When the Dayuezhi immigrated westward, it defeated Daxia and subjected the people of Daxia under its rule” (Sima: 3164).
- 6 The name of “Tuhuoluo” first appears in *Weishu* 魏書 (*The History of Wei Dynasty*) as “Tuhuluo, 吐呼羅”, one of the different transliterations for it in Chinese (see below). Later it was introduced in more detail in “*Suishu*, 隋書 *Book of Sui*” (*the History of Sui Dynasty*). According to these two records, it should be located in the east of Bactria near the Pamir (Wei 1974: 2277; Wei and Ling 1973: 1853–1854). However, the most detailed

and exact record of Tuhuoluo is the chapter “the original lands of Duhuoluo” (觀貨邏, an alternative transliteration) in *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 (The Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty) by the Buddhist Xuanzang (玄奘), who passed through this area himself in the first half of the seventh century when he went to India to learn the sutras of Buddhism. It says: “going through the Iron Gate one arrived in the original land of the country of Duhuoluo. It is over one thousand *li* from its south to north, and over three thousand *li* from its east to west. It links Pamir in the east, Persia in the west, the Great Snow Mountains in the south, and the Iron Gate in the north. The Amu Darya flows westward in the middle of the country” (Ji et al. 2000: 100). Obviously, Duhuoluo includes the lands on both sides of the Amu Darya, namely Bactria and southern part of Sogediana (south of the Hisar mountains), controlled for nearly four centuries by the Dayuezhi and Kushans in succession.

- 7 Who destroyed Daxia is still disputed. It is possible that Sakas (Sai people, 塞人) in the valley of Ili river, might have attacked Bactria when they were forced by the Dayuezhi tribes to immigrate southwards. However, they did not occupy the land there, but finally settled in the area of Seistan, named after them in the southeast of Iran and south of Afghanistan. Following them, the Dayuezhi people arrived in Bactria and subdued it (cf. Ban: 3901).
- 8 See Ban: 3901; Senior 2001: Vol. I, 12, 13 (map 2), 39. However, Chinese records only state that “Dayuezhi attacked the king of the Sai people, and forced him to flee towards the west, then the king of the Sai people crossed the suspending pass (悬度, Xuandu) southward, and his land was occupied by Dayuezhi”. There is no such description of his raid of Daxia on his way to India. The hypothesis of Senior points to the migration routes of Sakas, one of which is from Ferghana to Bactria, then turns to south across the Hindu Kush. No matter which tribe or tribes destroyed Bactria, without doubt, they came from the northern steppe.
- 9 There are other hypotheses on the location of Jibin, such as Kashmir, Kabul and Kapisa (Begram), etc. I am inclined to Gandhāra in a broad understanding of the term.
- 10 This type of coin was issued by the Indo-Scythian kings Vonones (c. 75–65 BC), Spalirises (c. 60–57 BC), Azes I (c. 57–35 BC), Azelises (c. 57–35 BC), Azes II (c. 35–12 BC), etc. see Li 2008: 116–127; Srivastava 1996: Pl. II. 4, 6, 9; III. 2, 5, 6–7, 9–10; IV. 1, 4–8.
- 11 For details of the coins issued by the kings of the Scythians, see Senior 2001: (Vol. II) 5–143. Most of the coins in the catalogue belong to the type of “King Mounted With” (KMW).
- 12 See Tarn 1951: 469–473, 418, 339–342. Tarn’s conclusion was based on the views of Von Gutschmid and A. Wylie. For the coin of Spaliris (Spalahores) and its legend, see Senior 2001: (Vol. II) 29 (no.69); also see Li 2008: 118. On the legends of his coins, he did not call himself king. Maybe he was one of the joint-kings of Vonones (i. c. 85–65 BC) at that time. Later he became a real king in the mid-first century BC.
- 13 Although not accepting Tarn’s argument, Narain has not been able to solve the problem of whom the “Yinmofu and Wutoulao” could be identified with. See Narain 1957: 154–155.
- 14 There are still arguments concerning the identity of Soter Megas and his reign. See Cribb 2014: 110, Bopearachchi 2007: 50, and Yang 2009. Here the author synthesizes the opinions of both of them and gives an approximate reign.
- 15 There is a similar description of this monster in *Shan Hai Jing* 山海经 (*Mountain and Sea Classics*, Liu 2001: 342) but here it is only mentioned that the people of Dingling Country (釘靈國) had hairy legs under the knees and walk or run fast with their horseshoes. This book includes numerous mysterious, exotic, and fantastic myths and imaginary descriptions. The people of Dingling Country look like the Greek centaurs. Generally, this book was assumed to be written by anonymous authors between the middle Warring States Period (475–221 BC) and the early and middle Han Dynasty, and was compiled by Liu Xin (刘歆, 50 BC–AD 23). Therefore, the story might be related to the centaurs of Greek

myths. Maybe the story of centaurs was spread into Central China by that time. Later, Yuhuan learned it and then updated the legend in his “Treatise on the Peoples of the West”. However, this is only a hypothesis that needs to be confirmed further.

REFERENCES

- Abdullaev, Kazim A. (2008). “A Bactrian Gold Buckle with the Contest Between a Hero and a Centaur (Herakles and Nessos?)”. *Parthica* 10, 135–149.
- Appian (1912–1913). *Roman History*. With an English translation by Horace White. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Arrian (1933). *Anabasis of Alexander*. With an English translation by P. A. Brunt. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ban Gu (1962). *Hanshu* 漢書 (*The History of the Former Han Dynasty*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Book Company).
- Bopearachchi, Osmund (1991). *Mannaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- (2007). “Some Observations on the Chronology of Early Kushans”. *Res Orientales* 17 (2007), 41–53.
- (2015). *From Bactria to Taprobane: Selected Works of Osmund Bopearachchi*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- (2018). “Alexander the Great and the Monetary Portraits of Indo-Greek Sovereigns”. Translated into Chinese by Yang Juping and Wang Yang. *Journal of Sichuan University* 3, 112–120.
- Carradice, I. and Price, M. (1988). *Coinage in the Greek World*. London: B. A. Seaby Ltd.
- Chavannes, Edouard (1962). “Zhongguo de luxingjia 中國之旅行家 (The Travelers of China)”, in Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, trans. *Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong* 西域南海史地考證譯叢 (*Translations of papers of History and Geography of the Western Regions and the South Seas*) vol. II. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan (Commercial Press), (Chap. 8) 3–42.
- Chen, Shou 陳壽 (1959). *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (*The Record of the Three Kingdoms*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Book Company).
- Cohen, Getzel M. (2013). *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cribb, Joe (2014). “The Soter Megas Coins of the First and Second Kushan Kings, Kujula Kadphises and Wima Takto”. *Gandharan Studies* 8, 79–140.
- Cribb, Joe and Herrmann, Georgina, ed. (2007). *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Curtius, Quintus (1946). *History of Alexander*. With an English translation by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Davids, T. W. Rhys, trans. (1894). *The Questions of King Milinda*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Downey, Glanville (1961). *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fan, Ye 範曄 (1965). *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (*The History of Later Han Dynasty*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Book Company).
- Fang, Xuanling 房玄齡 (1974). *Jinshu* 晉書 (*The History of Jin Dynasty*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Book Company).
- Grenet, Frantz (2002). SAMARQAND i. HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY, last updated: July 20, 2002. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/samarqand-i>
- Grenet, Frantz (2004/5) “Maracanda/Samarkand, une métropole pré-mongole. Sources écrites et archéologie”. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 2004/5 (59e année), 1056–1058. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-Annales-2004-5-page-1043.htm>.

- Herodotus (1926). *Histories*. With an English translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hill, John E. (2009). *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the later Han Dynasty 1st to 2nd Centuries CE*. Charleston, SC: BookSurge.
- Holt, Frank, L. (2012). *Lost World of the Golden King*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.
- Ji, Xianlin 季羨林, ed. (2000). *Datang Xiyuji Jiaozhu* 大唐西域记校注 (*The Collation and Annotation of the Records on the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Justin (1994). *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*. Translated by J. C. Yardley. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Laufer, Berthold (1919). *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products*. Chicago, IL: Field Museum of Natural History.
- Leriche, Pierre (2007). “Bactria, Land of One Thousand Cities”, in Cribb, Joe and Herrmann, Georgina, eds. *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 121–153.
- Leriche, Pierre and Pidaev, Shakir (2007). “Termez in Antiquity”, in Cribb, Joe and Herrmann, Georgina, eds. *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 179–211.
- Lerner, Jeffrey D. (1999). *The Impact of Seleucid Decline on the Eastern Iranian Plateau*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Leslie, D. D. and Gardiner, K. H. J. (1982). “Chinese Knowledge of Western Asia During the Han”. *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, 68, Livr. 4/5, 254–308.
- (1996). *The Roman Empire in Chinese sources*. Roma: Bardi.
- Li, Tiesheng 李铁生 ed. (2008). *Gudai zhongya qianbi* 古中亚钱币 (*Coins in Ancient Central Asia*). Beijing: Beijing chubanshe (Beijing Press).
- Liu, Xin 刘歆 ed. (2001). *Shan Hai Jing* 山海经 (*Mountain and Sea Classics*). Beijing Yanshan chubanshe (Beijing: Yanshan Press).
- Mairs, Rachel (2014). *The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Masson, Vadim M. (2008). “The Discovery of the Parthian Rhytons in the Royal Treasury at Old Nisa”. *Parthica* 10, 19–24.
- Meadows, Andrew (2014). “The Spread of Coins in the Hellenistic World”, in Bernholz, Peter and Roland, eds. *Explaining Monetary and Financial Innovation*, Financial and Monetary Policy Studies 39, Berlin: Springer.
- Metcalf, William E, ed. (2012). *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Narain, Awadh Kishore (1957). *The Indo-Greeks*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Pappalardo, Eleonora (2008). “The Rhyton No. 52 from Old Nisa. An interpretative Proposal”. *Parthica* 10, 63–80, (76) Fig. 1.
- Pelliot, Paul 伯希和 (1962a). “Putao 蒲陶 Grapes”, in Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, trans. *Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicon* 西域南海史地考證譯叢 (*Translations of Papers of History and Geography of the Western Regions and the South Seas*) vol. I. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, (Chap. 5) 82–83.
- (1962b). “Liqian Wei Aiji Yalishanda Cheng Shuo 犁鞞為埃及亞歷山大城說 The Hypothesis about the identification of Liqian with Alexandria in Egypt”, in Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, trans. *Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicon* 西域南海史地考證譯叢 (*Translations of Papers of History and Geography of the Western Regions and the South Seas*) vol. II. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, (Chapter 7) 34–35.

- Pliny (1942). *Natural History*. With an English translation by H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Plutarch (1936a). “On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander”, translated by Frank Cole Babbitt, *Moralia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- (1936b). “Precepts of Statecraft”, translated by Frank Cole Babbitt, *Moralia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Pons, Jessie (2011). “From Gandharan Trays to Gandharan Buddhist Art: the Persistence of Hellenistic Motif from the Second Century BC and Beyond”, in Anna Kouremenos, et al., eds. *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 153–175.
- Ptolemy, Claudius (1932). *Geography*. Translated and edited by Edward Luther Stevenson. New York: Dover, 1991.
- Rapson, Edward James (1922). *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scheidel, W., ed. (2009). *Rome and China. Comparative Perspectives on Ancient World Empires*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Senior, R. C. (2001). *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, Vol. I. Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Sima, Qian 司馬遷 (1959). *Shiji* 史記 (*The Records of the Grand Historian*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Book Company).
- Srivastava, Prashant (1996). *Aspects of Ancient Indian Numismatics*. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.
- Strabo (1928, 1930). *Geography*. With an English Translation by Hotace Leonard Jones. Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library/Harvard University Press.
- Sun, Yutang 孙毓棠 (1978). “Anxi yu wuyishanli 安息与乌弋山离 (Parthia and Wuyishanli)”. *Wenshi* 文史 (*Literature and History*) 5, 7–21.
- Taishō Tripitaka, Treatises* (1990) (大正新脩大藏經·论集部), Vol. 32, No. 1670 (A, B), Taipei: The Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation. (Anonymous work)
- Tarn, William Woodthorpe. (1938, 1951). *The Greeks in Bactria & India*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Wagner, Mayke, Bo, Wang, Tarasov, Pavel, and Westh-Hansen, Sidsel Maris. (2009). “The Ornamental Trousers from Sampula (Xinjiang, China): Their Origins and Biography”. *A Quarterly Review of World Archaeology* 83/322, 1065–1075.
- Wei, Shou 魏收 (1974). *Weishu* 魏書 (*The History of Wei Dynasty*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Book Company).
- Wei, Zheng 魏征 and Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (1973). *Suishu* 隋書 (*The History of Sui Dynasty*) Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Book Company).
- Wiesehofer, Josef (1996). *Ancient Persia. From 550 BC to 650 AD*. London: I. B. Tauris Publishers.
- Xinjiang Museum (1989). “Luopuxian Sanpula gumu fajue bagao 洛浦县山普拉古墓发掘报告 (The report on the excavation of Ancient Tomb in Sampula, Lop County)”. *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 (*Relics of Xinjiang*) 2, 1–48.
- Yang, Juping 杨巨平 (2007a). “Yalishanda dongzheng yu sichouzhilu kaitong 亚历山大东征与丝绸之路开通 (The Eastern Conquests of Alexander the Great and the Opening of the Silk Road)”. *Li shi yan jiu* 历史研究 (*Historical Research*) 4, 150–161.
- (2007b). “Xilashi qianbi de bianqian yu gudai dongxifang wenhua jiaorong 希腊式钱币的变迁与古代东西方文化交融 (Greek-Styled Coins and Cultural Exchanges between East and West)”. *Beijing shifan daxue xuebao* 北京师范大学学报 (*Journal of Beijing Normal University*) 6, 40–46.
- (2007c). “Ai Khanoum yizhi yu xilashu shiqi dongxifang wenming hudong 阿伊·哈努姆遗址与希腊化时期东西方诸文明的互动 (Ai Khanoum and the Interaction

- between West and East in the Hellenistic Period)". *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (*Western Region Studies*) 1, 96–105.
- (2009). "Soter Megas Kaobain 'Soter Megas'考辨" (A Note on the *Soter Megas*)". *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (*Historical Research*) 4, 140–152.
- (2013a). "Patiya wangchao de 'aixila' qingjie帕提亚王朝的“爱希腊”情结 (The *Philhellenic Complex of Parthian Dynasty*)". *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中国社会科学 (*Social sciences in China*) 11, 180–201.
- (2013b). "Hellenistic World and the Silk Road". *Anabasis: Studia Classica et Orientalia* 4, 73–91. (the revised English version)
- (2013c). "The Relations Between China and India and the Opening of the Southern Silk Road During the Han Dynasty". *Silk Road* 11, 82–92.
- (2014/2015). "Some Clues of the Hellenistic World and the Roman East Hidden in China's *Early Four Historical Books*". *Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society* 46/47, 121–143.
- (2016a). "Yuandong xilahu wenming de wenhua yichan jiqi lishidiwei 远东希腊化文明的文化遗产及其历史地位 (The Cultural Heritage of Hellenistic Civilization in the Far East and its Historical Positioning)". *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (*Historical Research*) 5, 127–143.
- (2016b). "Milan Wang haishi Menander “弥兰王还是米南德：——《那先比丘经》中的希腊化历史信息考 (King Milinda or Menander: A Note on the Hellenistic Information in *Milindapañha*)". *Shijie Lishi* 世界历史 (*World History*) 5, 111–122.
- (2017). "Hellenization or Indianization: A Research on Yavanas". *Ancient West and East* 16, 177–208.
- Yu, Taishan 余太山 (1992). *Saizhongshi yanjiu* 塞种史研究 (*The Research on the Scythians*). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe (China Social Sciences Press).
- (2005). *Lianghan weijin nanbeichao zhengshi xiyuzhuan yaozhu* 两汉魏晋南北朝正史西域传要注 (*The Annotations on the Descriptions of West Regions in the Official Histories of the Former and Later Han, Wei, Jin and the North and South Dynasties*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Book Company).

PART V

NUMISMATIC SOURCES





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CHAPTER 20

HISTORY FROM COINS

The role of numismatics in the study of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek worlds



Simon Glenn

INTRODUCTION

The importance of coins in our understanding of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms has long been understood. From the very first publication of such coins in the 18th century, scholars have tried to put this numismatic evidence to its greatest use in writing the history of these two elusive kingdoms. With so little comparative evidence from other sources the coins have often been wrung of any and every potential drop of information, which have then been mixed together into sweeping historical narratives. Such works, of which Tarn's is the grandest example, have in turn often become accepted as a factual account, as good, if not better, than that of an ancient historian, and used by later scholars as the basis for further historical reconstruction.

Many of the ways in which coins have been used in these historical works have been dubious, with the narratives often making wonderful, gripping stories, but being highly conjectural. In other fields of ancient history, scholars have been able to draw connections between coins and a generally accepted chronology which has not been in doubt since it was recorded by contemporaneous historians. For example, the coins of many Greek cities and Hellenistic kingdoms can be studied alongside a relatively comprehensive understanding of historical events, taken from the work of ancient writers, epigraphic evidence, and in many cases extensive archaeological investigation. Some doubt may naturally still exist, but any uncertain dates are often to be placed within a relatively short, and well-defined, period.

For the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms there is no such luxury: we know of eight rulers from texts and inscriptions, while at least forty are to be found on coins. In fact, the state of our understanding is such that scholars do not agree even on the number of rulers under whom coins were struck, with the problem of homonymous issuers and posthumous issues leading to considerable uncertainty.¹ Indeed, recently debate has remerged about the earliest Graeco-Bactrian kings, with the proposal of a new king (Jakobsson 2010), while an attempt to merge coins with the name Euthydemus under a single ruler has surely been settled in favour of the existence of a second Euthydemus (Holt 2000). Even after close to 300 years of study, our understanding of these important numismatic series is far from complete. The occasional appearance of new varieties (variations in the symbols on the reverses of

the coins, for example) aside, however, the numismatic evidence itself is fixed. Before discussing the use of coins in historical reconstructions, both fantastical and more soundly based, it will be helpful to provide a brief overview of the coins themselves.

OUTLINE OF COINAGES

A common theme in the study of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek worlds has been the attempt to assign aspects of the cultures of these entities to ‘Greek’ or ‘Indian’/‘local’/‘non-Greek’ origins. In many ways for the numismatic evidence this is as fruitless an attempt as in other areas. At least later in the series, the iconography of the coins is often syncretic, while their shapes, and bilingual legends clearly indicate that they were meant to appeal to different audiences familiar with elements from different cultures. At the beginning of our period, however, there is a clear division between ‘Greek’ and ‘non-Greek’ issues.

Before Alexander III of Macedon’s arrival in Central Asia and India in 329 BCE, there is evidence of the use of a form of coinage, perhaps under Achaemenid authority. The so-called ‘bent bar’ issues are rectangular pieces of silver stamped at each end with punch-marks, or with multiple punches across their surfaces, while a similar phenomenon is found with Indian punch-marked coins (Figure 20.1). The variety of images on these punches is substantial, with suns, bulls, elephants, and *chakras* regularly found, all with links to an ‘Indian’ iconography. As we shall see below our knowledge of the find-spots of these coins is very limited, as is the case throughout the series, making it difficult to say where these coins were made and used, although it is usually thought that the bent-bar coins circulated in Gandhāra.

On the ‘Greek’ side of the numismatic picture the first coins produced in the region may be those of Sophytes (see Jansari this volume), at least in terms of their iconography and shape. Before these coins there is evidence of archaic Greek coins circulating in Central Asia and Pakistan, as well as imitations of Athenian tetradrachms and issues of the same denomination struck in the name of Alexander the Great (Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1994; Houghton and Lorber 2002, pp. 483–488). The first issues that clearly belong to a Greek tradition of coinage and were produced in Bactria come under the Seleukid kings. The existence of a Seleukid infrastructure for the production of coins, as well as an existing system of denominations, weight



Figure 20.1 Silver punch-marked coin, Kosala (?), 4.89 g, 32 mm x 26 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975.

standard, and iconography (Kritt 2016), led to considerable continuity between the coins struck under the Seleukids and those of the early Graeco-Bactrian kings. Like the Seleukids, and other Hellenistic dynasties (with the notable exception of the Ptolemies), the Graeco-Bactrian kings struck coins on the Attic weight standard; as with many numismatic features the issuers of the coins had little practical option to do anything else. Following Alexander's capture of the Achaemenid treasuries with their great reserves of precious metals, an extraordinary number of gold staters (Figure 20.2) and silver tetradrachms (Figure 20.3) had been produced. These coins showed a divine head on the obverse (Athena on the gold, Herakles on the silver), with a different full-length deity on the reverse (Nike and Zeus respectively). Alexander's issues originally read ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (of Alexander), before the addition of the royal title, *basileus*, late in his reign.

As such they set the expectations of users of coins for centuries to come. Alexander's successors modified the tradition of the obverse image so that in many cases it became an image of whichever Hellenistic king, often idealised in his portrayal, clean-shaven, and wearing a diadem (Kroll 2007). These features became the standard of Hellenistic coinage, alongside a trimetallic system of gold staters, silver tetradrachms, drachms, and obols (sometimes with the inclusion of additional fractions), and various bronze



Figure 20.2 Gold stater of Alexander III of Macedon, Babylon mint, 331 – c. 325 BCE, 8.54 g, 17.2 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, HCR23676.



Figure 20.3 Silver tetradrachm in the name of Alexander III of Macedon, Babylon mint, c. 323 – c. 317 BCE, 17.03 g, 26.8 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, HCR23721.

denominations. The status of these last issues as a token coinage often makes their relative value difficult to establish: as a simple example, was a coin twice as heavy as another also double the value? Such a conclusion seems likely, but we have no contemporary evidence to support it. The existence of an established Hellenistic coinage tradition meant that the early Graeco-Bactrian kings had little choice for their coinage: it had to be familiar to users in order to be trusted and accepted as of good metal and the appropriate weight.

The Hellenistic nature of the coinage is clear from the earliest issues of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Often in the series it is not certain in what exact order the coins were issued. It was originally suggested that the first issues of Diodotos, while featuring the portrait of the new king on the obverse, used the name of Antiochos on the reverse out of respect for his Seleukid overlord, Antiochos II (Figure 20.4). Apparently only gradually, alongside an intricate series of portrait changes, did Diodotos become independent and therefore confident enough to change the legend to include his own name (Figure 20.5). Such a reconstruction has been challenged by Jakobsson who has suggested (and argues further in this volume) that the coins with the Antiochos legend should in fact be assigned to a third Graeco-Bactrian king by the same name. Even when we have some literary evidence and a certain understanding of events, there is still much that is unclear about how the coins fit in.



Figure 20.4 Gold stater in the name of Antiochos, 8.25 g, 18 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.



Figure 20.5 Gold stater in the name of Diodotos, 8.39 g, 19 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.

Much of the debate about the Antiochos/Diodotos coins has involved technical features that appear throughout the series of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins and are often the subject of detailed analysis by numismatists. In this case the remarkable portraits on the coins, very well executed with clear features have been taken as realistic representations of the kings and argued by different scholars to show Diodotos I, Diodotos II, or Jakobsson's proposed Antiochos. The differences between these portrait images are often highly subjective and the high level of technical skill involved in producing them, along with the individualistic portrayal of the heads has been mistaken as indicating that the images are highly accurate images of the kings.

The different symbols on the reverses of the coins, sometimes separate objects (for example, a wreath), on other issues individual letters or monograms (symbols consisting of different letters), have been used to divide the coins into periods of issue at different mints on the basis that the symbols played some role in the production process. Various explanations have been proposed as the purpose of the symbols, from the mark of a magistrate responsible for the mint, to a particular workshop in the mint, or issue number of some sort (Guillaume 1990, p. 99). Whatever the exact meaning it seems likely that they had some role in quality control to allow coins to be checked for quality of metal, as well as, weight after they had been produced.

The Hellenistic tradition remained important in influencing the coinage of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom until its end. Indeed, in many ways the distinction between Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms is visible on the coins they each produced, in particular those taken to be the main output of the mint(s) under each king. Given our limited information (for many of the rulers are known only from coins) it can be difficult to establish a chronological, or even relative, order of the kings. In fact, when classifying the coins some scholars have gone so far as to avoid the problem of chronology entirely by ordering the kings alphabetically (Lahiri 1965).

There are, however, ways in which it is possible to group similar coins together, perhaps through the use of the same monograms, weight standards, style of lettering of the legends, or even the use of similar types. The coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, for example, share many similarities, and given that we lack any other evidence of either's existence, it seems likely that they either reigned consecutively or, perhaps, contemporaneously. Another useful chronological indication in the Graeco-Bactrian series is the appearance of titles on the reverses of the coins. Among others we find: Agathokles *Dikaios* (Just), Antimachos (I) *Theos* (the god), Eukratides (I) *Megas* (the Great), Antimachos (II) *Nikephoros* (bringer of Victory), and Menander *Soter* (Saviour). Both Agathokles and Eukratides I struck coins without their epithets, while under the other kings the titles were ubiquitous, making it likely that Agathokles and Eukratides were the first to introduce this innovation, presumably roughly contemporaneously, and were therefore ruling at the same time. These coins provide us with another relative fixed point in the order: coins without titles before Agathokles/Eukratides I, and those with titles after. It is by using indications like these that many catalogues are organised, but it should be noted that the dates often given alongside the arrangement should be treated with caution.² By placing the coins in a taxonomic order it becomes clear that following the early Graeco-Bactrian issues there is a decisive shift away from the Greek tradition of coinage. Initially this change occurs in the images that appear on the coins.

After the Diodotoi the images that appear on both sides of the coins begin to feature slight variations from what one may expect to find elsewhere in Hellenistic coinage. This phenomenon begins under Demetrios I, son of Euthydemos I, with his portrait appearing on the coins wearing an elephant scalp helmet, making for a remarkable image (Figure 20.6). This, indeed, starts something of a trend for head-gear among the Graeco-Bactrian kings, with Eukratides I depicted wearing a Boiotian helmet (Figure 20.7) and Antimachos I a *kausia* (Figure 20.8). All three hats were copied by later Indo-Greek rulers (Figure 20.9). The reason for this development is not clear; it certainly does not seem that the initial three kings were following an external Hellenistic fashion, since only Ptolemy I's early coins showing Alexander wearing an elephant scalp come close. Hellenistic kings are usually depicted with their heads bare, with the exception of the ubiquitous diadem.

In a similar way the reverse images of the coins begin to move away from Seleukid and wider Hellenistic types, although, at least initially, retaining their influence. Under Pantaleon, silver coins were struck on which Zeus appears on the reverse, seated on a throne holding a sceptre in his left hand (Figure 20.10). This image is instantly recognisable from the enormous number of silver tetradrachms issued in the name of Alexander the Great, but on the coins of Pantaleon Zeus holds in his outstretched right hand, not an eagle as on Alexander's coins, but Hekate holding two torches. Such a variation is not known elsewhere and, as so often, raises many



Figure 20.6 Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios I, 16.51 g, 34 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.



Figure 20.7 Silver tetradrachm of Eukratides I, 16.67 g, 32 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oman 1947.



Figure 20.8 Silver tetradrachm of Antimachos I, 16.32 g, 30 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975.



Figure 20.9 Silver 'drachm' of Lysias, 2.45 g, 17 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975.

questions, not least why Hecate was chosen, a goddess who is very rarely seen on any coins throughout the Greek world. We shall return later to the importance placed on the choice of particular deities for the coin reverses below.

Under Pantaleon there are more dramatic changes in the overall numismatic output. For the first time rectangular coins were struck with Greek on one side and



Figure 20.10 Silver tetradrachm of Pantaleon, 15.80 g, 31 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.

a translation of the legend in the Brāhmī script on the other (Figure 20.11). The shape of the coins (reflecting the different manufacturing process of the blank piece of metal: cut rather than cast in a circular mould) was presumably one that was intended to make them acceptable as money in areas where punch-marked coins had circulated south of the Hindu Kush. The images on the coins are also not necessarily what one would expect given the proximity of previous issues to the Hellenistic coinage tradition. A female figure (perhaps Lakṣmī), holding a lotus flower on the obverse, the side of the Brāhmī legend, while a lion or panther is shown on the reverse with the Greek. These coins were only struck in bronze and similar issues were produced under Agathokles. The use of a metal with limited intrinsic value (compared with the silver and very high value gold issues of other kings) suggests that the audience for these coins was different from that of Pantaleon's and Agathokles's silver, which had monolingual Greek legends and conformed to the Attic weight standard. A very rare series of silver coins struck under Agathokles is, however, known and features two Indian gods, perhaps Balarama-Samkarshana and Vasudeva-Krishna, in which the images are clearly not intended for a Greek audience (Bopearachchi 1991 série 9, p. 175). Likewise a bronze issue (Bopearachchi 1991 série 11, p. 176), also of Agathokles, is the first to have no Greek influence (the only trace being the



Figure 20.11 Bronze coin of Pantaleon, 10.93 g, 21 x 22 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oman 1947.



Figure 20.12 Bronze coin of Agathokles, 5.33 g, 21 x 14 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975.

king's transliterated name). The coins, which are of an irregular shape, show a six-arched hill topped with a star on the obverse and a tree in an enclosure on the reverse (Figure 20.12). This series is also the first to have a legend written in the Kharoṣṭhī script, which replaced Brāhmī in the legend of bilingual Indo-Greek coins from Apollodotos I onwards.

This sort of seemingly one-sided direction for the imagery is rare in the later Indo-Greek series as more and more the trend of the coins is for one of syncretism. We find, for example, Zeus holding Nike, riding an elephant on the coins of Antialkidas (Figure 20.13), a *chakra* on the obverse of the coins of Menander I, with a palm branch on the reverse, each of the attributes from the different pantheons. Apollodotos' coins show an elephant and a humped bull. There are, however, examples of images straight from the Macedonian homeland itself, in particular the Athena *Promachos*, or more specifically, *Alkidemos* (holding a thunderbolt and shield), appearing on the coins of Menander I in the same guise as she was depicted at Pella (Figure 20.14). These coins are circular but struck not on the Attic weight standard, but on a lighter so-called 'Indian' standard. By this stage it has become impossible to trace different cultural elements as coins are produced which syncretise various features and as such may reflect the no longer polar cultures of their intended users.



Figure 20.13 Silver 'tetradrachm' of Antialkidas, 9.86 g, 25 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.



Figure 20.14 Silver 'tetradrachm' of Menander I, 9.53 g, 26 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.



Figure 20.15 Silver 'drachm' of Strato II (or Strato III?), 2.32 g, 18 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.

As we progress through the series of later Indo-Greek rulers the iconography becomes much less varied. There is recourse to the types used by earlier kings, along with the reuse of their attributes; the Boeotian helmet, elephant scalp, and *kausia* all reappear. As always we should bear in mind that these coins are just that, monetary objects to facilitate payments. The reuse of a type or deity may have no greater significance than simply being an image familiar to users of the coins, therefore guaranteeing their acceptance as money. The later in the series, the more derivative the types become, and by the end of the Indo-Greek kingdoms at the end of the 1st century BCE the image of Athena *Alkidemos* can still be found on the reverses of the coins of Zoilos II, Strato II, and Strato III, although in some cases they are barely recognisable from the original type (Figure 20.15).

Throughout the Indo-Greek period silver coins remained in production usually struck on the 'Indian' standard and, with the exception of Apollodotos I, on circular blanks. The bulk of the output for most kings seems to have been square bronze coins with bilingual legends struck to a non-Attic weight standard with a denomination system that is not clear. Under some kings Attic standard tetradrachms (and in very rare cases decadrachms) were produced with monolingual Greek legends, although very few are known today and it is assumed that this reflects that they were originally struck in small numbers. Their high value in comparison with the other coins produced by the same kings and their 'Greek' form has led to the suggestion that they were intended for trade with the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Their monolingual legend is perhaps most intriguing, implying very clearly that the coins were intended for a different audience from the bilingual issues.

The overall picture presented by the numismatic evidence is one of a shift from a purely Greek or Macedonian form of money inherited directly from the Seleukids who had ruled over the area that was to become the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, to a much more mixed system in which the coins were produced for a different group of users, presumably south of the Hindu Kush where a different coinage tradition had existed. Throughout this outline the coins have been deliberately presented in isolation from modern scholarship. The very limited nature of the non-numismatic evidence has very often led to highly questionable uses of the coins in historical reconstructions.

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Since the first publication of a Graeco-Bactrian coin (a tetradrachm of Eukratides I) in the mid-18th century (Bayer 1738), much has been written on the coins that were for so long a key source of the so-called ‘Bactrian mirage’.³ Very often much of what has been written has fallen into the trap of trying to make as much of the numismatic evidence as possible. Many of the earliest publications in the 18th and 19th centuries concerned themselves simply with presenting the remarkable evidence that was being found in the region and disseminating it to an interested audience. For example, the deciphering of Brāhmī was a collaborative effort of many scholars, chief among them James Prinsep, who were able to interpret the script on the basis of various inscriptions as well as the coin legends (Errington and Curtis 2007, pp. 20–22). Many of these early scholars were themselves working in India and Afghanistan, often employed by European colonial institutions, against the background of various geopolitical events, the first or second Anglo-Afghan wars (1839–1842; 1878–1880) or, more generally, the Great Game. Indeed, much of this period of scholarship contains remarkable tales that read almost like adventure stories. In particular the unique gold twenty-stater piece of Eukratides I, the largest coin produced in antiquity (weighing 169.20 grams), purchased for the Cabinet des Médailles of Napoleon III in 1867, having been acquired through various murderous exploits, and declined for purchase by the British Museum as a forgery (Holt 2012, pp. 50–66).⁴

The position and background of many of these European scholars naturally influenced their views of the material and history they studied. When Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893, his primary career as a British Army engineer, but better known today as instrumental in the creation and early work of the Archaeological Survey of India), published a selection of his many articles on coins, he chose as its title *The Coins of Alexander’s Successors in the East* (Cunningham 1884), highlighting the role of a Western figure who brought innovations to the region. Cunningham’s work was, however, instrumental in documenting many archaeological discoveries, while his first-hand knowledge and close study of the coins allowed others to integrate them into broader historical narratives.

The most famous such narrative is that of Sir William W. Tarn (1869–1957) in his book *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Tarn 1938/1951). Tarn was also an admirer of Alexander the Great as he makes very clear in his chapter on the ‘personality, policy and aims’ of the conqueror in a later work, viewing him as a great civiliser spreading Greek culture (Tarn 1948, vol. 1, pp. 131–148). Once again the title of Tarn’s work on the Graeco-Bactrians and Indo-Greeks goes some way to explaining his view of the narrative: it is the story of the Greeks. Nineteen years later, the pendulum was to swing the other way. A. K. Narain, writing ten years after Indian independence gave his book the title *The Indo-Greeks* and placed much more emphasis on the contribution of the subcontinent and influences from Central Asia in his own narrative (Narain 1957).

Narain’s work is a reaction to Tarn’s in ways other than the importance it gives to non-Greek influences in historical reconstruction. Tarn is very often to be found overworking the evidence provided by the coins and it is possible to cite many examples of this feature of Tarn’s work. It is worthwhile to highlight one particularly egregious case: Tarn’s analysis of the coin portrait of Antimachos I. It is ‘a peculiar half-mocking

smile as one who did not take himself very seriously; those who wish may trace a resemblance to the smile of the Monna [sic] Lisa' (Tarn 1951, p.75). Tarn identifies the smile as occurring only 'once again in Greek art' on the portrait of Euthydemos, and uses this connection to assign Antimachos as Euthydemos's son. There is, apparently, still more historical information to be gleaned from the smile. When linked to the title *theos* (the god), which Antimachos included in the reverse legend of his coins, it can be taken as 'ironic': 'a small king' (Tarn's assertion) who 'did not take himself very seriously' choosing the grandest epithet possible (Tarn 1951, p. 92). Narain, meanwhile, rejects Tarn's interpretation, for no reason other than he sees 'no trace of overweening pride on Antimachos's face' (Narain 1957, p. 49).

Both Tarn and Narain made similarly questionable use of the images of deities that appear on the reverses of the coins; the choice of a particular deity is assumed to have had a wider significance. From their large outputs (or at least large numbers of surviving coins) it is assumed that three kings were the founders of dynasties: Euthydemos I, Eukratides I, and Menander. Many of the other kings are then thought to have been members of each group, and are assigned often on the basis of a shared deity on the reverse of the coins. For example, Athena is the type often used on the coins of Menander and is also found on the issues of other kings. Tarn assigns Apollodotos II, Apollophanes, Dionysios, Polyxenos, and Zoilos II on this basis (Tarn 1951, p. 318), while Narain omits Polyxenos, but adds Strato I and II (Narain 1957, p. 102). The approach is arbitrary, given that each author used the same method to reach different conclusions, but was made as the basis of much reconstruction by both. The accounts are persuasively written and difficult to disprove outright. Many of the reconstructions are possible, but they are one of many options, with nothing to cause them to be preferred over others, making them far from the definitive account of events. Guillaume has gathered many examples of this flawed reasoning (Guillaume 1990, pp. 67–109), and when clearly presented it becomes obvious that we can put little faith in these narratives.

THE TOOLS OF THE NUMISMATIST

We should not, however, assume that because we have a large quantity of isolated evidence it is not possible to draw sound conclusions from it. The study of coins is well-developed and as such something of a numismatic toolkit, made up of different ways in which to analyse the evidence in a more scientific fashion can be brought to bear. Different approaches are discussed below with reference to the ways in which they have been or are being applied to Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins.

Iconographic studies

We have already seen some of the dangers inherent in analysing the images on the coins with such limited evidence in other forms. Portraits, for example, should not be taken as reliable and realistic representations of the king they depict, indicative of elements of the king's character, nor should the choice of a certain deity necessarily be used to assign family or political relationships. Analysis of the style of the coins has sometimes been used in efforts to arrange some of the later Indo-Greek kings,

but it was long ago realised that this was a highly subjective and uncertain exercise (Allouche-Le Page 1956, p. 157).

Nevertheless, there is still much of importance to be gained from iconographic studies. In particular, it can be revealing to consider the users of the coins. We cannot know the exact process and who was involved in deciding what images appeared on the coins: did the king produce the designs himself or only approve suggestions made by personnel at the mint, or, indeed, have no involvement whatsoever? We are, however, on safer ground when looking at the features of the coins more broadly, as in the above outline of the coinages. On a more detailed level, numismatists may seek to analyse the images on coins to determine particular die engravers or shared portrait models, which may be useful in establishing details of production. This requirement to understand some of the very technical numismatic details of the coinage in order to move away from superficial analysis of the images was acknowledged over half a century ago:

If numismatics is to make its full contribution to the history of the Indo-Bactrian kingdoms, for which indeed it provides the principal source, a more detailed and sensitive means of analysis is needed. An understanding has to be achieved of the actual organization of the coinage, and of the stages of transition in each mint series from one sequence to the next.

(Bivar 1965, p. 70)

Metal analysis

Since the middle of the 20th century numismatists have been very eager to subject coins to methods of analysis that will give them an exact indication of their metallic content. On a broad level this information may be useful in condemning a coin as a forgery if, for example, it appears to have a much lower precious metal content than similar specimens. It may also be interesting to compare the metal content of coins over time to see whether there are any periods during which the coins were debased, such manipulation perhaps indicating a period of economic crisis. Very precise analysis of the coins can also indicate trace elements left in the metal after the ancient refining processes, which may be helpful in identifying a particular stock or source of the metal used in the coins.

There are, however, many barriers to the undertaking of metal analysis. Some of the most accurate methods are destructive (to various degrees) and therefore difficult to justify. While some of the required equipment, such as that used for X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis, may be portable and the technique completely non-destructive, it can only analyse a thin layer of the surface of the coins, giving potentially misleading results. Other options, such as Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS), can give a much more precise reading of more of the coin, but the equipment is not portable and analysis can be expensive. It is to be hoped that in the future a project involving multiple collections will be able to overcome these difficulties because the results of such analysis would be invaluable for the study of the period.

Some studies have been undertaken on small numbers of coins, in particular the cupro-nickel issues of Euthydemos II (Figure 20.16), Pantaleon, and Agathokles



Figure 20.16 Cupro-nickel coin of Euthydemos II, 7.52 g, 24 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Shortt Bequest 1975.



Figure 20.17 Cupro-nickel coin of Agathokles, 8.08 g, 24 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.

(Figure 20.17) (Barrandon and Nicolet-Pierre 1989; Cowell 1989). These coins, which use the same types as the monolingual bronzes of these kings, are another novelty in the Graeco-Bactrian series as nickel was not isolated in Europe until the 18th century and its appearance in the coins of Bactria was puzzling. The inclusion of the metal (the coins are approximately 80% copper, 15% nickel, and 5% other metals) has been used in various historical reconstructions, often with the assumption that nickel was included in the metal to give it a shiny, silvery appearance and that therefore these coins were overvalued and a response of the kings who produced them to a limited supply of silver (Widemann 2009, p. 100). Cowell's analysis suggested that the metal for the coins came from a 'nickeliforous copper sulphide ore containing nickel arsenic minerals' and it may be that the coins were intended to be equivalent to the copper coins struck alongside them (Cowell 1989, p. 344). Cowell also found that there was a difference in the minor elements of arsenic and iron between the coins with the two monograms which appear on the series, suggesting that the monograms may represent different physical locations using different techniques to refine the ore for the coins, resulting in the variation in composition. Similar studies elsewhere in the series, covering more coins, would undoubtedly have interesting results.

Hoard and circulation analysis

Very often the information gleaned from hoards can be invaluable for numismatic study. It is usually possible to identify the latest coin in the hoard, thereby giving a *terminus post quem* for the date of the burial of the coins. The composition of the hoard may also be of interest, perhaps indicating the circumstances of its burial; hoards with a broad chronological range of coins are often assumed to be ‘savings hoards’, with coins taken out of circulation over a period of time. Hoards that have a small spread of coins (both chronologically and by issuer) may be considered ‘emergency hoards’, circumstances having caused the owner of the hoard to take all the coins on hand and bury them for safekeeping, presumably hoping to return for them once the emergency has passed. The use of hoard evidence in these ways for the study of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins is made very difficult by the lack of chronology, meaning hoards can often not be used in isolation.

Hoard evidence is, however, an important part of the evidence of the Indo-Greek kingdoms and their composition can be useful in gauging relationships between different rulers. Hoard evidence also has the potential to tell us a lot about the circulation of coins, from which it may be possible to draw conclusions about trade and even the extent of the kingdoms. More often than not, however, the hoards of our period are not excavated by archaeologists; they are instead found and often transported to commercial centres in Afghanistan or Pakistan, or, indeed, illegally exported to the West. During this process the composition of the hoard can become uncertain. This may occur because of the desire of dealers to avoid flooding the market with many new specimens thus deflating the price, and therefore gradually releasing the coins into auctions over a period of years, making it hard to know which coins were originally part of a single hoard. The opposite may also occur: a provenance of a hoard may be given to a coin to increase its value, perhaps by linking it to a famous archaeological site, such as Ai Khanoum. At least four hoards are linked to the site. The first two excavated by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA) and preserved in their entirety for scholarship (Audouin and Bernard 1973 and 1974; Petitot-Biehler 1975). The third hoard is said to have been discovered by a farmer in 1973/1974 and photographed as it passed through numismatic dealers in the West before being published (Holt 1981), and the fourth apparently discovered by another farmer at the site in 1992 is known only from reconstruction of less than half of the hoard (Bopearachchi 1999). Given the illegality of removing recently discovered coins from their country of origin it is unlikely recent and future finds of coins will be brought to the attention of scholarship and it may only be possible to guess at hoards as increased numbers of coins appear for sale.

Single find spots or finds of coins at a single archaeological site can be just as important as hoards since they indicate where coins circulated, and perhaps how they were used, if it is possible to assign functions to buildings in which they were discovered. Coins that are found at archaeological sites in the region are usually bronze and can be difficult to identify and can often be very important for dating features of the site, particularly at Ai Khanoum where the latest coins found at the site have been taken to be indicative of a possible date of abandonment (Bernard 1985). Site finds have also been used more broadly in attempts to trace the extent of the kingdom since it may be assumed that bronze coins (with no intrinsic value) did

not necessarily circulate outside the area controlled by the authority that guaranteed their value (Cribb 2005).

It is worth noting here that since the last decade of the 20th century the number of known Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins has increased dramatically. Almost all of these examples have been offered for sale by numismatic dealers in Europe and the United States and by careful comparison and study it is possible to determine when coins appeared for the first time. It seems that many of these coins made their way to dealers' stock shortly after unstable political situations in Afghanistan, a phenomenon that is also found with relation to coins from Syria (Carrier and Glenn 2018). The appearance of looted coins on the market is of enormous concern, as is the loss of so many objects without any indication of contextual information, to private collections. It is, however, possible to make positive use of these coins even without seeing them first hand since many auction houses now make high quality digital images available online, making it relatively easy (along with online collections of museums) to gather a large corpus of coins for analysis.

Die studies

The prospect of gathering a large corpus of ancient Graeco-Bactrian or Indo-Greek coins remains, as many coins are available only in paper publications or museum collections that have not been published, a daunting one. One must travel to collections across the world and undertake an exhaustive search of many publications: archaeological reports, catalogues of coin collections, and commercial numismatic publications produced by auction houses and dealers in order to gather as complete a sample as feasible. It is possible to perform many different types of analysis on such a large group of material, which can easily consist of thousands of coins, many of which, coupled with the numismatic tools discussed above can provide a soundly based understanding of the way in which the coins were produced and used. A large body of evidence can sometimes reveal new, or variants of existing, monograms which were not present in previous catalogues and whose significance has been missed. The weights of coins may also be of interest, with the potential for a thorough metrological analysis on a large corpus of coins. For example, it may be possible to identify changes in the weight standards used by different kings, or perhaps variations between coins with different monograms. As discussed above a large group of material can also allow for conclusions based on the year of appearance of coins, or the potential identification of a hoard by bringing together coins that appeared in a short period of time, but were dispersed in different auctions.

The undertaking of a die study is, however, the best way to understand the organisation of the production process of the coins. Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins were made using dies. A blank piece of metal, cast or cut to the appropriate weight, would be placed between two dies, one (fixed in an anvil on the bottom), the obverse, usually featuring a head of the ruler, the other (the reverse) loose and held on top of the coin to be struck then hit with a hammer, leaving the impression of the types of the coin in the metal. The dies were engraved by hand and so no two are exactly the same, making it possible, through close study of the coins, to say which coins were struck with the same dies. Since the reverse die was exposed to the full force of each hammer blow it degraded faster than the obverse, which would be shielded by the

anvil, and to some extent, the blank. Since the reverse die was replaced more often than the obverse, relative orders of production can be determined. The number of combinations of different obverse and reverse dies can also be of interest, with complicated linked groups suggesting that instead of a simple linear production using one anvil, multiple teams were striking coins simultaneously, suggesting a desire to produce coins more quickly.

By reconstructing the order in which the coins were produced it may be possible to identify portrait models used at different centres of production and even features that may be diagnostic of individual engravers. On a broader level die studies are often used as the basis of an attempt to quantify the output of coins under each king or at different mints. The question of how many coins could be struck with a single die is a highly divisive one and many variables mean that it is highly misleading to pick an average number as the basis for estimates.⁵ It can, nevertheless, be revealing to produce estimates of the numbers of dies used in the production of different coinages in order to make a relative comparison. Once studies are undertaken we can, for example, say with confidence that Pantaleon's tetradrachm output does not just seem much smaller than his contemporaries because few of his coins have survived, but because very few dies were used in its striking.

The results of die studies presented in this volume allow for the first time historical conclusions to be drawn on the basis of an extensive body of evidence, the analysis of which can be verified by other scholars. Even when the evidence produced by a die study is conclusive, however, it is still often possible for there to be numerous ways of interpreting that evidence. For example, a die study of a series of coins with Eukratides I on one side, and the otherwise unknown Heliokles and Laodike on the other has been completed (Glenn 2014). Like most Graeco-Bactrian coins the legend on the side of Heliokles and Laodike was written in the genitive case (ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ / ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ, of Heliokles and Laodike), while the side featuring Eukratides I has a nominative legend (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ, the Great King Eukratides) (Figure 20.18). These coins have traditionally been considered part of Eukratides's output and placed by Tarn in the context of an apparent civil war in which it became necessary for Eukratides to highlight his assumed parents (Heliokles and Laodike) on his coins in order to remind users of his legitimacy (Tarn 1951, p. 201). The die study of these coins shows that the obverse and reverse have previously been misidentified and in fact, the coins show Heliokles and Laodike on the obverse in the usual position of the issuer. Their names in the genitive legend should therefore also be interpreted as indicating that they were responsible for the striking of the coins, and read, as all other genitive coin legends as '[a coin] of Heliokles and Laodike'. Having identified what seems to be a sound numismatic piece of information, we then have to see how it fits into historical reconstruction. Since we have no other evidence for Heliokles and Laodike, this is challenging and, indeed, others have disagreed with the conclusion that they issued the coins (Bordeaux 2018, pp. 128–129). Even when technical numismatic details have been identified, interpretations can differ. It is to be hoped, however, that with more such studies appearing that the field of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek numismatics can be put on a more secure footing.

The following chapters go a long way towards doing so and cover many important aspects of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage. Jakobsson discusses the importance of numismatic evidence for our understanding of the circumstances



Figure 20.18 Silver tetradrachm of Heliokles and Laodike, 16.72 g, 30 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection.

of Bactrian independence from the Seleukids. Bhandare's chapter deals with the other end of the series, by setting out the later Indo-Greek kings whom we know only from their coins. The chapters of Jansari and Bordeaux present the results of their respective die studies, in the process clearly illustrating the great utility of this approach to a body of evidence that has so long been misused in historical reconstructions.

NOTES

- 1 Discussion of the written sources can be found elsewhere in this volume (Part IV). Holt 1999 and Seldeslachts 2004 discuss the relevant texts while inscriptions are gathered in Rougemont 2012.
- 2 The first major catalogue to include Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins is a British Museum Catalogue (BMC) produced towards the end of the 19th century (Gardner 1886), and was for many years the standard reference work. Its inclusion only of the coins in a single (albeit highly significant) collection and paucity of illustrations make it difficult to use today. More recently both of these problems were addressed in works by Mitchiner and Bopearachchi. *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage* (Mitchiner 1975/1976) consists of nine slim volumes that include coins earlier than our period as well as much later. Every included type is illustrated, although much of the dating and interpretation of the material should be treated with caution. Bopearachchi 1991 is the work that is most regularly cited (as here) but is unfortunately long out of print and difficult to access. A number of the later Indo-Greek rulers are also included in Senior (2001/2006). Most recently Hoover 2013 has provided a very clear overview of all the coins issued in the region from the 5th century BCE to the 1st century CE. It is well illustrated and includes brief summaries of each king, written from a realistic viewpoint, clearly acknowledging the limits of our understanding of the historical events.
- 3 For a full bibliography of the subject see Glenn 2016.
- 4 This magnificent coin, as all of the Graeco Bactrian and Indo-Greek collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, is available to view online: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8510709q>>
- 5 The bibliography concerned with this issue is extensive. For two recent approaches to the question see: Buttrey 2011, where the feasibility of quantification is questioned, and Faucher 2011 in which experimental evidence from coin striking is brought to bear.

REFERENCES

- Allouche-Le Page, M.-Th. (1956), *L'Art monétaire des royaumes bactriens: essai d'interprétation de la symbolique religieuse gréco-orientale du III^e au I^{er} s. av. J.C.*, Paris: Didier.
- Audouin, R. and Bernard, P. (1973), 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan). I- Les monnaies indiennes', *Revue numismatique*, sixth series, 15, 238–289.
- Audouin, R. and Bernard, P. (1974), 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan). II- Les monnaies indo-grecques', *Revue numismatique*, sixth series, 16, 7–41.
- Barrandon, J.-N. and Nicolet-Pierre, H. (1989), 'Analyses de monnaies royales gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques des II^e – I^{er} siècles avant J.-C.', *Schweizer Münzblätter* 155, 57–66.
- Bayer, T. (1738), *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, St Petersburg: Academia Scientiarum.
- Bernard, P. (1985), *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum IV: les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne. (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan XXVIII)*, Paris: Bocard.
- Bivar, A. D. H. (1965), 'Indo-Bactrian problems', *Numismatic Chronicle*, seventh series, vol. 5, 69–108.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Les monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1999), 'Recent coin hoard evidence on pre-Kushana chronology', M. Alram and D. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, 99–149, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bordeaux, O. (2018), *Les Grecs en Inde. Politiques et pratiques monétaires (III^e s. a.C.-I^{er} s. p.C.)*, Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions.
- Buttrey, T. V. (2011), 'Quantification of ancient coin production: the third element', in F. de Callata (ed.), *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times*, 105–112, Bari: Edipuglia.
- Carrier, C. and Glenn, S. (2018), 'Looting and its impact: the case of Alexanders from Syria', in S. Glenn, F. Duyrat, and A. Meadows (eds), *Alexander the Great. A Linked Open World*, Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions, 163–178.
- Cowell, M. R. (1989), 'Analyses of the cupro-nickel alloy used for Greek Bactrian coins', in Y. Maniatis (ed.), *Archaeometry: Proceedings of the 25th International Symposium*, 335–345, Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Cribb, J. (2005), 'The Greek kingdom of Bactria, its coinage and its collapse', in O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, 207–225, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Cunningham, Sir A., (1884), *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, London.
- Errington, E. and Curtis, V. S. (2007), *From Persepolis to the Punjab. Exploring Ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan*, London: British Museum Press.
- Faucher, T. (2011), 'Productivité des coins et taux de survie du monnayage grec', in F. de Callata (ed.), *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times*, 113–126, Bari: Edipuglia.
- Gardner, P. (1886), *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, London: British Museum.
- Glenn, S. (2014), 'Heliocles and Laodice of Bactria: a reconsideration', *Numismatic Chronicle* 174, 45–59.
- Glenn, S. (2016), *Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins: a bibliography of the numismatics of the Hellenistic Far East*, Zenodo. <<http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1346076>>.

- Guillaume, O. (1990), *Analysis of Reasonings in Archaeology: The Case of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Numismatics*, trans. O. Bopearachchi, Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gupta, P. L. and Hardaker, T. (2014), *Punchmarked Coinage of the Indian Subcontinent: Magadha-Mauryan Series*, revised edition, Mumbai: IIRNS Publications.
- Holt, F. (1981), 'The Euthydemid coinage of Bactria: further hoard evidence from Ai-Khanoum', *Revue numismatique*, sixth series, 23, 7–44.
- Holt, F. L. (1999), *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Holt, F. L. (2000), 'Did King Euthydemus II really exist?' *Numismatic Chronicle* 160, 81–91.
- Holt, F. L. (2012), *The Lost World of the Golden King: In Search of Ancient Afghanistan*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hoover, O. D. (2013), *Handbook of Coins of Baktria and Ancient India*, Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Houghton, A. and Lorber, C. (2002), *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue, Part 1: Seleucus I through Antiochus III*, New York/Lancaster, PA/London: American Numismatic Society/Classical Numismatic Group.
- Jakobsson, J. (2010), 'Antiochus Nicator, the third king of Bactria?', *Numismatic Chronicle* 170, 17–33.
- Kovalenko, S. (1996), 'The coinage of Diodotus I and Diodotus II, Greek kings of Bactria', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, 17–74.
- Kritt, B. (2016), *The Seleucid Mint of Ai Khanoum*, Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Kroll, J. H. (2007) 'The emergence of the ruler portraiture on early Hellenistic coins: the importance of being divine', in P. Schultz and R. von den Hoff (eds), *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*, 113–122, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lahiri, A. N. (1965), *A Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta: Poddar Publications.
- Mitchiner, M. (1975/1976), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 volumes, London: Hawkins Publications.
- Narain, A. K. (1957), *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H. and Amandry, M. (1994), 'Un nouveau trésor de monnaies d'argent pseudo-athéniennes venu d'Afghanistan (1990)', *Revue numismatique*, sixth series, 36, 34–54.
- Petitot-Biehler, C. Y. (1975), 'Le trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *Revue numismatique*, sixth series, 17, 23–57.
- Rougemont, G. (2012), *Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part II, Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. 1, Inscriptions in non-Iranian languages. I, Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale*, London: SOAS.
- Seldeslachts, E. (2004), 'The end of the road for the Indo-Greeks?', *Iranica Antiqua* 39, 249–296.
- Senior, R. C. (2001/2006), *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, four volumes, Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Tarn, W. W. (1938/1951), *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, second edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarn, W. W. (1948), *Alexander the Great*, 2 volumes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Widemann, F. (2009), *Les successeurs d'Alexandre en Asie centrale et leur héritage culturel*, Paris: Riveneuve.

CHAPTER 21

TWO SIDES OF THE COIN

From Sophytes to Skanda-Kārttikeya



Sushma Jansari

INTRODUCTION

After defeating Darius III, king of the Achaemenid Empire, at Gaugamela in 331 BC, Alexander III ('the Great') of Macedon marched towards the easternmost boundaries of this empire that were located around the River Indus (see Jansari Chapter 3 this volume). He reached the Punjab in c.327/326 BC and, according to the sources, it was a prosperous, well-ordered region divided into a number of realms, each of which comprised several cities. Sophytes was one of the local rulers, alongside Porus, Taxiles and others. Alexander aimed to extend and consolidate his rule over the Punjab, while local rulers wanted to maintain control over their own kingdoms and spheres of influence. In c.326 BC, when Alexander approached the cities under Sophytes' rule with the intention of campaigning against them, Sophytes voluntarily surrendered to Alexander, and was permitted to retain control of his realm (Diod. 17.91.7; Curt. 9.1.27–30; Oro. 3.19.4). However, as Alexander left this region, so too did the focus of our available literary sources with the result that comparatively little is known about the Punjab, and its rulers, in the period between Alexander's departure in c.326 BC and Seleukos' arrival in the east in c.307 BC. The numismatic evidence available for this period and this region, therefore, takes on added importance.

Ancient coins inscribed with the name 'ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ', 'of Sophytos', first came to the attention of numismatists in the mid-nineteenth century, when British soldiers, stationed in and around the Punjab during the First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846), acquired coins, many from coin dealers in Rawalpindi (Cunningham 1866a and b). In 1866, Sir Alexander Cunningham (1866b) was the first to publish a Sophytes coin, a specimen which belonged to him. In that article, he argued that the Sophytes named on the coin was the Sophytes mentioned in Graeco-Roman Classical sources as associated with Alexander. In 1943, R.B. Whitehead (1943, 61) argued against Cunningham that the coins had no connection to India, but had been minted in Bactria. From then on, Bactria became the generally accepted origin of the Sophytes coins. Most recently, for example, O. Bopearachchi and P. Flandrin (2005, 199) highlighted Sophytes' status as an (otherwise unknown) 'independent and powerful dynast'.

All of these scholars based their arguments on a limited study of only a handful of Sophytes coins, which is an inherently problematic approach. In contrast, the study presented here is based on a detailed analysis of 82 coins, which represents the largest dataset so far assembled of the Sophytes coins, coupled with the available historical sources. By evaluating different aspects of the coins, including iconography and weight-standard, and contextualizing them in northwest South Asia, greater insight can be gained into the likely authority under which they were minted and reasons why they were minted. Notably, there are no known findspots for any of the Sophytes coins, and this lack of provenance imposes constraints on the conclusions presented here. In addition, a stater and six tetradrachms are not included in the discussion below because aspects of these coins do not quite fit the profile of other known Sophytes coins (Jansari 2018).

ICONOGRAPHY

The Sophytes coins are Greek-style coins with an Indian name inscribed in Greek characters. They were struck in two types: head of Athena and helmeted male. Both types share a single reverse type: cockerel in centre with caduceus in upper left field and inscribed 'ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ' to the right. Traditionally, these coins have been referred to as the 'Sophytes', rather than 'Sophytos', coins. For this reason, I continue to speak of the 'Sophytes' coins, even though the name of this ruler rendered in Greek was probably 'Sophytos'.

By comparing the iconography of the Sophytes coins with other coins, especially broadly contemporary issues and those minted in northwest South Asia, we can contextualise the Sophytes coins regionally, culturally and temporally. The two obverse types will be investigated first, followed by a discussion of the caduceus found on the reverse of all Sophytes coins, and the countermarks ('M', 'MN' and 'MNA') found under the bust on some of these coins.

Head of Athena

The head of Athena type Sophytes coins fit into a long-standing tradition of state-produced imitation 'owls'. Athenian 'owls' – coins minted with the head of Athena on the obverse and her owl on the reverse – were minted in Athens from the sixth century BC. The earliest imitations of Athenian 'owls' were made in Egypt and the southern Levant and, after Alexander's conquests, the tradition spread to Babylonia and Bactria, following important eastern trade routes. In many of these regions, state-produced imitation 'owls' preceded the minting of indigenous coin types (for discussion, see: van Alfen 2012, 88, 95). There are also wide iconographic variations within imitations, and it has not been possible to narrow down the origin of this particular image of the Sophytes Athena obverse (Figure 21.1).

The discovery of imitation 'owls' found in Afghanistan which, like many Sophytes coins, bear the letters 'M' or 'MNA' (Bopearachchi 1996, 22; Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1994, 36 nos. 18–19), strengthened the link between the Sophytes coins and imitation 'owls' and 'eagles' found in and around Bactria (Head 1906, 14; White 1943, 68; Narain 1957, 4; Bernard 1985, 20–1). Based on the link between these two types of coins, the following sequence for their development is now generally



Figure 21.1 Sophytes diabol: head of Athena (CNG 97 lot 442 – 2014).

accepted: imitation ‘owls’ followed by imitation ‘eagles’; then the two groups of Sophytes coins, firstly, the head of Athena and, secondly, the helmeted male (Rapson 1904, 324; Bopearachchi 1996, 22; Bopearachchi 1998, nos.1–27). This categorisation was a hypothesis based on the practice of imitation ‘owls’ preceding ‘indigenous’ types and neatly integrates the Sophytes coins within a widespread, early tradition of coin production in the east. However, there is a key difference between these imitations and the Sophytes Athena head type: Athena wears an Attic helmet on the imitations, and a Corinthian helmet on the Sophytes coins. The significance of this difference between the coinages is not yet clear, but is the subject of ongoing research.

Helmeted male

The ‘helmeted hero’ coins minted by Seleukos I (SC 1, 71–3, 77–8, 88–9) in Susa (c.305/4–295 BC), possibly Susa (after 305/4 BC) or Drangiana (294–281 BC or later) provide the closest match to the helmeted male figure on the Sophytes coins. As seen in Figures 21.2 and 21.3 below, similar features include Attic helmets with cheek guards. On the basis of these similarities, some numismatists have argued that the Sophytes coins served as inspiration for the Seleukid coins (Cunningham 1866b, 222;



Figure 21.2 Sophytes drachm: helmeted male (Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 82, lot 218).



Figure 21.3 Example of a Seleukos I ‘head of hero’ type tetradrachm minted at Susa c.301 BC (Freeman & Sear Manhattan Sale II, lot 68 (2011)).

Whitehead 1943, 64). I do not think the evidence is strong enough to make such an argument. Instead, I suggest that both coins may be broadly contemporary, providing a date of c.305/4–281 BC.

Some scholars, including modern numismatists, have assumed that the male figure on the Sophytes coins is a representation of the Sophytes named on the coins, and they go on to make startlingly precise, yet purely speculative, deductions as a result. Their conclusions range from Sophytes’ age at the time of the portrait and, therefore, the date when the coins were struck (these are circular arguments), to assumptions of racial identity. Whitehead (1943, 60–1), for example, wrote, ‘the face is a portrait not the least Indian in appearance’, before stating that Sophytes was more likely to be Iranian – an identification with which Narain (1949, 98) agreed. Surprisingly, Boppearachchi and Flandrin (2005, 198) wrote that the facial features were not Indian but Greek and, furthermore, that the die engraver wished to transform the Indian figure into a Greek. Needless to say, there is no indication whatever that the male figure on the Sophytes coins is in fact a portrait of Sophytes, nor can a ‘racial’ identity be determined from a portrait on a coin.

I suggest that the helmeted figure on the Sophytes coins has two different meanings in two separate cultural contexts. Firstly, the winged decoration on the cheek guards, the cockerel and caduceus combine to represent Hermes to an audience familiar with Greek deities and associated iconography. Secondly, to an audience in northwest South Asia, the helmeted figure may represent one of the deities which incorporated Indian and Iranian traditions and which were later assimilated into the cult of Skanda. Skanda (or ‘Kārttikeya’) is a Hindu martial deity traditionally presented as the general of the army of the gods (Mann 2012, 1). In the mythology and early artistic representation of this deity in northern India, Skanda is presented as a fierce warrior with two attributes: a spear and a cockerel standard. The combination of a male figure wearing a military helmet on the obverse and the cockerel on the reverse, therefore, has particular meaning in this part of the world.

If this is an accurate interpretation, then the Sophytes coins are not only the first Greek coins to be minted with the name (written in Greek script) of an Indian ruler, but also the first Greek coins to display the image of a local deity of this part of the subcontinent.

Cockerel

Cockerels are depicted on coins minted across the Mediterranean Greek world between the fifth century BC to the mid-third century BC. The cockerel reverse of a particular coin type minted in Carystus in Euboea (see Figure 21.4) closely resembles the Sophytes reverse type (see Figure 21.5): the stance and characteristics of the cockerel, the local and orientation of the inscription to the right of the cockerel, and the monogram in the upper left field. While the date of these coins has not yet been confirmed, Robinson (1952, 34) suggests a date of c.323 BC. The similarity is such that it is possible, perhaps even likely, that the artist(s) who engraved the reverses of the Sophytes coins used this coin type as a prototype. Notably, hoards found in and around Bactria show that coins from the Greek mainland and islands were making their way east from at least the fourth century BC (e.g., *IGCH* 1820 in 1969).

Since Cunningham's first publication of a Sophytes coin, numismatists have put forward various suggestions for the meaning behind the cockerel on these coins. Curiously, however, the link with Hermes is absent from this previous scholarship. Cunningham (1866b, 277–300) interpreted it as the 'herald of the dawn' for reasons connected with his now discounted ideas about the meaning of the name 'Sophytes' in Sanskrit. Whitehead (1943, 65), on the other hand, rejected claims that there may



Figure 21.4 Coin of Carystus in Euboea c.323 BC, Robinson type 35 (Triton XII, lot 235 (2009)).



Figure 21.5 Reverse of a Sophytes helmeted male type drachm (NAC 82, lot 218 (2015)).

have been any Indian influence on the Sophytes coins. More recently, Plischke (2014, 177) suggested that the cockerel may have been a Bactrian symbol, although she herself acknowledges the lack of evidence for this. Olbrycht (2016, 719) emphasised the cockerel's presence in the *Avesta* as a sacred bird, the 'vanquisher of demons and enemies', adding, 'It is thus quite clear that Sophytos was resorting to a paramount Iranian symbol in his bid to gain the sympathy of the inhabitants of this realm.' These and earlier scholars, however, failed to assess the meaning of the cockerel in conjunction with the helmeted male and in terms of the iconography of northwestern India. So, while it is not clear that, *pace* Olbrycht, Sophytes minted his coins with the image of the cockerel in order to 'gain the sympathy' of his subjects, the cockerel may have been included because of its powerful symbolism.

The cockerel is not a common motif in South Asian iconography. It is, however, more commonly found in Iranian iconography and literature, in which it is associated with, for example, the Zoroastrian protective martial deity Sraoša (Olbrycht 2016, 719). The connection between and assimilation of the deities Skanda and Sraoša in northwestern India has long been recognized. In this region, for the first time, the cockerel was connected with Skanda. The earliest depictions of Skanda are generally accepted to be on the so-called 'class three' Yaudheya coins dating between the first century AD and early second century AD (Mann 2012, 103, 259 figs. 2a–c), and in Gandhara sculpture of a broadly similar period (Mann 2012, 123, 267 fig. 17). In both coins and sculpture, he is presented with his cockerel standard. Notably, in this period, the use of the cockerel motif is limited to the northwest and literary and numismatic evidence suggests a strong Parthian influence on the iconography (Mann 2012, 124–9). However, Skanda's mythology, which includes the cockerel, is considerably older than the Yaudheya coins and Gandhara sculpture and can be found in texts such as the *Mahābhārata* (e.g., 3.214.22–4). A well-known phenomenon, widely accepted by art historians, is that images change in meaning before their manifestation in material culture. There is, therefore, a long-standing connection between the cockerel and Skanda in both early mythology and artistic representations in the material culture of South Asia. On the basis of this link, I suggest that the combination of the martial male figure and cockerel found on the Sophytes coins may represent one of the deities who was later assimilated into Skanda's cult.

Control marks: caduceus and the letters 'M', 'MN' and 'MNA'

All of the Sophytes coins have a small caduceus on the reverse and almost half of the known coins, mostly drachms, have the letters 'M', 'MN' or 'MNA' inscribed beneath the neck on the helmeted male coins (see Figure 21.6 below). Drachms are by far the most common denomination of the Sophytes coins, which is why most of the letters are found on these coins. More of the coins may have the letters, but the poor image quality available for many of the coins means that it is not possible to see them. So far, no letters have been found on the Athena head coins. The images available for these coins are generally poor, but where it is possible to see below the neck, there are no letters. The reason for this absence is unknown, as is whether they were minted before, after or alongside the helmeted male coins.

The caducei and letters were all engraved on the die and not added afterwards, suggesting that they were likely to be control marks. It is unusual to find similar



Figure 21.6 Letter ‘M’ seen below the bust of a Sophytes helmeted male type drachm (Triton XV, lot 1343 (2012)).

small caducei or the letters ‘M’, ‘MN’ or ‘MNA’ on coins during this period, but a small number of coins minted in the east do bear either the symbol or letters on them as countermarks: coins minted in the name of Andragoras and imitation ‘owls’ and ‘eagles’ found in Bactria, and double darics (Jansari 2018).

The meaning behind the caduceus or the letters here is unclear. In relation to the letters, Narain (1949, 94–5) argued that they represent numbers and that a combination of the letters refers to the year of a particular era. This argument is not persuasive. While the presence of the caduceus on the reverse or letters on the obverse of broadly contemporary coins may suggest that they are linked in some way, it is equally possible that the die engraver was drawing on a common pool of symbols and letters used as control marks. A more detailed study of all of these coins is needed to clarify the situation.

DIE STUDY AND WEIGHT STANDARD

Having discussed the complex iconographic relationships between the Sophytes coins and other Hellenistic coinages, as well as imagery associating Hermes and ancestor deities to Skanda, here I look at two further aspects of the Sophytes coins: a die study and the weight standard to which the coins were struck. A die study permits the size of a coinage to be determined. A wide range of coins circulated in northwest South Asia, and the Sophytes coins needed to be compatible with those currencies in order to be acceptable to the local population, although if they were minted as *largesse*, there would be less need for them to conform to local currency weights. Determining the weight standard of the Sophytes coins, therefore, enables us to better understand the likely region and period in which they circulated and the reason why they were minted.

Die study

The first die study of the Sophytes coins focused on drachms because only this denomination of coinage was available in large enough numbers to perform such a study. Calculations revealed that most of the dies used to mint the Sophytes coins were missing from the sample (Jansari 2018). A comparison with the coins minted in Bactria by Diodotos I/II approximately fifty years later than Sophytes was more revealing.

The Diodotids minted many more coins of higher value than drachms, particularly tetradrachms and staters. In comparison, the evidence, limited though it is, suggests that, although Sophytes produced a range of denominations, drachms were his most important denomination. For this reason, Sophytes appears to have produced a far smaller amount of money than the Diodotids. Sophytes did not, therefore, generate anything like the economic purchasing power of the Diodotids. The difference also suggests that Sophytes was not systematically minting his own coins in order to create his own economy: the same of production is too low, and no bronze Sophytes coins (needed for low-value transactions) have been found. It seems possible, therefore, that the Sophytes coins were minted for a specific reason, although it is not clear what this may have been.

Weight standard

In order to understand the weight standard to which the Sophytes coins were minted, the weights of different denominations of this coinage are compiled in Table 21.1. The stater has been excluded from this study because it is likely to be a forgery (de Callata 2013; Jansari 2018).

Significantly more Sophytes drachms survive compared with any other denomination of this coinage. The histogram (Figure 21.7) shows that the weight standard of the drachms may have been 3.6–3.69 grams. The peak at 3.1–3.19 grams may, perhaps, reflect the use of another weight standard at another period of time, or it may be explained by the wear of the coins. The diobols and obols are particularly worn compared with the drachms. The target weight of the diobols, therefore, may have been approximately 1.15 grams or 1.16 grams, while that of the obols may have been approximately 0.6 grams. There are six obols to the drachm in ancient Greek currency, the same proportion as found in the Sophytes coins.

Table 21.1 Upper and lower weights of the Sophytes Athena head tetradrachms and diobols, and male head tetradrachms, didrachms, drachms, hemidrachms and obols; and approximate weights of Seleukid coins minted in Bactra during the early third century BC.

Type	Denomination	No. of coins in sample	Highest weight (g)	Lowest weight (g)	Approx. weights of Seleukid coins minted in Bactra in early 3rd cent. BC, extrapolated from drachm weight
Athena Attic helmet	Tetradrachm	3	17.10	15.75	14
Athena Corinthian helmet	Diobol	11	1.15	0.78	1.17
Male head type	Tetradrachm	3	17.2	16.81	14
	Didrachm	3	8	7.4	7.0
	Drachm	42	3.89	3.03	3.5
	Hemidrachm	4	1.8	1.55	1.75
	Obol	11	0.66	0.35	0.58

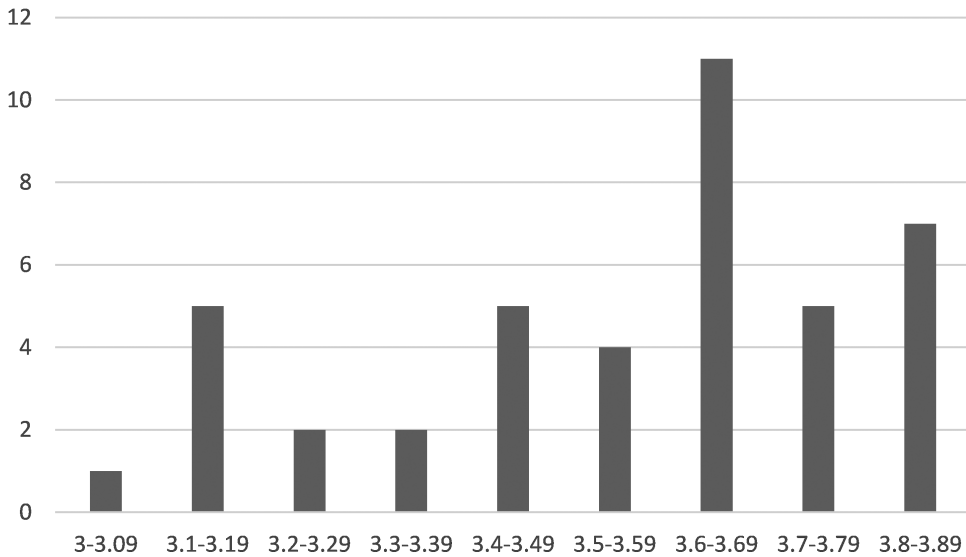


Figure 21.7 Histogram showing the distribution by weight of the Sophytes drachms. The weights are along the horizontal axis, and the number of coins of each weight on the vertical axis.

The histogram in Figure 21.7 shows that the target weight of the Sophytes drachms appears to be very close to c.3.5 grams, which is the weight of Seleukid drachms minted in Bactra. This is in contrast to 4.3 grams which is the weight of Attic drachms (Mørkholm 1991, 73; Bopearachchi 2001, 19). Exploring the numismatic context in which the Sophytes and Seleukid coins were minted may reveal why this particular weight standard was adopted by the mint.

The wide range of coins circulating in the northwest of the subcontinent during this period included Greek and Achaemenid coins as well as various local Indian coinages. The circulating coins did not all look the same, and they were struck to different weight standards. The familiarity with, and acceptance of, a range of coin types meant, therefore, that the Sophytes coins did not need to resemble one specific type in order to be accepted as currency. There are several reasons why a particular weight standard would be adopted for a newly created coin, and key among these would be to ensure that it was compatible with coins already circulating and thus more likely to be accepted by locals in the region. The Sophytes coins are particularly close to three weight standards already used in the region: the silver *karshapana* 3.49 grams (Mitchener 2004, 745), the 32 *mana* coin (3.59 grams) and the 30 *mana* coin (3.37 grams) (Mitchener 2004, 743). The bent bar and circular fraction coinages minted in Charsadda and Taxila were struck to the *mana* standard, where the *mana* was one hundredth of a shekel (Mitchener 2004, 749) – i.e., it was related to the Persian standard.

The weight of the Sophytes coins, therefore, fits in well with currency already circulating in the northwest, while retaining a Greek denominational system. If the Sophytes coins had been struck to the regular Attic standard, there would have been no correlation with the Indian and Achaemenid coinages circulating locally.

The only other Greek-style coins known to have been minted specifically to an Indian standard – the Indian standard drachm weight c.2 grams (Michon 2015, 149) – are the Indo-Greek coins produced from the second century BC. The Sophytes coins were minted earlier than the Indo-Greek coins and may, therefore, be among the earliest, if not the earliest, Greek-style coins minted to an Indian standard; they were certainly the first to be minted to this particular group of standards.

CONCLUSIONS

From the study presented here, I suggest that the coins were most probably minted by the Sophytes mentioned in the Classical sources as a ruler in the Punjab who was connected with Alexander. The likely date of their production, and their weight standard support this suggestion.

The die engraver seems to have based the design of the reverse of the Sophytes coins, including the style of cockerel, on the coins minted in Carystus in Euboea c.323 BC, meaning that the Sophytes coins are unlikely to predate the start of these Carystus coins. Given the similarity in design, it is possible that the Sophytes coins were broadly contemporary with the ‘head of hero’ coins minted by Seleukos I in Susa and Drangiana between c.305/4–281 BC. These dates, then, provide a window between c.323–281 BC of some forty years during which the Sophytes coins may have been minted.

This period also correlates well with the available literary evidence for this period and region and the literature itself helps to refine the approximate date of the coins.

Alexander left India in c.325 BC, having transferred to Porus power and territory as far as the River Hyphasis, thus possibly including Sophytes’ territory, before he left the Punjab (Arr. *Anab.* 5.29.2). Alexander’s actions may, therefore, have made Porus Sophytes’ overlord, nominally or otherwise. Eudamus, one of Alexander’s generals, murdered Porus in 315 BC (Diod. 19.14.8), meaning that Sophytes was no longer subject to Porus’ authority. Seleukos I arrived in the east in c.307 BC, met Chandragupta in c.305 BC and then marched westwards again (App. *Syr.* 11.9.55; Just. *Epit.* 15.4.21; Strab. 15.2.9). It may have been during this intervening period, c.315–305 BC, that Sophytes chose to mint his own coins, perhaps to assert his own independence and authority. This suggestion is also echoed in the work of other historians working on Seleukid history, including, recently, Kosmin (2014, 60), albeit without a detailed numismatic study.

There are other reasons why Sophytes may have been impelled to mint his own coins, particularly in a Greek style rather than any of the local styles, but these involve some speculation. Thus far, and excluding the gold stater and the silver tetradrachms which I discuss in more detail in a separate publication (Jansari 2018), only silver Sophytes coins have been found, and the dominant denomination is the drachm. Also, despite their Greek iconography, the Sophytes coins conform to local weight standards found in the northwestern regions of India. The combination of Greek coin styles and denominations, and local weight standard, suggests that the coins may have been minted to pay for Greek mercenaries. Greek soldiers may have preferred to accept payment in a format, script and iconography with which they were familiar, but the coins needed also to conform to local weight standards and be produced in a particular metal (silver) in order to make them acceptable to local people with whom

they needed to trade. However, in the absence of further evidence, this hypothesis must remain speculative.

The caduceus on the reverse and the letters ‘MNA’, ‘MN’ and ‘M’ on the obverse of the Sophytes coins are likely to be control marks. Looking at the iconography of the coins, the combination of a helmeted male (obverse) and cockerel (reverse) in an Indian context suggests they may represent one of the deities later assimilated into the cult of Skanda, the Hindu god of war, and his cockerel standard, albeit rendered in a Greek style – much like ‘Sophytes’ or ‘Sophytos’, the Hellenised version of an apparently Indian name, being written in Greek characters. Notably, the combination of the caduceus, cockerel and wings on the helmeted male’s cheek guards would also have held particular meaning for Greek soldiers: they were the symbols of the Greek god Hermes. The Sophytes coins seem to have been struck to local Indian weight standards, which makes them among the earliest – if not the earliest – Greek-style coins minted to this particular group of standards.

REFERENCES

- P. Bernard, *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum IV: les monnaies hors trésors*. Questions d’histoire gréco-bactrienne. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan XXVIII (Paris: Boccard, 1985).
- O. Bopearachchi, ‘Sophytes, the enigmatic ruler’, *Nomismatika Khronika* 15 (1996), pp. 19–32.
- O. Bopearachchi, *Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1998).
- O. Bopearachchi, ‘Two more unique coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit’, *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 169 (2001), pp. 21–22.
- O. Bopearachchi and P. Flandrin, *Le Portrait d’Alexandre. Histoire d’une découverte pour l’humanité* (Monaco: Édition du Rocher, 2005).
- F. de Callata, ‘Pourquoi le «distatère en or au portrait d’Alexandre» est très probablement un faux moderne’, *Revue Numismatique* 170 (2013), pp. 175–189.
- A. Cunningham, ‘Literary Intelligence’, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, Nos. I to IV. 1865 (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1866a), pp. 46–47.
- A. Cunningham, ‘Coin of the Indian prince Sophytes, a contemporary of Alexander the Great’, *Numismatic Chronicle* 6 (1866b), pp. 220–31.
- B.V. Head, ‘The earliest Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian coins’, *Numismatic Chronicle* 6 (1906), pp. 1–16.
- S. Jansari, ‘The Sophytes coins: from the Punjab to Bactria and back again’, *Numismatic Chronicle* 178 (2018), pp. 71–98, pl. 7–12.
- P.J. Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014).
- B. Kritt, *The Seleucid Mint of Ai Khanoum* (Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group, 2016).
- R.D. Mann, *The Rise of Mahāsena. The Transformation of Skanda-Kārttikeya in North India from the Kuṣāṇa to Gupta Empires*, Vol. 39 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012).
- D. Michon, *Archaeology and Religion in Early Northwest India: History, Theory, Practice* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2015).
- M. Mitchener, *Ancient Trade and Early Coinage*, Vol. I and II (London: Hawkins, 2004).
- O. Mørkholm (P. Grierson, U. Westermark), *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–188 BC)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

- A.K. Narain, 'Some interesting coins of Sophytes and the problem of his identification', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* XI, Part II (1949), pp. 93–9.
- A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).
- H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 'Un nouveau trésor de monnaies d'argent pseudo-athéniennes venu d'Afghanistan: 1990', *Revue Numismatique* 6, 36, pp. 34–54.
- M.J. Olbrycht, 'Review: S. Plischke 2014', *Gnomon* 88 Issue 8 (2016), pp. 716–20.
- S. Plischke, *Die Seleukiden und Iran. Die seleukidische Herrschaftspolitik in den östlichen Satrapien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014).
- E.J. Rapson, 'Ancient Silver Coins from Baluchistan', *Numismatic Chronicle* 4 (1904), pp. 311–325.
- D.M. Robinson, *A Hoard of Silver Coins from Carystus*, American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs (ANSNM) 124 (New York, 1952).
- H.A. Troxell and W.F. Spengler, 'A hoard of early Greek coins from Afghanistan', *ANSMN* 15 (1969), pp. 1–19.
- P.G. van Alfen, 'The coinage of Athens, sixth to first century B.C.', in W.E. Metcalf (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 88–104.
- R.B. Whitehead, 'The Eastern satrap Sophytes', *Numismatic Chronicle* 3, 1/4 (1943), pp. 60–72.

CHAPTER 22

DATING BACTRIA'S INDEPENDENCE TO 246/5 BC?



Jens Jakobsson

BACKGROUND FOR THE REAPPRAISAL

This is an attempt to review the chronology for the independence of Hellenistic Bactria. It is generally accepted that in the mid-3rd century BC, Diodotos, its satrap, seceded from the Seleukid Empire and declared himself king. However, many details about this process are unknown, and the brief sources – notably Strabo, *Geography* 11.9, and Justin, *Epitome* 41.4 – are somewhat contradictory on the exact chronology.

A brief introduction to Seleukid Bactria is due (see also Strootman, this volume). When Seleukos I ceded many of Alexander's easternmost provinces to the Indian king Chandragupta around 305 BC, he kept Bactria, and made this fertile region the centre of a satrapy.¹ The foundation of the Hellenistic city of Ai Khanoum possibly predated the Seleukid period, but the dynasty continued the effort of organising and fortifying the province against the threat of nomad incursions. The fortifications along the Oxus in Ai Khanoum is an example of this (Stančo, this volume). The extent of control north of the Oxus is difficult to ascertain, but Hellenistic settlements have been excavated in Sogdiana, and Seleukid coins circulated there (and later, imitations of such coins). Bactria produced a comprehensive coinage, especially under Antiochos I, whose Bactrian joint coins with Seleukos I indicate that he may have been personally present in the east. Possibly, Bactria's satrap also controlled neighbouring Ariana or Margiana (there existed a separate satrapy of Ariana/Drangiana during the early Diadochid years), but it is difficult to tell; there are no written accounts describing the Seleukid administration in Bactria, except that its (unnamed) satrap sent elephants to Babylonia in 273 BC. See Narain (1957/2003) for an outline of Graeco-Bactrian history; Bernard (1973) on Ai Khanoum; Grainger (1997) for Seleukid kings, and Sachs and Hunger (1996), cuneiform tablet AD I, p. 345. Presumably, the long distance to the court allowed the Bactrian satrap a certain measure of independence, but this chapter contains few references to earlier works that try to reconstruct his degree of autonomy, as most such works have been based on a reconstruction of Bactria's route to independence that is probably obsolete.

The numismatic evidence has, since the 19th century, been interpreted as supporting a prolonged period of gradual independence, when Diodotos I first issued coins with his own portrait and reverse (Thundering Zeus with eagle) but in the name of Antiochos II, thus maintaining a nominal allegiance. Only during a later phase did he replace the

Seleukid king's name with his own. Alternatively, Diodotos' son and successor, Diodotos II, may have issued the first coins with the name Diodotos. See for instance Holt (1999). Holt's own model was that Diodotos I issued the 'Antiochos coins' and Diodotos II the 'Diodotos coins' (p. 89). Diodotos II also allied himself to Parthia against the Seleukids, and was apparently completely independent (Justin, *Epitome* 41.4).

However, recent research indicates that these so-called 'Antiochos coins' were later than those in the name of Diodotos, and should instead be attributed to a Bactrian king named Antiochos (Nikator). This would require us to reinterpret Bactria's route to independence. Also, new evidence of another contemporary Antiochos, a Seleukid child-king, may complicate our understanding of this period.

Antiochos Nikator

The existence of a Bactrian king Antiochos Nikator, perhaps a younger son of Diodotos I, who succeeded to Diodotos II and issued coins with his father's portraits and reverse, was suggested by the present author in 2010. The historical arguments are summarized below:

- 1) It has often been assumed that Polybius, *Histories*, 11.34, claimed that Diodotos II was directly followed by Euthydemos I (c. 220–190 BC), but Polybius merely says that Euthydemos overthrew the (unnamed) descendants of those who rebelled against the Seleukids.
- 2) It would have been unprecedented for Diodotos I to issue his first coins in the name of Antiochos II. Semi-independent Hellenistic rulers sometimes combined their own *name* with the portrait of their suzerain, not the other way around; it is difficult to understand how anyone would have associated the 'Antiochos coins' with Diodotos (even more so for bronzes without portraits).²
- 3) The types of the 'Antiochos coins' were adapted by the later Bactrian ruler Agathokles to commemorate an Antiochos Nikator, who cannot easily be identified as a Seleukid.

More importantly, there are several numismatic indications that the 'Diodotos coins' were earlier than the 'Antiochos coins'.

- 1) There exists a bronze 'mule' combining an obverse depicting Antiochos II and a reverse naming Diodotos (Bopearachchi 1991, Diodote I et II, serie 11).
- 2) The 'Antiochos coins' have no similarities to coins of Antiochos II, but are closely linked to the first issues of Euthydemos I through similar portraits (see Figures 22.1–22.2) and shared monograms: Σ , Φ and N.
- 3) In the Aī Khanoum Hoard I, the 'Antiochos coins' were less worn than the 'Diodotos coins' (Guillaume 1991, p. 121).
- 4) There also exists an obverse die-link between 'Diodotos' and 'Antiochos' tetradrachms, with the die being more worn on the 'Antiochos' portrait (Kritt 2001, pp. 17–18, and Kovalenko 1996, p. 34.)

Building on this hypothesis, Zeng (2013) proved that some gold staters among the 'Antiochos coins' shared an obverse die link with staters of Euthydemos I. Ancient



Figures 22.1 Staters of Antiochos Nikator (above) and Euthydemos I (below) showing close similarities between the portraits. The Euthydemos obverse die is notably more worn. Courtesy of Pankaj Tandon.



Figures 22.2 Staters of Antiochos Nikator (above) and Euthydemos I (below) showing close similarities between the portraits. The Euthydemos obverse die is notably more worn. Courtesy of Pankaj Tandon.

dies were metal cylinders with a negative imprint on one end; they normally remained in use until worn out, but remaining dies of outdated types were presumably usually discarded – not only to reuse the metal, but as the dies could otherwise be used to produce counterfeit money. Few ancient dies are preserved, and only a single one known from Hellenistic Bactria – if it is genuine (See Holt 2012 p. 164, quoting Boppearachchi, personal correspondence). Die links between two coin series therefore likely indicate that they were relatively adjacent. Zeng (2013), nevertheless argues that the Antiochos obverse die (which was worn) was saved until a crisis, perhaps the siege of Bactra in 208–206 BC, precipitated the need to quickly mint gold reserves. The present author would perhaps prefer a somewhat earlier date, given the arguments above. In the light of Zeng's evidence, the hypothesis that the 'Antiochos coins' were later is now relatively well established, and it is time to study its consequences for the chronology of Bactria's independence.

- 1) Firstly, Diodotos I's first coins would have been struck in his own name. Hence, there remains no evidence that Diodotos' route to independence was a prolonged process.

- 2) Consequently, we can no longer reconcile the different dates (ranging from 255–238 BC) for Bactria’s independence, by claiming that they refer to earlier and later stages of such a prolonged process. This also means – which is central to this chapter – that any reference to Bactria as a Seleukid province refers to the period *before* Diodotos became king.
- 3) Finally, without the ‘semi-independent coins’, the last Seleukid coins in Bactria would have been the rare lifetime issues of Antiochos II (261–246 BC). Seleukos II (246–222 BC) issued no coins in Bactria. As it seems unlikely that there was a long lacuna in Bactrian mint activity after Antiochos II died, 246 BC – or soon after – would be the *terminus ante quem* for when Diodotos proclaimed himself king.

‘King’ Antiochos, son of Berenike

Antiochos II had an infant son with his second queen Berenike, sister of Ptolemy III; after Antiochos’ death, Berenike and her son were soon murdered, perhaps by supporters of Seleukos II and his mother Laodike, Antiochos’ first queen.³ Ptolemy III retaliated by launching a successful invasion (the Third Syrian War), which reached as far east as Babylon, until rebellions in Egypt forced Ptolemy to return home.

An inscription has now confirmed that this son was called Antiochos, and was recognised as king at least in Karia. See Blümel (1992).⁴ This does not prove that he was even nominally recognised during his lifetime, but confirms that officials acted under that pretence. Possibly, some coins attributed to his half-brother Antiochos Hierax, with portraits of Antiochos II (see below), were also in fact issued by his supporters. When several homonymous rulers appear within a short period, this also increases the risk that our sources may have conflated these rulers; a phenomenon well known from later Seleukid history.

DID DIODOTOS REBEL DURING THE THIRD SYRIAN WAR?

If Bactria’s independence was a quick process, it would seem plausible to regard Diodotos’ secession as a reaction to the crisis in 246/5 BC, as a rebellion during the relatively stable reign of Antiochos II would more likely have provoked a Seleukid response. As shown by the present author (2010), the Seleukids did not tolerate their satraps becoming gradually independent: Molon, Achaïos the Younger (both c. 221 BC) and Timarchos (c. 161 BC) all declared themselves independent kings, and the Seleukids eventually responded with full-scale invasions.⁵ The question of whether the date 246/5 BC is possible for Bactria’s independence rests upon three types of evidence:

- 1) A reinterpretation of the Seleukid coinage in Bactria.
- 2) A study of Justin and Strabo, in response to the discovery of new kings called Antiochos.
- 3) The introduction of two relatively overlooked sources: Ptolemy III’s victory inscription from Adoulis (OGIS 54), and Polyaeus, *Strategemata* 8.50.

Reinterpreting Bactria’s Seleukid coinage

An often-quoted piece of evidence for dating the independence of Bactria to the reign of Antiochos II is the uneven distribution of coins between him and Antiochos I

(281–261 BC).⁶ Bactrian mints issued many more coin types of Antiochos I,⁷ and stray finds of his bronzes far outnumber those of his son; perhaps sixty-four to one during the Aī Khanoum excavations.⁸ This has led to the interpretation that the regular Bactrian coinage of Antiochos II was interrupted (traditionally followed by ‘Antiochos coins’ with thundering Zeus on the reverse) sometime in the 250s BC. This early dating is sometimes called the ‘high chronology’, as opposed to the later ‘low chronology’.

But against this: how do we define ‘*coins of Antiochos I and II*’, respectively? Later Seleukid kings issued fully individual coinages, with each king’s personal portrait, and eventually also their individual epithets, unlike the Ptolemies or Attalids, who mostly repeated the coin types of their dynasty’s respective founder. But coins of Antiochos I and II carried identical legends: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (‘of king Antiochos’), were undated, and often used similar reverse types.

In *Seleucid Coins*, Houghton and Lorber (2002, pp. 114–115 for Antiochos I, pp. 168–169 for Antiochos II, pp. 293–294 for Hierax and pp. 232–233 for Seleukos II) establish that Antiochos I issued the first coins with dynastic portraits. Some depicted Seleukos I; but most portrayed Antiochos I himself. His appearance was quite variable, but one common denominator was a deep-set eye (see Figure 22.3). Antiochos I, who was c. 40–60 years old during his sole reign, was sometimes depicted as aged – even on early coins – but sometimes idealised or rejuvenated. Antiochos II, who was c. 25–40 years old, issued quite variable portraits – identified by default through the absence of the deep-set eye. However, numerous mints issued posthumous portraits of his father: north-western mints from early in his reign, while the scattered eastern mints alternated, apparently independently. Thus, the portrait of Antiochos II is the only detail that would instantly allow us to date such a coin to after the death of Antiochos I. For any other coin, we could only use secondary evidence – overstrikes, monogram sequences, style, hoards etc., for a chronological arrangement.

If we continue with Antiochos II’s son Antiochos Hierax (c. 242–227 BC), who rebelled against his older brother Seleukos II in Asia Minor, we find that his coins featured a plethora of portraits: many posthumous, though *Seleucid Coins* identifies Hierax’ own visage with some certainty. It was Seleukos II who ‘shifted from tradition to personal propaganda’ – his portraits usually depicted the king himself, often with the whiskers or beard that earned him the nickname *Pogon*. This shift probably



Figure 22.3 Antiochos I, stater, with deep-set eye. Aī Khanoum mint. Courtesy of Pankaj Tandon.

reflects that Seleukos II was the first Seleukid who faced familial competition. Not only did he fight two brothers, but they were both called Antiochos, so it may have been problematic for Seleukos II to issue posthumous Antiochos coins himself.

Bactria was a remote province; the nearest substantial Seleukid mints were in western Iran. Antiochos I was well known in Bactria; his coins were also frequently imitated in Sogdiana. With this in mind, we cannot assume that when he died, the Bactrian administration found it urgent to substitute the coin portraits or change magistrates (and thus presumably monograms). The Bactrian coins (including bronzes without portraits)⁹ of Antiochos II may be rare because Bactria, just like several other provinces, produced posthumous coins of Antiochos I during his early reign. Hence, there is no conclusive numismatic evidence against the idea that coins of Antiochos II were issued in Bactria until 246 BC. The development of the Seleukid coins might also, to some extent, explain why portraits of the early Bactrian kings were at most semi-personal (for instance, coins in the names of Antiochos and Diodotos were die-linked, so if Antiochos Nikator was a separate king, he apparently issued some posthumous portraits). Bactrian portraits also seem to have undergone a process of increased individualisation, which was presumably completed sometime in the reign of Euthydemos I.

A critical analysis of Justin and Strabo

The following comments on Justin, *Epitome* 41.4 (translation by J.S. Watson), merely concern interpretations of the chronology of the revolt of Diodotos I in light of the discovery of the infant ‘king Antiochos’. Justin’s account focuses on Parthia, and other ancient sources present us with different, conflicting versions of the rise of the Arsakids. This complex issue is only tangential, and the comments rely on Lerner (1999), Chapter 1, who provides a more thorough analysis.

[The Parthians] were under the rule of Seleucus Nikator, and then under Antiochus and his successors, from whose great-grandson Seleucus they first revolted, in the first Punic war, when Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Atilius Regulus were consuls.

Comment: The consular dates suggest the year 261 BC, or could possibly be amended to 255 BC; however Seleukos II did not become king until 246 BC.

For their revolt, the dispute between the two brothers, *Seleucus and Antiochus*, procured them impunity; for while they sought to wrest the throne from one another, they neglected to pursue the revolters. At the same period, also, Theodotus [i.e. Diodotos I], governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, revolted, and assumed the title of king; and all the other people of the east, influenced by his example, fell away from the Macedonians.

Comment: Seleukos II was unable to control Parthia, because he was fighting his brother Antiochos. Earlier scholars have by default identified this brother with Hierax; but possibly, Justin’s abbreviated account instead refers to Berenike’s son – thus describing the initial phase of the Third Syrian War. This would contrast with his full account of the conflict (*Epitome* 27, 1–2), where it is correctly described as

a war between Seleukos II and Ptolemy III (and where Berenike's son is unnamed), but such contradictions would not be impossible for Justin, who lived almost five centuries after these events, and was not infrequently inconsistent or mistaken. (One alternative might be that Justin has misdated Hierax' rebellion to the same period, perhaps even confusing him with his half-brother.)

An alternative reading would place the fraternal dispute in 246/5 BC. The 'Parthians' who revolted would then have been the inhabitants of the province Parthia, and their leader was perhaps the Seleukid governor, Andragoras. With this reading, it would follow that Diodotos I also revolted in 246/5 BC.

One Arsaces, a man of uncertain origin, but of undisputed bravery, happened to arise at this time; and he, who was accustomed to live by plunder and depredations hearing a report that Seleucus was overcome by the Gauls [i.e. Galatians], and being consequently freed from dread of that prince, [Arsaces] invaded Parthia with a band of marauders, overthrew Andragoras his lieutenant, and, after putting him to death, took upon himself the government of the country.

Comment: Seleukos II was overcome by Hierax and his Galatian allies at Ancyra c. 239 BC. Justin expresses this conflict in words entirely different from the previous 'dispute between the two brothers, Seleukos and Antiochos'. If these really were two different conflicts separated by perhaps six years, it follows that the revolt of the Parthians that Justin referred to was not identical with Arsakes' invasion of the province. Parthia had possibly been ruled as a semi-independent state by Andragoras between 245–239 BC; he issued coins, though without royal title.

This is somewhat complicated by the inauguration date 248/7 BC of the Arsakid Era. Would this not indicate that Arsakes invaded Parthia at that time? Lerner discusses this complicated matter at length. His possible reconstruction (p. 29) is that the Arsakid Era actually referred to the time when Arsakes became king of a nomad host that would ravage Upper Asia¹⁰, due to the weakness of the Seleukids after the Third Syrian War. Arsakes and his host invaded Margiana west of Bactria, but were repulsed by Diodotos I. Arsakes then successfully invaded Parthia, and Andragoras was killed. After they became masters of the territory of Parthia, Arsakes' followers would of course eventually become the ones identified as 'Parthians' – but that was not necessarily the case at this early time.¹¹

This specific reconstruction presented by Lerner would be supported by the alternative to identify Seleukos II's brother Antiochos with Berenike's son; as it would mean that Arsakes may first have become a leader at the time when Berenike and her son were killed, and later invaded Parthia, after the battle of Ancyra. However, other difficulties arise, for instance that Justin does not mention Berenike's son in other accounts of the same period. Regardless of whether this interpretation is possible or not, Justin's account contains inconsistencies and does not provide conclusive evidence against the date 246/5 BC for Bactria's independence.

The second account of Bactria's independence is Strabo's brief notice (*Geography*, 11.9.2). 'While the kings of Syria and Media were preoccupied, those in charge of governing their countries rebelled.' Strabo claims that Euthydemos (sic) was first, and then Arsakes, a Scythian. As Lerner states, several interpretations and emendations of the original text have been suggested. It is uncertain whether the passage refers to

Seleukos II and Hierax at all (the latter never controlled either Syria or Media);¹² the only consensus is that Euthydemos is a mistake for Diodotos. Strabo's passage thus cannot be used to either exclude, or support, the date 246/5 BC.

The Adoulis inscription and Strategemata

In Adoulis (northern Eritrea), the Byzantine monk Cosmas Indicopleustes recorded (Christian Topography, II) an inscription by Ptolemy III, where the king described his invasion of the Seleukid Empire (translation by Bagnall, Derow 1981, no. 26). In reality, the Ptolemaic forces were initially very successful: they sacked Antioch-on-the-Orontes and conquered several cities in Asia Minor and Syria.¹³ Ptolemy also sacked Babylon and defeated Seleukid rescue expeditions. (the 'Chronicle concerning the invasion of Ptolemy III', aka the 'Ptolemy III Chronicle'; BCHP 11, tablet no. BM 34428.)¹⁴ But Seleukos II was saved when Ptolemy was forced to return home to defeat a rebellion, and the eastern Ptolemaic gains were lost.

However, the Adoulis inscription exaggerates Ptolemy's successes, claiming the conquest of 'all the land this side of the Euphrates and of Cilicia and Pamphylia and Ionia and the Hellespont and Thrace and of all the forces and Indian elephants in these lands, and having made subject all the princes in the (various) regions, he crossed the Euphrates river and after subjecting to himself Mesopotamia and Babylonia and Sousiana and Persis and Media and all the rest of the land up to Bactria.'

The provinces listed are essentially a description of the entire Seleukid Empire. Ptolemy also declared himself Great King, a title later held by Antiochos the Great after his anabasis, so Ptolemy's claims presumably reflect his ambition to dethrone or at least subjugate Seleukos II. Further, Bactria was likely included,¹⁵ which suggests that it was still a Seleukid satrapy – unlike Cappadocia, which had undoubtedly become independent by 245 BC and was excluded. If Bactria had been an independent kingdom, Ptolemy III would have been ill advised to claim the submission of Diodotos I, who had defied the Seleukids (and also in all likelihood was far out of reach).

Polyaenus, *Strategemata* 8.50, describes how Berenike's servants, after she and her son had been slain, concealed the murder and introduced doppelgangers. After this, they contacted Ptolemy III,¹⁶ who forged letters – apparently to Seleukid officials – in his relatives' names. By this stratagem, Ptolemy became master of all the lands 'from Taurus to India' without bloodshed. Polyaenus lived four centuries after these events, and he presents an anecdote that is apparently exaggerated – there was as mentioned fierce fighting in Babylon and elsewhere, and no indications of direct Ptolemaic control further east. Nevertheless, the story is possibly somewhat vindicated by the Karian inscription: there were apparently Ptolemaic officials who referred to Berenike and her son.

But regardless of whether the anecdote is fictitious or not, it contains implicit geographic information – Polyaenus claimed that the Seleukid Empire *bordered on India*. This again suggests that Bactria should still have been a satrapy.¹⁷ So, possibly, Polyaenus and the Adoulis inscription provide concurrent information about the eastern Seleukid Empire in 246/5 BC. The view that Ptolemaic propaganda did indeed claim the conquest of the entire Seleukid Empire (except Asia Minor), was promoted for instance by Will, in 1982 (pp. 251–252).¹⁸ However, Will continued by stating that Ptolemy's campaign did not reach Iran, and he could at best have hoped for 'testimonies of allegiance' from some Iranian dynasts.

Table 22.1 Rulers of Bactria. All dates BC.

Alexander III	c.330–323
<i>Macedonian satraps under nominal imperial control</i>	323–c.305
Seleucus I	c.305–281
Antiochus I (<i>joint king since 294</i>)	281–261
Antiochus II	261–246
Diodotus I	246/5–c.238
Diodotus II	c.238–c.230
Antiochus Nikator	c.230–c.220
Euthydemus I	c.220–c.190

If we, following the discussion above, add Bactria here, a more restrictive interpretation of Polyaeus might be that Ptolemy III actually contacted some eastern satraps, including perhaps Diodotos and Andragoras, asking for support. Without speculating about Diodotos' hypothetical response or motifs, at some point he may have preferred to become king in his own right, rather than be reconciled with Seleukos II. Perhaps after Ptolemy III had returned to Egypt, Diodotos realised that Seleukos II would remain king of Upper Asia, but would be too weak to maintain control over Bactria.

The Seleukid administration in Bactria may have been partially displaced during this tumultuous time, for when Diodotos I issued his own coins, the monograms were exchanged and perhaps mint personnel, too: the first silver series were perhaps Holt's Series B, which were less gracious than the last portraits of Antiochos II. See Jakobsson (2010), p. 28.

CONCLUSION

While the author would not go so far as to promote any reinterpretation of Justin, it is clear that his, and Strabo's, accounts contain inconsistencies that make it difficult to rely on them to date the independence of Bactria. Both the Adoulis inscription and Polyaeus' account could, however, be interpreted to suggest that Bactria remained a Seleukid satrapy until 246/5 BC. Further, this independence date is not refuted by the ambiguous numismatic evidence, and should be considered an important alternative. A tentative chronology is provided in Table 22.1.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Mark Passehl and Professor Frank Holt were – each in his own way – the first to suggest Antiochos Nikator's existence. Thanks also to Simon Glenn and Olivier Bordeaux.

NOTES

- 1 We know through Arrian (*Anabasis*, 5.6), that Seleukos I also retained (western) Arachosia, where his ambassador Megasthenes lived between visits to Chandragupta. Arachosia's governor, Sibyrtios, was a minor Diadoch who had apparently pledged allegiance to Seleukos.

- 2 Further, some interpretations within this model become quite elaborate. For instance Holt (1999), p. 92, and pp. 101–103, identifies a ‘younger’ Diodotid portrait as that of Diodotos II; when his portrait appears on ‘Antiochos coins’ (Holt’s series C and E), Holt’s suggestion was that they were issued when Diodotos II was joint-king with his father. So even though Diodotos I was the senior Bactrian king, he does not appear on these coins, which instead present the portrait and name of *two* other rulers. Nothing near such a complicated arrangement can be found on other Hellenistic coins.
- 3 See for instance Appian, *Syriake* 65, and Justin, *Epitome* 27.
- 4 *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 42.994.
- 5 Cf. Wolski (1947). Wolski, pioneer of the studies of Parthia’s independence, argued that Antiochos II would not have tolerated that Bactria became independent. However, he instead argued in favour of the date 240/239 BC, which as mentioned relies on the assumption that Diodotos I issued semi-autonomous coins.
- 6 Bopearachchi (1998), under Diodotos I and II, dates Diodotos’ independence to c. 250 BC. Senior (2006), p. X (in the preface), suggests 256–250 BC.
- 7 Cf. Bopearachchi (1998) under Antiochos I and II. Bopearachchi records 23 series of Antiochos I (including joint series with Seleukos I, from 294–281 BC), but only three series attributed to Antiochos II (one each of gold/silver/bronze, using a single monogram). The joint kingship of Antiochos II (c. 266–261 BC) was not manifested on coins.
- 8 Following attributions by Kritt (2001), pp. 23–26. Originally Bernard (1973) 3–4 joint bronzes (see previous note) were also found.
- 9 See Jakobsson (2010), pp. 30–31, for a discussion on which bronzes should be attributed to Antiochos II and which to Nikator. Some bronzes lack monograms, making the attribution more difficult.
- 10 Pompeius Trogus, *Philippic Histories*, Prologue to Book 41: ‘In Bactrian affairs, however, how the government was set up by King Diodotos: then, during his reign, the occupation of Bactra and Sogdiana by the Scythian tribes, the Saraucae and the Asiani.’ According to Strabo, *Geography*, 11.9.3, Arsakes lived in Bactria but left in fear of Diodotos I.
- 11 See Lerner, pp. 16–17, for the complicated origins of the terms *Parthian* and *Parni*. The alternative reconstruction from Arrian, that Arsakes was a native of Parthia who killed the Seleukid satrap in a local rebellion, is here seen as later and inspired by Parthian propaganda. (Lerner, p. 19, quoting several papers of Wolski).
- 12 Possibly the kings could be identified with Antiochos III and Molon, usurper in Media c. 221 BC.
- 13 Cf. Justin, *Epitome* 27.1.7, and Appian, *Syriake* 65, for Ptolemaic operations.
- 14 A translation by B. van der Spek is available online at www.livius.org. Catullus (66.12) also speaks about Ptolemy’s conquest of ‘Assyria’.
- 15 The Adoulis text reads ΕΩΣ ΒΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΗΣ, ‘up to Baktriana’. This phrase is ambiguous, and could hypothetically also mean the conquests ended at the western border of Bactria, but circumstantial evidence suggests that Bactria was included. At the end of a long list of conquests, we would not expect a reference to a single territory outside Ptolemaic control, especially as other territories bordering on Ptolemy’s alleged conquests in eastern Iran – such as Arachosia and Gedrosia (alternatively, the somewhat hyperbolic ‘India’) – were not referred to. It also seems unlikely that territories bordering on Bactria, such as Margiana, would have remained under Seleukid control once Bactria had become independent. Translation comments courtesy of Mark Passehl and Renzo Lucherini.
- 16 Polyaeus actually refers to ‘Berenike’s father’, thus Ptolemy II; an understandable mistake, as Ptolemy II died only in 246 BC.
- 17 Arachosia (see note 1) would also have bordered on India, but it is unlikely that this province existed after Bactria had become independent. There are no signs of mints or other Seleukid administrative activities in Arachosia.

- 18 Will did however not analyse the possibility that Bactria was included: 'l'inscription d' Adoulis (Massaouah) nous montre Ptolémée III maître de tout l'empire séleucide jusqu'à la Bactriane – jusqu'à l'Inde, renchérit Polyen!'

REFERENCES

- Bernard, P. (1973). *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum, I (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968). Memoires de la Delegation archeologique française en Afghanistan XXI*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
- Blümel, W. (1992). Brief des ptolemaischen Ministers Tlepolemus an die Stadt Kildara in Karien, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 20, pp. 127–133.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1991). *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1998). *The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, Part 9: Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins*. New York: ANS.
- Grainger, J. (1997). *A Seleucid Prosopography and Gazetteer*. New York: Brill.
- Guillaume, O. (1991). *French Studies in South Asian Culture and Society IV*. New Delhi: OUP.
- Holt, F.L. (1999). *Thundering Zeus*. Berkeley: UC Press.
- Holt, F.L. (2012). *Lost World of the Golden King*. Berkeley: UC Press.
- Houghton, A. and Lorber, C. (2002). *Seleucid Coins I, Vol I*. New York: CNG.
- Jakobsson, J. (2010). Antiochus Nicator, the Third King of Bactria? *NC* 170, pp. 17–33.
- Kovalenko, S. (1996). The coinage of Diodotus I and II, Greek kings of Bactria, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, pp. 17–74.
- Kritt, B. (2001). *Dynastic Transitions in the Coinage of Bactria*. Lancaster: CNG.
- Lerner, J.D. (1999). *The Impact of Seleucid Decline on the Eastern Iranian Plateau: The Foundations of Arsacid Parthia and Graeco-Bactria*. Stuttgart: Frank Steiner.
- Narain, A.K. (2003, original book 1957). *The Indo-Greeks: Revisited and Supplemented*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing.
- Sachs, A.J. and Hunger, H. (1996). *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia, Vol III 164 BC– 61 BCE*. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Senior, R.C. (2006). *Indo-Scythian Coins and History vol IV*. Lancaster: CNG.
- Will, E. (1982). *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*. Nancy: Presses Universitaires.
- Wolski, J. (1947). L'effondrement de la domination des Séleucides en Iran au III^e siècle av. *Bulletin international de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, 5, pp. 13–70.
- Zeng, C. (2013). Some notable die-links among Bactrian Gold Staters, *Numismatic Chronicle* 173, pp. 73–78.

CHAPTER 23

MONETARY POLICIES DURING THE EARLY GRAECO-BACTRIAN KINGDOM (250–190 BCE)



Olivier Bordeaux

INTRODUCTION

Following the crossing of Alexander the Great into Central Asia, there does not seem to have been a strong policy on his part to monetize the Upper Satrapies, while as early as 333 BCE the striking of tetradrachms bearing Alexander's name and types began in Tarsus (Le Rider 2003). Indeed, before 323 BCE, none of Alexander's coins are struck east of the Tigris. Likewise, according to O. Bopearachchi (1999, 68–69), the few Achaemenid coins found north of the Hindu Kush were not locally made. However, things change considerably after the death of Alexander. Three series of coins are then struck in Bactria at the end of the fourth century: Athenian owl imitations, 'eagle' coins and issues bearing the name of Sophytos (Bopearachchi 1996; Bernard, Pinault & Rougemont 2004, 237–332; Jansari 2018; see also Jansari this volume). These coins are struck following two standards, one Attic and the other local. These coinages of well-implemented satraps led L. Capdetrey (2007, 42–49), in his book on the Seleukid kingdom, to defend the idea of a swift and pacific conquest between 308 and 305 BCE, after the two violent revolts of 325 and 323 BCE. This conquest happened in the context of the expansion of the Mauryan Empire, with which Seleukos I signed a treaty around 303 BCE proclaiming the authority of the Mauryas over the territories located south of the Hindu Kush.

The rise of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom in Central Asia around the middle of the third century BCE must thus be understood in its regional framework: as Seleukid power seems to progressively fade, mainly because of dynastic conflicts, the Greek communities are forced to take their future into their own hands. In Parthia, the Seleukid governor Andragoras, facing the threat of the Parni led by the future Arsakes I, emancipates himself c. 247 BCE and strikes a series of silver and gold coins (D'iakonoff and Zejmal 1988). In Bactria, the satrap Diodotos acts likewise (Just. *Epit.* 41.4.3–5, 8–9) and goes through a now well-described transition between the official Seleukid coinage, and his own: having first replaced the image of Apollo with that of thundering Zeus but still bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, Diodotos I eventually strikes silver and gold coins in his own name (Bopearachchi 1991, 41–46). Having thus proclaimed the independence of his kingdom, Diodotos I is succeeded by his son, Diodotos II, before the Diodotid family is wiped out by Euthydemos I between 230 and 225 BCE. The latter will later victoriously struggle

against Antiochos III c. 208–206, and be recognised as the true king of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom (Polyb. 11.34.1–12). The early history of this realm is thus characterised by a significant number of conflicts, which often strikingly influenced the monetary policies of these rulers.

DIE-STUDIES: WHAT, WHY AND WHAT FOR?

The analysis of any monetary corpus can be based on various criteria, whether they are intrinsic, like monograms, or extrinsic, like the archaeological context. Die-studies focus on the intrinsic qualities of the coins, while the historical or archaeological background does not influence the study itself. One must remember that, given the near-lack of written sources, the history of Central Asia is mainly a numismatic one: we know from the coins that there existed forty-five Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, while only eight are named by the sources. This methodology consists of a systematic comparison of all coins from a specific corpus, while the most common criteria for forming said corpora is to restrict them to a single king. Die-studies are based upon a way of making coins which is, regarding coin production in Central Asia, referred to as the hammer-striking method. Two bronze or iron matrices called dies are hand-engraved, and the blow of the hammer impress the type in relief on the coin. Each die shows more or less noticeable differences, and it is thus possible to assemble the coins together and to note which elements are linked, such as types or monograms. Experimental archaeology led by a team of the CNRS from 2007 to 2009 has demonstrated the soundness of die-studies, as well as bringing fundamental data about the productivity of coins (Faucher et al. 2013). Lacking any historical context, this methodology is therefore a crucial way of gathering essential information regarding the organization of any coinage, its productivity and more generally about the monetary policies of a certain king.

RECENT RESEARCH

This particular time period in the history of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom has been the subject of a noteworthy number of studies from the 1990s until the present day. The first works focused on the division between the coins of Diodotos I and II based on die-studies (Kovalenko 1995–1996; Holt 1999), since both kings used the same typology (thundering Zeus) and legend (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ). Recently, two articles (Jakobsson 2010; Zeng 2013; see also Jakobsson in this volume) have argued in favour of a somewhat controversial solution hypothesising a third king of Bactria not mentioned in the written sources, before the rise of Euthydemos I. Regarding the latter, the ‘initial’ model based on the age of the king on the obverse (see Boppearachchi 1991, 47–49) has rapidly been partially discarded, while some researchers have tried to organize this coinage around the anabasis of Antiochos III, and more precisely the siege of Bactra. The main issue with the coinage of Euthydemos I was thus to reconcile his numerous coinage with the large chronological frame of this king.

There has been an intense debate about the division of the Seleukid coinage between the mint of Bactra and Ai Khanoum, since the monogram  and its variants, assigned to Bactra by E.T. Newell, have been found associated with the letter or symbol  on several bricks from public buildings dated from the first period of Ai

Khanoum. The question to be asked would thus be if all coins bearing this monogram should not rather be assigned to the mint of Ai Khanoum, a hypothesis discussed but immediately discarded by Paul Bernard (1985, 39). B. Kritt has tried to argue in favour of this hypothesis in several books, the latest of which we have proven elsewhere to be highly questionable in its conclusions (Bordeaux 2017). What is more, there is a major lack of archaeological data from Bactra compared to Ai Khanoum, which should encourage us to exercise caution in this matter.

Last but not least, a book published by the present author focuses on both the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms, in order to address questions regarding the monetary policies of several kings through die-studies (Bordeaux 2018). Beyond all these interrogations, it is the whole problem of Bactrian independence which is considered through the coinage of Diodotos I. The main problematics studied by numismatists now concern trying to determine the geographical aspects of monetary production, with long-term partisans of a two- or three-mint solution (see especially Kritt 2001; 2015). In this perspective, taking recent archaeological discoveries of coins in Central Asia into account is fundamental (see notably Kampyr Tepe, Uzundara, Jandavlattepa, etc.): based on our own research, we believe that there existed only one mint striking silver and gold coins for the early Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. What is more, with regard to the latest archaeological data, Paul Bernard's (1985, 14, 60) hypothesis of a decentralized production for bronze coins seems to make sense.

DIODOTOS I AND II

Known from the early 19th century (Wilson 1841, 219), the coins featuring the names Antiochos and Diodotos are now numerous enough to conduct a detailed die-study of them, thanks to the discovery of several hoards in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the past 30 years. The corpus we worked on included 535 coins, distributed as follows: 241 staters, 232 tetradrachms, 59 drachms and 3 hemidrachms. The surprisingly high number of die-links which can be established between the various groups characterized by their monograms is the best proof that we are dealing with a well-organized and coherent coinage, both in terms of production and chronology. The coinage of both Diodotos I and II can be divided into two ensembles, according to whether the legend is engraved under or by the elbow (Holt 1999, 92, fig. 4). This discriminating detail must be replaced in its technical context: the engravers first started by engraving the dotted border, then the thundering Zeus and finally the legend which had to fit into the remaining space (Figure 23.1). The multiplication of monograms (up to four) forced the engravers to change their habits. However, this criterion does not seem to evolve in time and therefore cannot be helpful as a classification standard: issues with the type engraved beforehand are still common throughout the first half of Euthydemos I's coinage.

The hypothesis that Antiochos Nikator was a third Graeco-Bactrian king, which we mentioned earlier and will discuss briefly now, established a new model in which this putative king would have struck the whole coinage in the name of Antiochos, and reigned between 240 and 225 BCE. Jakobsson's analysis, after describing the Diodotids' portraits as "semi-personalized", carries on by stating that the Zeus type was a common one since Alexander (Jakobsson 2010, 23). Not only do we believe that since the beginning of Diodotos I's coinage, his portraits show real strength but



Figure 23.1 Comparison between types engraved before/after the legend
(BNF 1972.392; K2801).

also that the change in deity (from the Seleukid seated Apollo) is the main feature to be acknowledged in this instance. When examining the so-called ‘pedigree’ coins struck by Agathocles and Antimachos I (Bopearachchi 1991, series 12–18; 9–10), Jakobsson considers the following points: the portrait of Antiochos Nikator does not look like Diodotos Soter, meaning it is a different person; Antiochos II’s epithet is Theos and not Nikator; Agathocles would rather have honoured Seleukos I or Antiochos I, as they were more involved with Bactria. O. Bopearachchi (1999, 79–80, note 122) has already given sufficient evidence that both portraits on the ‘pedigree’ coins were actually very close in style and thus engraved by the same person. Regarding epithets, there is reason to think that they were created *ex nihilo* by Agathocles, and that precise numismatic accuracy was likely considered secondary. Finally, the goal of these commemorative issues, unlike the people studying them, was not to give a truthful historical outline, but rather to honour others in order to honour oneself: featuring Antiochos II makes sense if one considers that independence was achieved under his rule. We thus consider Jakobsson’s hypothesis with great caution, as it lacks solid typological and historical grounds in its demonstration.

The conclusion of our die-study led us to establish strong links between the coins with both legend positions. Although the model established by F. L. Holt, that is the existence of two mints characterized by each engraving, is somewhat contradicted by our data, his chrono-typological sequence keeps its strong coherence and logic. The coinage of the Diodotids, though complex with numerous monograms, is well-structured in terms of monetary production, thanks to the identification of the main groups of coins sharing obverse die-links. It thus seems logical to divide this coinage into groups struck in a short amount of time, rather than a model of a continuous production during the whole length of the reign. We give the following chronology to both kings (see Bordeaux 2018, 52, fig. 1): c. 255/250–c. 246 BCE for the first strikes of Diodotos I (tetradrachms and drachms), c. 246–c. 230 for the rest of his coinage, and c. 230–c. 225 for the coinage of Diodotos II, which forms a single sequence.

EUTHYDEMOS I

After he overthrew the Diodotids, Euthydemos I radically changed the reverse deity from Zeus to Herakles, a popular figure in Central Asia, and his coinage is



Figure 23.2 Euthydemos I through his various portrayals (BNF 1974.393; 1966 Don Delepierre; 1966.163).

characterized by the evolution of this type during his reign. What is more, he is the first Graeco-Bactrian king to be depicted first young (or middle-aged) and then old on his coins. However, our study revealed that the introduction of portraits depicting an older king did not mean the disappearance of portraits depicting a younger one: on the contrary, their production carries on (as an idealized portrayal of Euthydemos I?) along with a new monogram (𐎲), which suggests that these coins could be related to the rising to an elevated royal status of his son Demetrius I at the very end of the third century BCE (Figure 23.2).

Based upon a corpus of 666 gold, silver and bronze coins, we focused on the features of the obverse portrait, as well as the evolution of the style of the reverse, and were able to demonstrate a continuous evolution between all the groups which we created, thus linking the monograms 𐎠 and 𐎲 to a single mint, corroborating A. D. H. Bivar's hypothesis (1951, 23–29). Interestingly enough, the first strikes of Euthydemos I are characterized by the presence of gold staters, but more importantly by the use of an obverse die of Diodotos I, revealing the taking over of the latter's mint. It is now well-established that striking gold is a royal act *par essence* (Capdetrey 2007, 128), and it only makes sense that Euthydemos I decided to issue such coins in the context of the civil war against the Diodotids. By the end of his coinage, the reverse style achieved some kind of uniformity, with the disappearance of the dotted border and the legend engraved rather symmetrically, seemingly framing the seated Herakles.

How the siege of Bactra may have influenced this coinage depends upon how the unique gold octadrachm must be interpreted: could it be an issue immediately following the victory against Antiochos III? The rare written sources regarding this major military event (Polyb. 10.49; 11.34; 29.12.8) place the conclusion of the siege between the summer of 207 and 206 BCE. On the other hand, the invasion of Bactria by Antiochos III, in the lack of more precise data, is often considered alongside the siege of Bactra, especially regarding its exceptional duration: two years from 208 to 206 BCE. It thus does not seem unrealistic to consider that it most likely lasted less than a year, probably around a few months, which would account for both the fame of the siege, and Antiochos III's impatience leading to a rapid issue.

MONOGRAMS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

The meaning of the monograms has puzzled numismatists for a long time, and “constitutes one of the major problems of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek numismatics” (Bopearachchi 1991, 31). Their interpretation is almost entirely based upon the numismatic evidence, given the near complete lack of archaeological data in this area. Thus, monograms have been successively interpreted as:

- city names (e.g. Wilson 1841, 223)
- regnal years (Cunningham 1884, 98)
- monetary magistrate marks (Tarn 1938, 437)
- mint marks (Bopearachchi 1991, 32)
- marks of private firms mandated by the king (Fussman 1972, 34)

With the development of numismatic studies, monograms are often associated with each other based upon die-studies, style or legend. In 2003, based upon a die-study of the Indo-Scythian Bara hoard, as well as die-links among Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, O. Bopearachchi (2003, 49–53) estimated the number of mints in the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom to be at least three or four. Without giving any definitive answer to their meaning, the author outlines a chrono-typological frame for monograms of both kingdoms from those which are die-linked, or connected by the style and/or the epigraphy.

Under Seleukid rule, almost all coins bear one or several monograms, two most of the time, engraved on the reverse. Their interpretation remains difficult, while for some of them, their geographical distribution is well known (mints of Seleukia-on-Tigris, Antioch, Amphipolis, Bactra, etc.), which allow us to keep track of their history through their opening, relocation or even the discontinuity of their activity. G. Le Rider discarded the hypothesis of monetary magistrates, by doubting the existence of a public office regularly elected in order to supervise the continuous striking of coins, that is a magistrate. On the other hand, mint personnel would be a credible alternative, in the form of punctual monetary commissions. Recently, G. G. Aperghis (2010, 57–58) argued in favour of a “utilitarian” hypothesis, for which monograms and symbols could represent, as for the first, the magistrate responsible for striking the coin, and as for the second, the official recipient (a civil/military/financial administrator or a commanding officer).

Under Diodotos I, the number of monograms (including their variants) which may be attributed to a single mint due to the obverse die-links is particularly noteworthy: , , ,  and . It thus seems logical to discard Cunningham’s hypothesis of city names: several Greek letters are absent whether from the name *Ζαριάστρα* or *Βάκτρα*. During the Seleukid period, the monogram , assigned to Bactra by E. T. Newell, already hinted at a similar conclusion. Altogether, the coinage of Diodotos I is rather difficult to assign to a mint in Bactra, apart from the logic of continuity with his predecessors. Finally, the question of Diodotos II’s mint still remains open: why did his monograms disappear after his death?

Euthydemos I takes over Diodotos I’s mint (represented by the monograms  and ) to strike his first coins, and will carry on with it during the whole of his

reign. His gold and silver coins would thus have been struck in Bactra, an attribution we give with the requisite caution. Monograms ,  and  are characterized by portraits of a different style within the same monogram, i.e. the work of different engravers, thus clearly establishing that monograms are not engravers' marks. The most striking point concerning Euthydemos I's mint is the lengthy use of the monogram , progressively replaced by . Its appearance would, typologically speaking, match the time when old portraits were already present on tetradrachms. Thereby, it is not illogical to think that this could be related to a likely co-regency of some sort with Demetrius I.

Somewhat surprisingly, a monogram used by the Seleukids, , makes a comeback under Euthydemos I. The origin of the bronze coins bearing this monogram is therefore to be found at Bactra, if credit can be brought to Newell's hypothesis. Bronze coins without monograms, particularly common among the coinages of Diodotids and Euthydemos I, are problematic. How may this absence be explained? Paul Bernard (1985, 16–17) expressed his doubts about a perfect symmetry between precious metal and bronze issues, which would draw a parallel with the disappearance of this absence after the death of Eukratides I. As for Ai Khanoum, it does indeed seem that its mint did not strike silver coins before Demetrios I and the monogram . In any case, the appearance of  in the coinage of Euthydemos I as well as in the frame of a single mint hypothesis could argue in favour of a magistrate's mark.

All things considered, and following Gérard Fussman's assertion, we are able to say what monograms are not, but not what they are. We consider the hypothesis of officinae's marks to be rather unlikely, as one must thus ponder that the dies would need to be moved from one officina to the other, which would be counter-productive to the goal of distributing the monetary production. We are therefore left with the hypothesis of monetary magistrates' marks, based upon several of our conclusions, although this theory remains unsettled, and particularly in order to explain the exceptional longevity of several monograms.

MONETARY PRODUCTION AND MINTS

The coinages of Diodotos I, Diodotos II and Euthydemos I studied in this paper are all characterized by a scalable evolution, with the ability to adjust to multiple circumstances: armed conflict (whether the outcome is victory or defeat), expansion of monetary production, political upheaval. Although it is difficult to establish a link between economic prosperity and a noticeable variety in types and monograms, the totals of obverse dies (d_o) identified tend to demonstrate numerically significant productions:

• Diodotos I:	23 d_o for gold	86 d_o for silver	
• Diodotos II:	4 d_o for gold	29 d_o for silver	
• Euthydemos I:	9 d_o for gold	192 d_o for silver	73 d_o for bronze

Based on these results, we are able to address questions regarding monetary production. This concept has especially been discussed by François de Callata through statistic tools which allow us to estimate the productivity of dies, their original number and the 'survival rate' of known coins in order to put ancient coinages into a wider

Table 23.1 n/d index according to each coinage.

King	<i>n</i> (AV)	<i>d</i>	<i>n/d</i>	<i>n</i> (AR)	<i>d</i>	<i>n/d</i>	<i>n</i> (Æ)	<i>d</i>	<i>n/d</i>
Diodotos I	236	23	10,3	229	86	2,7			
Diodotos II	4	4	1	65	29	2,2			
Euthydemos I	12	9	1,3	531	192	2,8	123	73	1,7

picture (see especially de Callata 2006). All things considered, recent numismatic studies and experimental archaeology give an appraisal of a production of 15,000 to 30,000 coins per obverse die, which is the range we shall keep. Furthermore, one of the first pieces of information given by die-studies is the *n/d* index, that is the number of coins (*n*) divided by the number of obverse dies (*d*). The lower the index (less than 3 in this instance), the greater the doubt about the original number of dies, since the likeliness to get closer to it diminishes as the *n/d* index reaches 1: the closeness between both numbers is then a warning that other dies may not have been accounted for.

The goal of such a method is certainly not to give a final and detailed account of ancient coinages, but rather to understand the broad amount of coins which were struck and circulated under the Graeco-Bactrian rulers, and to put these numbers into perspective with historical events. As we may see on Table 23.1, the *n/d* index is mostly quite low, equal to 2 or less. It is therefore interesting to note that the sole exception – Diodotos I's gold staters – can be attributed to their common typology as well as to the particular origin of these coins, that is the Vaisali hoard, discovered in 2000 in India (see Bordeaux 2018, 154–165 for a partial reconstruction of this hoard). It is thus vital to use this tool series by series, or at least by chrono-typological groups, in order to provide workable data.

Altogether, during the Hellenistic period we are left with one indisputable mint striking bronze coins north of the Hindu Kush, which is Ai Khanoum, and several probable ones, such as Afrasiab or Bactra. Further archaeological investigations are however still required to confirm the latter ones. With strong arguments backing up the existence of a single mint striking gold and silver coins now, it is tempting and logical to locate it in Bactra, the capital of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, although, in the lack of any decisive element, we cannot assert it. What is more, it is far from implausible that, in the long term, mints may be relocated due to factors escaping the numismatic analysis (loss of territory, political upset, etc.).

CONCLUSION

The Graeco-Bactrian kings did strike a lot, and adapted their monetary policies to the technical constraints of their mints, as demonstrated by the stylistic variety on both the obverse and reverse of the coins of Diodotos I, Diodotos II and Euthydemos I. The first 60 years of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom thus consist of a slow but clear evolution from Seleukid habits following the monetization of Bactria since the end of the fourth century BCE, towards a complete takeover by the Graeco-Bactrian kings, monetary magistrates and engravers. Coinage is a first-class tool regarding independence, although it is clearly destined to circulate inside the kingdom: whatever

the political message is, the Graeco-Bactrians and Bactrians are the targeted audience. Only with the end of the siege of Bactra do we find realistic portraits on coins. Altogether, the first kings seem to be barely concerned with the truthfulness of their portraits: this tendency will progressively disappear with the reigns of Euthydemus II and Antimachos I, whose portraits look significantly alike despite a great number of different monograms. The die-studies reveal a strongly centralized monetary production as far as the gold and silver coinages are concerned, most likely closely linked to the heart of political power (whether it is located in Bactra, Ai Khanoum, or elsewhere). It is difficult to establish how coins were put into circulation inside the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, although military movements are a prospective hypothesis, in regards to the nomadic ‘threat’ mentioned by Euthydemus I.

REFERENCES

- G. G. Aperghis, ‘Recipients and End-Users on Seleukid Coins’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 53/2 (2010), pp. 55–84.
- P. Bernard, *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors-trésors. Questions d’histoire gréco-bactrienne*, Mémoires de la Délégation Française en Afghanistan 27 (Paris: Boccard, 1985).
- P. Bernard, G.-J. Pinault & G. Rougemont, ‘Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l’Asie centrale’, *Journal des Savants* (2004), pp. 227–356.
- D. H. Bivar, ‘The Bactra Coinage of Euthydemus and Demetrius’, *Numismatic Chronicle* 41 (1951), pp. 22–39.
- O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1991).
- O. Bopearachchi, ‘Sophytes, the Enigmatic Ruler of Central Asia’, *Nomismatika Chronika* 15 (1996), pp. 19–32.
- O. Bopearachchi, ‘La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l’Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d’Alexandre)’, *Indologica Taurinensia* 25 (1999), pp. 15–119.
- O. Bopearachchi, *An Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coin Hoard from Bara (Pakistan)* (Seattle: Amir Nawaz Khan, 2003).
- O. Bordeaux, ‘Review of B. Kritt, *The Seleukid Mint of Ai Khanoum*’, *Topoi* 21/2 (2017), pp. 647–656.
- O. Bordeaux, *Les Grecs en Inde. Politiques et pratiques monétaires (iii^e s. a. C. – i^{er} s. p. C.)*, Ausonius Numismatica Antiqua 8 (Bordeaux: Ausonius Editions, 2018).
- L. Capdetrey, *Le pouvoir séleucide. Territoire, administration, finances d’un royaume hellénistique (312–129 avant J.-C.)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007).
- A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander’s Successors in the East* (Chicago: Argonaut Inc., 1976, reprint of 1884).
- I.M. D’iakonoff & E. V. Zejmal, ‘Pravitel’ Parfii Andragor i iego monety’ [Правитель Парфии Андратор и его монеты], *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 4 (1988), pp. 4–19.
- F. de Callata, *Quantification et numismatique antique. Choix d’articles (1984–2004)*, (Wetteren: Moneta, 2006).
- T. Faucher, L. Brousseau & J. Olivier, ‘Expérimentations sur la technique de fabrication des monnaies grecques: approches, réalisation, perspectives’, in F. Tereygeol (ed.) *Comprendre les savoir-faire métallurgiques antiques et médiévaux. Actes de la table-ronde, décembre 2009, Saclay* (Paris: Errance, 2013), pp. 71–99.
- G. Fussman, ‘Intailles et empreintes indiennes du Cabinet des Médailles de Paris’, *Revue Numismatique* 176, pp. 21–48, 1972.

- F. L. Holt, *Thundering Zeus, The Making of Hellenistic Bactria* (Berkeley: University of California Press Society, 1999).
- J. Jakobsson, 'Antiochos Nicator, the Third King of Bactria?', *Numismatic Chronicle* 170 (2010), pp. 17–33.
- S. Jansari, 'The Sophytes Coins: From the Punjab to Bactria and Back Again', *Numismatic Chronicle* 178 (2018), pp. 71–98.
- S. Kovalenko, 'The Coinage of Diodotos I and Diodotos II, Greek Kings of Bactria', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1995–1996), pp. 17–74.
- B. Kritt, *Dynastic Transitions in the Coinage of Bactria. Antiochos-Diodotos-Euthydemos*, Classical Numismatic Studies 4 (Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group, 2001).
- B. Kritt, *New Discoveries in Bactrian Numismatics*, Classical Numismatic Studies 8 (Lancaster/London: Classical Numismatic Group, 2015).
- G. Le Rider, *Alexandre le Grand. Monnaies, finances et politiques* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003).
- W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Chicago: Ares Publisher Inc., 1985, reprint of 1938).
- H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua, A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan* (London: East India Company, 1841).
- C. D. Zeng, 'Some Notable Die-Links among Bactrian Gold Staters', *Numismatic Chronicle* 173 (2013), pp. 73–78.

CHAPTER 24

THE LAST PHASE OF THE INDO-GREEKS

Methods, interpretations and new insights in reconstructing
the past



Shailendra Bhandare

The coinage of the Indo-Greeks presents us with the most extensive body of evidence to reconstruct fundamental elements of their history, such as chronology and order of rulers. Since the inception of Indological studies by pioneers like James Prinsep, James Tod and Horace Wilson, the coins have been analysed through aspects intrinsic to them such as the legends or portraits they bear, and through inferences drawn to suggest a host of historical possibilities. The study of coins has presented us with many theories as regards the individual chronology and dynastic placement of the rulers and the geographic extent of their rule. The importance of numismatic evidence for the discourse can be easily judged from the fact that if there were no coins, we would have known only two rulers from other sources of history, but from coins, we know of more than twenty-five.

Of particular interest to this paper is the very end of the Indo-Greek sequence and the final demise of these rulers, which is now by and large believed to have happened in the region of north-northeast Punjab – which, in terms of its present political geography, is the area located to the east of the River Indus, and south of the Pakistani capital Islamabad, watered by the rivers Chenab, Jhelum and Ravi. Chronologically (and with a caveat that the dates indicated here suggest a broad consensus, rather than historical accuracy) we would be looking at rulers after the rule of Apollodotos II (c.80–65 BC), which include Dionysios (c.65–55 BC), Zoilos II (c.55–35 BC) and Apolophanes (c.35–25 BC) followed by two or three rulers named ‘Strato’ that fit in the approximate bracket of three decades on either side of the inception of AD. As we will see, there has been uncertainty about how to treat these ‘Stratos’ with regard to their mutual relationship and the epithets they bear.

The study of the Indo-Greeks spans nearly two hundred years of historiography and it is beyond the scope of this chapter to take stock of every contribution made on this particular subject; however, in the following pages I shall focus on a few salient contributions, namely those of Michael Mitchiner (1975), Osmund Bopearachchi (1991) and Robert Senior (1997–2015). I will discuss the methods deployed by these contributors and the interpretations they have arrived at. Of course, the discussion will not be limited exclusively to these three and at times I will draw upon secondary contributions such as those of Jakobsson (2010) and others. In the final part, I intend to argue, on the basis of the evidence either ignored

by the previous researchers, or not known to them, for new ways of looking at the final phase of the Indo-Greeks.

METHODS

Numismatic features and their deployment

Amongst the features that constitute the basic numismatic type of late Indo-Greek coins, three features have been deployed in their analysis: portraiture, monograms and reverse motifs. Even in the 19th century it was recognized that the coins of the Indo-Greek rulers share certain reverse motifs, and this was interpreted to suggest a dynastic connection or continuity between those who do. A chart illustrated by Senior in Volume IV of his tome “Indo-Scythian Coins and History” (hereinafter referred to as ISCH) illustrates this approach well (Senior 2006: xxvii). However, since the coins of the rulers we will be discussing show a very limited range of reverse types, this method of analysis has not found any particular favour in order to draw any inferences. The other two methods have contributed a significant share to the analysis of these coins.

Monograms – their nature and sequences

An overwhelming number of Indo-Greek coins bear upon them ciphers made of combinations of Greek letters, referred to by numismatists as ‘monograms’. Usually, they are placed on the reverse of coins but in some instances their placement on the obverse is also noted. What precisely they refer to has not yet been convincingly explained; however, it is almost certain that they denote a mint or minting-related function. Alexander Cunningham, possibly because of his familiarity with other Hellenistic coinages, suggested they were mint marks (1845: 177) – to quote his exact words: “Indeed, it seems to me obvious, that when the same monograms are found on the coins of several princes, they must represent the names either of persons or of places; that is, of mint-masters, or of mints. It was this conclusion that led me to attempt the explication of the monograms”. But scant archaeological evidence is available to suggest there might be a connection between a mark and a place or site. However, R. B. Whitehead (1914: 3–4) cautioned against this particular ‘decoding approach’ to the monograms. Notwithstanding that, Michael Mitchiner offered explanations for the letter combinations – ‘control marks’ as he called them – to suggest place names (for example, see 1975: 183–184, tables XXIX and XXX) and suggested that these were the actual mint sites where these coins were minted. So, for example, a coin bearing a monogram composed of the letter ‘Beta’ was taken to be struck at Bannu or a monogram consisting of the letters ‘Pi’ and ‘Kappa’ to suggest ‘Panjhir’. Of course, not all monograms could be envisaged to have such clearly attributable components so attributions were made in a completely arbitrary manner. But this approach became very popular among coin collectors because it gave them a convenient label to devise a taxonomy to describe and attribute coins in their collections. Boppearachchi regarded the monograms to have a ‘raison sociale’ (1991: 33) thereby suggesting that social components, such as kinship or artisanal ties, were also responsible for the creation and passage of monograms over types and reigns.

While there is no evidence that individual monograms suggest specific sites where the coins were minted, there is no doubt that certain monograms are shared across a numismatic spectrum of issuing rulers and/or denominations. This makes them valuable tools for creating series and offering a mode to fit them into an alternative taxonomy, which can then be deployed as evidence to draw historical inferences. Particularly useful are cases where the monograms are shared by rulers from more than one issuing authority, for example those shared by the Indo-Greek rulers Philoxenos, Archebios and Amyntas, and the Indo-Scythian ruler Maues (Mitchiner 1975: 184, Table XXX). This has helped to deploy them in inferring the close contemporaneity of Maues with these other rulers. Sometimes, numismatists have also taken the liberty to see a particular ‘determinism’ in the monograms – for example, some monograms through the similarities in the constituent letters are said to have been ‘derived’ or ‘evolved’ out of precursors and this observation is then deployed to outline a historical process, such as the geographic extent of authority or political succession. A ‘flow chart’ illustrated by Senior is a good example of this approach (Senior 2001: 57).

A feature often noted alongside the monograms is the occurrence of letters. They appear almost invariably on the reverse. In a chronological sense, this is a later feature; the first instances noted are on copper issues of Menander I Soter (Boperachchi 1991: serie 28.F to K; Serie 29.B) and Strato I (Bopearachchi 1991: série 31.A, B and E, F). From the reign of Apollodotos II onwards, they become far more common and occur either on their own, or in conjunction with other Greek monograms, and either as a single letter or two different ones. They too present an enigma as to what their exact role was but it is widely believed they were some sort of control or privy marks. Numismatists have treated them as secondary to the Greek monograms and they almost never feature in the discourse as analytical tools, in the same way as the Greek monograms do. Perhaps the reason for this is that the discourse has evolved with an emphasis on the ‘classical’ aspects of the coins rather than the ‘non-classical’ or ‘Indian’ aspects. The classical aspects are always given a discursive precedence in the way they are observed, noted and deployed in analysis.

Portraiture and ‘realism’

The way the Indo-Greek rulers have been depicted on their coins has often been used as a device to create a ‘visual series’, and often the details in which certain features (for example, ‘hair on the head’ or ‘cheek bones’ (see Jakobsson 2010: 37–39)) have been executed are used specifically to argue for interconnections between issues of a single ruler. Here again, a certain sense of ‘determinism’ is evident – ‘crudely’ executed portraits are often considered ‘later’ issues than ‘finely’ executed portraits. The coins of the Indo-Greeks, for most series and particularly in silver, are very well-executed. The dies are engraved skilfully and in high relief, paying attention to details like hair on the head and in some instances, on the face, or folds of the cloth below the neck, or armour. Smaller denominations, in spite of being struck on much smaller flans and with smaller dies, show the same degree of skilful detailing as that seen on the larger denominations. It is well understood that these skills diminish over the chronological spectrum, and for the last few rulers such as the ones that are the focus of this paper, the portraiture becomes rigid, lifeless and outright crude. However, lately some researchers like Jakobsson have pleaded for a ‘more careful’ approach

towards these crude portraits and to consider the element of ‘realism’ in them more seriously (Jakobsson 2010: 47–48).

Hoard and hoard analysis

Hoard of Indo-Greek coins have played a vital role in reconstructing their history through numismatic research. They were inventoried as part of an inventory of Greek coin hoards in general as early as 1925 (Noe 1925) which was updated in 1973 (Thompson et al. 1973). Several famous hoards, including the ‘Oxus Treasure’, the Qunduz hoard, the Ai-Khanoum hoard, the Mir Zakah (I and II) hoards, have featured in the discourse on chronology and history of the Indo-Greeks. In the recent past, many more have been published. To demonstrate the importance of how hoard analysis has proven important for the particular period we are looking at, a cursory glance at the chart provided by Boperachchi (1991: 130) should suffice. Senior, in his contributions on the subject of the final phase of the Indo-Greeks has based much of his arguments, which we will see further in this paper, on two important hoard finds, namely Chakwal and Jhang (Senior 2006, Senior 2013).

But here a caveat needs to be made – most ‘hoards’ that have been reported in the past four decades have not been found as an outcome of scientific archaeological research. They regularly appear on the numismatic market as ‘packets’, or small groups, many times in dribs and drabs, over a period of time (see further Glenn in this volume). In many cases their nature as a ‘hoard find’ is assessed by external and subjective characters, such as a common patina or accretions the coins carry at best, and verbal details of their finds provided by their purveyors at worst. It also needs to be noted that the use of the word ‘hoard’ to describe such aggregates can also be sometimes misleading – one would presume that the aggregate has been found as a single cultural deposit, or is a part of one, if it were to be understood as a ‘hoard’, but in many instances this is not the case. Communities like gold washers have been active over centuries in South Asia, scavenging for precious metal residues in riverbeds. Sometimes, they come across a large number of coins and artefacts from a single layer of deposits which has been washed into the water as a result of the annual or biennial flooding of the rivers in the region. These scavenged artefacts often betray the signs of having the same patina but they might not originally have been deposited as a single group. Equally contentious is the perception that most such ‘hoards’ have surfaced as a result of intentional destruction of archaeological sites for gathering spolia. Urban pressure on several South Asian sites has given way to construction activities over which regulatory agencies have no control. Often the finds are made as an unintentional consequence of such activities.

Issues like this limit the utility of reports of ‘hoards’ in numismatic literature in terms of their deployment as sources of historical information. Of course, one recourse is to turn to officially reported hoards and compare the material reported from unofficial ‘hoards’ with their contents to provide an element of veracity to the exercise.

Counterstriking

When one issuing authority uses the coins struck by another issuing authority as templates or ‘blanks’ (to use the common numismatic term employed for a piece of

metal held and struck between dies to yield a ‘coin’) to produce its own coins, the process is referred to as ‘counterstriking’ and the result is a ‘counterstruck’ coin. Counterstriking gives us an incontrovertible sequence in terms of issuance – the authority that counterstrikes the coins can only exist as a contemporary or a successor of the authority whose coins are being counterstruck. When the authority is a king, we can safely say that king B existed either contemporarily or later than king A, if king B is counterstriking the coins of king A.

Counterstruck coins have helped a great deal in reconstructing the chronology of the Indo-Greeks and their sequences. An up-to-date list of such instances is provided by Senior (2006: xvi–xx). It includes not only ‘intra-series’ linkages which this numismatic phenomenon has brought forth, but also ‘inter-series’ linkages, like coins of the Indo-Scythians being counterstruck upon those of Indo-Greeks and vice versa.

INTERPRETATIONS BASED ON THE METHODS: RECONSTRUCTING THE LAST PHASE

If one ignores the specifics, the general historical narrative for the last phase of the Indo-Greeks could be summed up in a few short sentences: After the reign of Apollodotos II, his kingdom appears to have been split into two parts, with the River Indus as a marker of the boundary. In the trans-Indus areas, Apollodotos II was succeeded by Hippistratos, whose realms were soon taken over by the invading Scythians under the great king Azes. In the cis-Indus region, the successors of Apollodotos II appear to have held on for a while, with a number of rulers following him – Dionysios, Zoilos II, Apollophanes, and finally, the rulers named ‘Strato’. Some presumably ‘non-Greek’ entities also come into this narrative, namely a ruler named Bhadrashya, the Scythian Kshatrapas, Rajuvula and his son Shodasa and a Kshatrapa of the Kshaharata family named Higaraka.

However the narrative is obviously not as simple and straightforward as that. Various issues complicate it. There were clearly more than one ruler with the name ‘Strato’ and largely the recognition and accommodation of these in the narrative is the work of Senior, as they were unknown to both Mitchiner and Bopearachchi. These two scholars put the issues of ‘Strato II’ who held the epithet ‘Soter’ (or *Tratara* in Prakrit) at the end of the Indo-Greek sequence. Some of his issues are known to bear legends which indicate that there was yet another ‘Strato’, who held the epithet ‘Philopator’ (or *Priyapita* in Prākṛit), who was co-ruler with him. He was identified as a ‘grandson’ of Strato II, by Mitchiner following an interpretation of the legend given by Rapson. However, Senior suggested that Strato Philopator was in fact a distinct ruler (Senior 1993) and also suggested that Rapson’s contention, followed by Mitchiner, to regard him as a ‘grandson’ of Strato II, was in fact wrong because the legends do not suggest any such relationship. To make matters more complicated (or exciting!), Senior published coins of yet another ruler named ‘Strato’, who struck coins with the epithet ‘Dikaois’, (or *Dhramika* in Prakrit).

The narrative is further problematized by Jakobsson who envisaged the existence of one more king named ‘Zoilos’, calling him ‘Zoilos III’ (Jakobsson 2010). He posulated this view on the basis of the fact that the silver drachms struck in the name of Zoilos II bear varieties of portraits of two kinds – an older, ‘balding’ portrait and a

younger, ‘hair with a fringe on the forehead’ portrait. Jakobsson has pleaded for the coins struck with the latter sort to be regarded as issues of a new king, distinct from Zoilos II, who should be named as Zoilos III.

In denominational terms, all these rulers struck silver (often debased) and copper coins, with a smattering of lead issues, which are known particularly for the very last Indo-Greek rulers and the Scythian Kshatrapas. The silver coins are all ‘Indian standard’ drachms and generally of a single type – bust of the ruler on obverse and Athena Alkidemos on the reverse. Usual type features, such as monograms composed of Greek letters and individual Kharoṣṭhī letters, appear on reverse. The execution of the portrait can generally be regarded as crude but has some features which can be deployed in interpretations. The repertoire of Greek letter monograms is not very large and rapidly shrinks to only a single monogram for most of the later coins, like those of the rulers named ‘Strato’. On some coins, the Greek letter monogram is altogether absent, and only Kharoṣṭhī letters appear in the field around the Athena motif. The copper coinage comprises large rectangular units, which sometimes have half fractions, and legends in both Greek and Kharoṣṭhī. There also exist a series of smaller units, based on a denomination of c. 2.5–3 grams, which are largely monolingual – with legends only in Prākṛit/Kharoṣṭhī.

This interesting melange of rulers presents problems on many fronts. Determining their relative chronology and order is perhaps the most crucial and fundamental of these and the same set of methods just described has been deployed by all three contributors – Mitchiner, Boppearachchi and Senior – producing varying inferences. They have treated type features, hoard evidence and monogram sequences in different orders of priority. By far, Senior’s contributions are the most up to date and override the inferences drawn by the other two, mainly because Senior presents new evidence; however, it does not mean that they offer a final resolution to the problem of chronology or indeed that they are not contentious. Although the fundamental question is how to fit these rulers in time and space, sometimes we interestingly find remarks about subjects secondary to this, like the ethnic ‘nature’ of who these rulers were and how they regarded themselves.

Mitchiner sets the tone of his analysis by suggesting that “it is necessary to consider the various separate provinces that comprised this kingdom. This is best achieved by looking at the different sequences of the kings who used particular groups of control marks” (Mitchiner 1975: 238). He then populates this model by assigning certain monograms to certain regions, albeit entirely arbitrarily and creates a narrative of Scythian advance and Indo-Greek decline. His interpretations sometimes wander into the realm of identity politics – for example, he envisages the emergence of “a concept of essential unity among the Indo-Greek kingdom despite the existence of a number of contemporary kings” (Mitchiner 1975: 239) when evidence suggests that the kingdom is actually fragmenting. He also reckons that after the reign of Hippostratos the successor of Apollodotos II in the western part of the kingdom, the “concept of a plural kingship and of regionalisation in government was no longer relevant because the Indo-Greek possessions in the East were restricted to a single district, now the kingdom of Jammu” (Mitchiner 1975: 239). This is a classic example of circular logic, because the ‘regionalisation’ Mitchiner had envisaged was the outcome of his own theory of grouping monograms per regions, when there is little evidence to that effect!

The “kingdom of Jammu” that Mitchiner refers to essentially had coins with a particular monogram (best described as ‘boxed E and Y’) circulating within it, and after Mitchiner the label ‘Jammu’ appears to have been stuck on the monogram and the coinage. In Bopearachchi’s contribution we find it shared by Zoilos II, Apollophanes, Strato II, (with and without Strato Philopator) and Rajuvula (Bopearachchi 1991: 127, fig. 11). Bopearachchi makes the same observation about the West-East split in the kingdom after Apollodotos II but he bases it on hoard analysis rather than monogram sequences and (arbitrary) assignments of monograms to regions. He also rightly puts Telephos, a ruler that Mitchiner had dated after Apollodotos II as his successor alongside Hippostratos, before Apollodotos II (Bopearachchi 1991: 129–133).

Jakobsson’s analysis also suffers from similar drawbacks. The identity of ‘Zoilos III’ on the basis of differently executed portraits is his own hypothesis for which no external corroboration is provided. All the other evidence which is subsequently presented to justify this hypothesis take it as a ‘given’, not ‘proposed’, and are made to fit in against the backdrop of a presumption which is Jakobsson’s own view. This sort of analysis thus becomes a classic example of a priori reasoning. Furthermore, what Jakobsson presents is only a selective sampling taken out of context with other comparable aspects of the same evidence structure. Zoilos II’s coins are known in at least three distinctly executed portraits, not just as ‘two distinct types’ as Jakobsson presents them (2010: 37). A recent report of a large hoard of late Indo-Greek coins by Gawlik (2018) clearly shows that apart from the ‘old/balding’ and ‘young/fringed hair’ portraits of Zoilos II, there exists a third portrait which could well be described as a ‘plump’ portrait given its bulbous cheeks. Secondly, to create a separation between Zoilos II and the putative ‘Zoilos III’, Jakobsson doubts if Zoilos II ruled before Dionysios (2010: 40), whereas the present evidence suggests that it was actually the other way round – Zoilos II appears to have ruled after Dionysios and not before. It is curious that Jakobsson dismisses the marker on which this postulation is based – the absence of a monogram from Dionysios’ coins – by a cursory comment: “but such coins may appear in future”! Thirdly, the ‘boxed E with Y’ monogram that Jakobsson contends to be a ‘later’ feature introduced on the coins of Zoilos II, is in fact introduced on coins of Dionysios as demonstrated by Senior (Senior 2006: 131). The posteriority of Zoilos II to Dionysios is also demonstrated by the fact that both kings issue coins with the ‘balding head’ portrait, with the same Greek monogram on the reverse, and it is evident that the bust on Zoilos II’s coins is a progression from the bust on Dionysios’ coins. This shows that functional activities in the mint, such as the skills of die engravers, contribute to aspects like differences in executing busts and they are not necessarily the result of a chronological separation between varieties of busts. This is further confirmed by the fact that there is a direct correlation between portrait styles and the Kharoṣṭhī letters the coins bear – all silver drachms with specific portrait styles which Jakobsson takes to be of different rulers also have specific set/s of Kharoṣṭhī letters even though they share the same Greek ‘boxed E and Y’ monogram. Judging by these shortcomings in Jakobsson’s arguments, it is difficult to agree with him in the matter of his theory of imagining a king named ‘Zoilos III’ only on the basis of portraiture.

By far the most detailed narrative of what happened in the final phase of the Indo-Greeks in this “Kingdom of Jammu” is offered by Senior on the basis of two ‘hoards’, namely those found at Chakwal and Jhang (Senior 2006: 130–147 and Senior 2013).

Prior to the publication of these hoards, he had provided a numismatic analysis of the final phase of the Indo-Greeks in 1997 (Senior 1997). However by his own admission (personal communication, email dated 31st January 2019), it has been revised largely by the study of the aforementioned hoards, in which he provided many new coins, particularly of Zoilos II, Apollophanes and the kings named 'Strato'.

The principal 'new discoveries' from these hoards included previously unknown king-monogram-denomination combinations, which throw important light on the political succession in the region to the east and the south of Taxila. The composition of both hoards differs saliently – in Chakwal, we have coins bearing five monograms, whereas in Jhang, only three of the five are represented. Both the hoards contain coins of rulers earlier in the group (Apollodotos II, Dionysios and Zoilos II) but coins featuring Strato II and Strato Philopator together or Strato Philopator alone were absent from Jhang hoard. However, the Jhang hoard included the first ever known copper issue of Strato Dikaioi. In his analysis of the Chakwal hoard, Senior contended the issues of Strato Dikaioi to be earlier than the joint issues of Strato II and Strato Philopator, or the issues of Strato Philopator alone. He therefore takes the absence of these two rulers in the Jhang hoard as validation of this contention.

It must be noted at this juncture that Senior contemplated the existence of yet another king named 'Strato' based on a small group of drachms which have a very different obverse portrait than the issues of Strato II alone or the joint issues of Strato II and Strato Philopator. He called this king 'Strato (III?)' but it is very likely that these are just imitations of the coins in the name of Strato II. The phenomenon of coins being minted as imitations of an earlier type is a well-known one in Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian series.

Senior's most recent contribution (Senior 2018) on how the chronology of this period looks numismatically, takes into account not only his previous analyses of the Chakwal and Jhang hoards, but also the discovery of other interesting pieces of the jigsaw, such as the copper issues of Apollophanes. In his analysis, Senior suggests a chronological order for the rulers in the last phase typically deploying the methods described above, interpreting not only on the basis of monogram sequences and hoard data, but also on subjective aspects such as 'young-ness' and 'oldness' evident in the execution of portraits. Much like Mitchiner, some of Senior's narrative revolves around wider questions like the ethnicity of these rulers. Senior is keen to demonstrate the 'admixture' of Scythians in the Indo-Greeks at this instance – he repeatedly suggests that rulers like Hippostratos might have been 'part Scythian' owing to the fact they adopt motifs with a strong Scythian 'identity slant' such as horses. After all, as he contends, "this period was a time of the movement of peoples, of alliances made and of changing fortunes". The later kings with Greek names, according to Senior, were "most probably of a mixed race themselves, even though they had adopted a veneer of Greek culture and could possibly trace some lineage back to Greek forebears" (Senior 2018: 4). These views appear to stem from a type of the Indo-Greek ruler Artemidoros' coin that Senior first published on which the Kharoṣṭhī legend was read to translate as "Of Artemidoros, the son of King of Kings, Maues", making him a person having an ostensibly Greek name but a Scythian parentage (Senior & MacDonald 1998: 55). The translation has been questioned and suggested to mean "Of Artemidoros, and the Son of King of Kings Maues", and the coin type suggested to be issued jointly by these two individuals (Bopearachchi 2008–9), so this particular

interpretation can no longer be considered as evidence of admixture between the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Scythians. Senior suggests a variety of possibilities of how other ruling entities, such as the king named Bhadrashya, whom he considers to be a Scythian, and the Scythian Kshatrapas (Mujatria, Higaraka, Rajuvula, Shodasa) whose coins form part of the currency picture alongside the coins of rulers with Greek names, fit in chronologically with them. However, these views and arguments are not within the purview of this paper.

Moving from Mitchiner to Senior, via Bopparachchi, we have a much clearer picture of what the ‘last phase’ of the Indo-Greeks looked like. All three agree on a West-East split in the Indo-Greek kingdom after Apollodotus II (c.80–65 BC), with Hippostratos and Telephos being his successors in the West, and Dionysios (c.65–55BC) in the East. Monogram sequences and hoard evidence suggest that he was followed by Zoilos II (c.55–35 BC). Senior (2013: 20) places Apollonophanes and Bhadrashya right after (or overlapping with the end of) Zoilos II’s rule and since coins of these two are relatively rare, he assigns a shorter chronological bracket to them (c. 35–25 BC). Judging by the similarities in portraiture on Zoilos II’s coins, and the sharing of the same monogram, he infers that the ephemeral Strato Dikaios comes next, followed by Strato Soter (alias Strato II) from c. 20 BC onwards. His kingdom is rapidly dismembered between various Kshatrapas, such as Mujatria, Rajuvula and Shodasa. At some point in his reign, he co-opts his son Strato Philopator (alias Strato III) to rule with him, but as numismatic evidence suggests, Strato Philopator also struck an independent coinage of his own. Precisely where the rule/s of these two final Stratos end is still not certain, but one would imagine it to be somewhere in the first two decades of the Christian millennium.

While this is very likely the scenario for the last phase of the Indo-Greeks, there exists some interesting evidence that problematizes the picture a bit more. I will, in the final parts of this chapter, draw attention to it. At the outset it must be said that this data is not unknown or previously unpublished – it appears in many older publications, including Mitchiner, Bopparachchi and Senior; however the reason why they have left it uncommented is more to do with their methodological outlook. As I have outlined above, the methods deployed by these scholars have followed a particular discursive trajectory. They treat different aspects of numismatic evidence in ways which have been heavily influenced by how Classical and Hellenistic numismatists have treated similar sorts of data. The method of ‘looking for realism’ in coin portraits and inferring existence of ‘new’ rulers, as has been adopted by Jakobsson illustrates this approach well. The distinct analytical focus on ‘Greek letters’ monograms alone and the treatment of Kharoṣṭhī letters as something ‘secondary’, also stems from such ‘Helleno-centrism’. A direct outcome of this has been that the analytical ‘gaze’ of these contributors has always been fixed on the side of the picture as their narrative appears always evolving from the ‘Greek’ or ‘Gandhāran’ end of the story – the movement of people and formation of alliances which Senior refers to, always invariably happen from Gandhāra onwards and outwards, and ultimately the end of the “Kingdom of Jammu” is facilitated mainly by Scythians either through conquest or by social processes like intermarriage. What is entirely missing here is the ‘Indian’ side of the story.

To the east (and south) of the “Kingdom of Jammu”, there were Indian ruling entities existing exactly contemporarily to the last Indo-Greek rulers. A detailed study

of their coinage has been presented by Handa (Handa 2007). They are often referred to as ‘tribal’ polities, however in the Indic tradition, the Sanskrit word employed for them is *Gana* which translates more as ‘people/s’ than ‘tribe’. These polities were not only well-monetized but shared many features, particularly the metallic/denominational range, and bi-scriptural legends, with the Indo-Greeks. Hoard evidence from the Punjab (or presently, the Indian states of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh) suggests that coins of the Indo-Greeks and these polities even circulated together (Thompson et al 1973: no. 1870, found at Kangra and no. 1871, found at Jwala Mukhi). A map illustrated by Handa (2007: 32) is clearly indicative of the geographical proximity of the tribal polities like Audumbaras, Vemakas, Pauravas and Savitriputrakas to the so-called “Kingdom of Jammu”. It is therefore rather strange that they remain virtually amiss in the narrative of how the Indo-Greek kingdom declined and ended. The only scant attention paid to the ‘tribal’ polities of the Punjab is by Senior, when he first published the coins of Bhadrayasha, in which he opined that there might be some connection between the ancient site of Sāgala (Sialkot) now in the Pakistani Punjab, and Bhadrayasha, because a variant ancient name of Sāgala was ‘Bhadramkara’. He also cursorily suggested that Bhadrayasha may have been associated with the Udumbara tribe of Northern Punjab and perhaps, the Udumbaras had temporarily occupied Sāgala under Bhadrayasha (Senior 1998/99).

‘TRIBAL’ FEATURES ON LATE INDO-GREEK COINS (AND VICE VERSA):

While going through Senior’s publication of the Chakwal ‘hoard’ coins (Senior 2006: 138, 144), I came across a small copper coin attributed to Zoilos II (Figure 24.1). This coin was subsequently acquired by the late Adrian Hollis (Keble College, Oxford) whose collection now rests in the Ashmolean Museum. It is of the type listed by Bopearachchi as série 9A/ 9B, which has the standing figure of Apollo, facing right and offering a bow on the obverse. The obverse also has the ‘boxed E and Y’ monogram, characteristic of the ‘Jammu’ area. The motifs are enclosed in a crudely executed ‘astragalus’ border. On the reverse, there is an elephant walking to the right, with Kharoṣṭhī legends on three sides, *Maharajasa Tratarasa Jhoilasa*. Above the elephant, there is a pair of Kharoṣṭhī letters. An interesting feature this coin presents



Figure 24.1 Copper coin of Zoilos II with ‘trident battle-axe’, Ashmolean Museum, HCR45625.

is that a symbol appears on it in the top right-hand corner besides the ‘standing Apollo’ figure on the obverse. It is as if it has emanated out of the bow that he holds in an outstretched fashion. This symbol is a composite one and incorporates two ‘Indic’ features – there is a trident with a long shaft to which a battle axe is attached.

Senior lists this coin as his no. 96 (Senior 2006: 138). He also lists more coins of this sort which all vary in features that accompany the symbol: according to his description, one coin has the Kharoṣṭhī letter *Ra* below Apollo’s bow (listed as no. 95), another has *Va* while a third has *Ji*. On the reverse, above the elephant he notes that one coin bears the letters *Pa* and *Ga*?, the other bears *Pu* and *Ga*, while the third bears *Sha* and *Pa*. He has not illustrated the coin with *Va*, and from the illustrations he has supplied, it is evident that the third coin (listed as no. 97), does not bear the ‘trident-battle axe’ symbol. A few more specimens of the variety which has the ‘trident-battle axe’ symbol have been documented from other collections and the numismatic trade. They are illustrated here (Figure 24.2, Figure 24.3).

Taking all of them into account, we can build a better picture of how these coins are classified with respect to the features. It is evident that all coins that bear the ‘trident-battle axe’ symbol on the obverse have the Kharoṣṭhī letters *Pa/Pra* and *Gi* on the reverse, above the elephant. All the features on the obverse are not visible on every coin, but combining all known obverses, the obverse design appears to be



Figure 24.2 Copper coin of Zoilos II with ‘trident battle-axe’, Classical Numismatic Group, eAuction 451, lot 218, 49-2019, www.cngcoins.com.



Figure 24.3 Copper coin of Zoilos II with ‘trident battle-axe’, Stephen Album Rare Coins, Auction 18, Lot number 977, 16-1-2014, www.cngcoins.com.

composed of the standing Apollo in the centre, with the ‘boxed E and Y’ monogram in the upper left corner, the ‘trident-battle axe’ emblem in the upper right corner, the Kharoṣṭhī letter *Va/Ve* in the lower left corner and the Kharoṣṭhī letter *Ji* in the lower right corner. It is possible that on one coin (Senior no. 95, now in Ashmolean Museum, ex-Adrian Hollis) there is no letter in the lower right corner; however, it is equally likely that it might just have been worn off.

Investigating Zoilos II’s coinage further, we find that the occurrence of the ‘trident-battle axe’ symbol is not confined to small coppers alone. It also occurs on silver drachms – Bopearachchi lists three combinations, each with the ‘boxed E and Y’ monogram, as varieties of his série 1–R with Kharoṣṭhī letter *Ji*, 1–S with letter *Ha* and 1–T with letter *Sti* or *Sri* (Bopearachchi 1991: 403). Further to Bopearachchi’s listing, a couple of other varieties of drachms with the ‘trident-battle axe’ symbol have also been noted (Figure 24.4, Figure 24.5). An interesting point to be noted here is that at least on one coin, the symbol is apparently inserted in the design on the reverse while keeping all the three other aspects intact (the ‘boxed E and Y’ monogram, and the two Kharoṣṭhī letters). This suggests that the inclusion of the symbol must have been a deliberate act and exclusive of the functional aspects of the monogram and/or the Kharoṣṭhī letters. This would mean that when the symbol appears



Figure 24.4 Silver drachm of Zoilos II, with ‘trident battle-axe’ on reverse in addition to Greek monogram and a Kharoṣṭhī letter, Ashmolean Museum, HCR45529.



Figure 24.5 Silver drachm of Zoilos II, with ‘trident battle-axe’ on reverse in addition to Greek monogram and two Kharoṣṭhī letters, Ashmolean Museum, HCR45534.

in conjunction with only one Kharoṣṭhī letter (as seen on Bopearachchi's série 1 R, 1 S and 1 T), it is not just a substitution for another Kharoṣṭhī letter. The fact that it appears also on the coppers in exactly the same manner, i.e. in addition to the monogram and Kharoṣṭhī letters also points to a deliberate inclusion of the 'trident battle-axe' symbol in the design program.

The symbol appears on coins of two 'tribal' monarchies, namely the Audumbaras (Udumbaras) and the Vemakis, located on the 'Indian' side of the so-called 'Kingdom of Jammu' region. It appears to be a very specific symbol as it is not shared by any other coins of the tribal polities contemporary to the last of the Indo-Greeks. The symbol has distinct Shaivite overtones – the trident is an attribute of Shiva and the figure of Shiva holding a trident first appears on the coins of Gondophares (Senior 2001: Types 216.13 and 217.33). The 'trident-battle axe' symbol also appears distinctively on coins of later rulers, such as Vima Kadphises the Kushan king, who also demonstrate distinct Shaivite leanings in the choice of their titulature (Mitchiner 1978: nos. 3004 and 3006). The employment of distinctly Shaivite motifs like these on either side of the chronological spectrum of the 'last phase of the Indo-Greeks' points to the circulation of such symbols in the common cultural pool surrounding the last Indo-Greeks and the 'visuality' associated with them.

The onomastics of the Audumbara and Vemaki rulers who struck coins with this symbol clearly points to their Shaivite leanings. Their names are Rudradasa, and Shivadasa (Audumbaras) and Rudravarma and Shivaghosha (Vemakis). On Audumbara copper coins, the symbol appears next to an architectural structure with pillars and storeys which has often been considered to represent a Shiva temple. The legends on this type of coins mention 'Mahadeva', which is a well-known alternative name of Shiva. (Handa 2007: 31-33)

The religious and venerable nature of the symbol is most strikingly apparent on a series of silver coins some of which are struck in the name of Mahadeva (Handa 2007: 221-233, Appendix 1) and some bearing the names of Vemaki rulers who are described as 'victorious' (Handa 2007: 127-131). These coins fall in the same general typological category – on the obverse we have an elephant with Brāhmī legends and on the reverse, a standing bull with Kharoṣṭhī legends. These coins are struck to the same 'Indian drachm' standard as the Indo-Greek issues. The similarities between the motifs they bear to those on coins of Indo-Greek rulers have already been discussed, and attributed to the strategic location of these kingdoms on the trade route linking Greater Gandhāra to the Gangetic Valley (Handa 2007: 35). The elephant on these coins is depicted raising his trunk facing the 'trident-battle axe' symbol and on some coins, he is shown shielding the symbol with an umbrella held in his trunk. Both of these suggest acts of veneration for the symbol, and inter alia, must have stood for the veneration the issuing authorities must have held for their tutelary deity Shiva. The motif of the bull is in its own right a Shaivite motif, owing to the fact that Nandi the bull is regarded as Shiva's favourite mount. The coins which are struck in the name of 'Mahadeva' bear the legends *Bhagavato Mahadevasa Rajaraja/Rajarajña* ('Of Venerable Mahadeva, the King of Kings').

An interesting observation one can make here is that this sharing of symbols is not limited to the Indo-Greeks co-opting 'tribal' symbols – there exist tribal coins which show features borrowed from Indo-Greek coins, too. I bring to notice here two copper coins from the State Hermitage collection, St Petersburg, which are previously

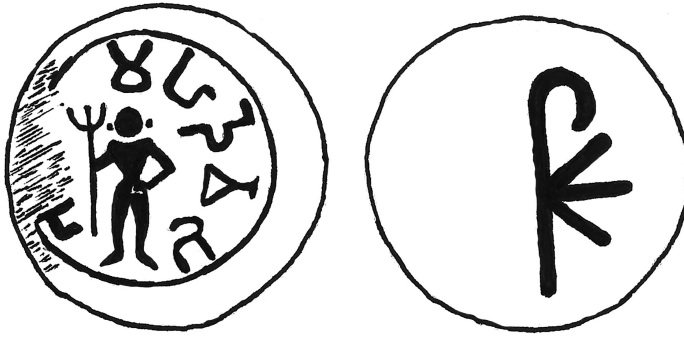


Figure 24.6 Copper coin struck in the name of ‘Bhagavata Mahadeva’, with monogram on reverse, State Hermitage, St Petersburg, no. 471 (image courtesy Dr Vera Gurulyova, curator).

unpublished (Figure 24.6). Much like the silver coins described above, they are struck in the name of the god Shiva; the Brāhmī legend on the obverse reads *Bhagavato Mahadevasa* and there is an image of a standing Shiva. But on the reverse, the coins bear a symbol which clearly mimics a Greek monogram. While no exact parallel to this monogram has been noted among those which occur on Indo-Greek coins, it is very similar to the monograms no. 62 in Bopearachchi’s list (Bopearachchi 1991: 394), and indeed very similar to part of a monogram which occurs on the ‘balding head’ portrait variety of Zoilos II’s silver drachms (Bopearachchi 1991: 363, série 1).

‘TRIDENT-BATTLE AXE’ – WHAT MIGHT IT TELL US?

The fact that a symbol of a distinctly Indic disposition is co-opted on some varieties of coins which are conceivably ‘Indo-Greek’ opens up a variety of interpretative possibilities. The most obvious reason one could imagine for such an inclusion would be to suggest the ‘tribal’ polities might have played a role in the decline of the Indo-Greeks. It is plausible to suggest that the symbol was co-opted by Zoilos II to indicate a sort of political connection with the ‘tribes’; it could be argued that there might have been an alliance between the Indo-Greek king or even that he was subservient to the ‘tribal’ polities at one point in his reign. It is also likely that these issues, although outwardly in the name of Zoilos II, were in fact struck by the ‘tribes’ when they took over parts of the ‘Kingdom of Jammu’; perhaps the mention of the king being ‘victorious’ found on the coins of Vemaki rulers Rudravarma and Bhavavarma could be better contextualized in this way. It is interesting that so far, the ‘trident-battle axe’ mark is found only on the ‘bust with fringed hair’-type of portrait that Jakobsson attributes to a new king ‘Zoilos III’. So perhaps it is likely that these coins are issues of a different authority: not of an Indo-Greek king named ‘Zoilos III’ but of the Audumbaras/Vemakis of the Punjab, in the name of Zoilos II.

One could keep guessing – as Robert Bracey had suggested (YouTube channel ‘Ten Minutes of History’, no. 2 www.youtube.com/watch?v=TwfMgeujQt4&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR3kGBwEdkW8MltnhCSm_xc1LzUIv5iIBg646AoCpJ4Y8Hrleo8A6rOpsNs), there are two ways numismatists would look at such instances of cross-pollination. The ‘propagandist’ position would advocate for more colourful

inferences, taking into account the intentionality of the occurrence of the symbol: the symbol would stand for deliberate indication of political or even anthropological developments, such as the Indo-Greeks going ‘native’ adopting distinctly ‘Indian’ identity parameters. On the other hand, the “functionalist” position would see this as a measure linked closely not with such broad and colourful interpretations, but with how coins circulated as a medium of exchange. The fact that copper coinage of the last Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythian Kshatrapas like Mujatria and the ‘tribal’ polities like Audumbaras and Vemakis, shares the same denominational structure is an indication of how the basic circulatory function of coins link different issuing authorities into a single denominational landscape. Each position will have its takers; however, what is more interesting here is the fact that this aspect has gone practically uncommented in the discourse so far. This sheds light on the ways the discourse on the ‘decline of the Indo-Greeks’ has presented itself and evolved over the years. It has shades of being ‘Gandhāro-centric’, with little attention being paid to what was happening on the other or the ‘Indian’ side of the border. In a recent paper (Bhandare 2018) I have outlined how particular numismatic methods, which I have called ‘taxonomic Othering’, have culminated in creating entire narratives which not only are fanciful but also in complete disregard of the archaeological evidence. That the instance of the ‘trident-battle axe’ symbol has gone unnoticed from the viewpoint of any socio-political commentary is another example of the lacunae created in our understanding at the behest of discursive and analytical strategies we adopt.

REFERENCES

- Bhandare, Shailendra (2018) – ‘Numismatics of the ‘The Other’: Investigating Coinage and ‘Greekness’ at Taxila, in *Buddhism and Gandhara: An Archaeology of Museum Collections*, ed. Himanshu P. Ray, New Delhi: Routledge India, pp. 70–103.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1991) – *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques, Catalogue Raisonné*, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
- Bopearachchi, O. (2008–9) – ‘Was Indo-Greek Artemidoros the Son of Indo-Scythian Maues? Amluk Dara Hoard Revisited’, *Numismatika Khronika*, vol. 27, Athens, pp. 25–36.
- Cunningham, Alexander (1845) – ‘An Attempt to Explain Some of the Monograms Found upon the Grecian Coins of Ariana and India’, *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, vol. 8 (APRIL, 1845–JANUARY, 1846), pp. 175–197.
- Gawlik, Heinz (2018) – ‘A Hoard of 127 Drachms of Later Indo-Greek Kings’, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, vol. 234, pp. 5–14.
- Handa, Devendra (2007) – *Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi.
- Jakobsson, Jens (2010) – ‘A Possible New Indo-Greek King Zoilos III, and an Analysis of Realism on Indo-Greek Royal Portraits’, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 170, 2010, Royal Numismatic Society, London, pp. 35–51.
- Mitchiner, Michael (1975) – *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage: Volume 3 – The Decline of the Indo-Greeks*, Hawkins, London.
- Mitchiner, Michael (1978) – *Oriental Coins and Their Values: The Ancient and Classical World*, Hawkins, London.
- Noe, S. P. (1925) – *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs no. 25, American Numismatic Society, New York.
- Senior, Robert (1993) – ‘The Father-Loving Strato’, *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, vol. 138, pp. 5–6.

- Senior, Robert (1997) – ‘The Last Greek Kings in India’, *Nomismatika Khronika*, vol. 16, Athens, pp. 67–77.
- Senior, Robert (1998/9) – ‘Bhadrayasha: a Scythian King?’, *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, vol. 158, pp. 17–20.
- Senior, Robert (2001) – *Indo-Scythian Coins and History* (3 volumes), Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, PA/London.
- Senior, Robert (2006) – *Indo-Scythian Coins and History: Vol. 4* (supplement), Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, PA/London.
- Senior, Robert (2013) – ‘The Jhang Hoard and Later Indo-Greeks’, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, vol. 213, pp. 19–24.
- Senior, Robert (2018) – ‘Late Indo-Greek Issues and Sequences’, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, vol. 232, pp. 4–9.
- Senior, Robert and MacDonald, D. J. (1998) – *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks: A Reappraisal of the Chronology from the Time of Menander to that of Azes*, Hellenic Numismatic Society, Athens.
- Thompson, M., Morkholm, O., and Kraay, C. (1973) – *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, American Numismatic Society, New York.
- Whitehead, R. B. (1914) – *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore: vol. 1 The Indo-Greeks*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

PART VI

CULTURE AND IDENTITY





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CHAPTER 25

AI KHANOU, BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

A composite architecture



Guy Lecuyot

The discovery of the Greek city of Ai Khanoum located in the north-east of Afghanistan provided, after the unsuccessful excavations in Bactra of A. Foucher followed by those of D. Schlumberger, testimony of the presence of Hellenism in Central Asia. After his research, Foucher, disappointed, spoke of a ‘Graeco-Bactrian mirage’¹ (see Fenet, this volume).

Ai Khanoum, with its ruins, constitutes material proof of the settlement of Greek populations in this part of the world and highlights an original architecture which, between tradition and innovation, illustrates the syncretism which developed in the Seleukid and then Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms. The remains of the last architectural phase of the city, the best known, dating from the end of the first half of the 2nd century BC, give a general view of both civic and religious architecture.

AI KHANOU

The city is located on the left bank of the Darya-i Pandj river (the upper course of the Amu Darya) at the confluence with one of its tributaries, the Kokcha (see fig 10.4 in this volume; see Martinez-Sève, this volume). The triangular area occupied by the city was enclosed within a rampart that completed its natural defences. It consisted of a lower city dominated by a wide tabular plateau – the upper city or ‘acropolis’ – about 60 meters higher than the rest of the site. It is in the lower city that the most important monuments (palace, main temple, gymnasium, theatre, arsenal) were located and it is also in this part that archaeological research has been mainly concentrated. South of this area, a residential area has been clearly identified as a quarter reserved for the ruling class of the colony. Several streets perpendicular to the main street and crossing the site from north-east to south-west, served its rows of houses.

From 1964, the date of the first survey carried out by D. Schlumberger and P. Bernard, until 1978, the Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA) conducted many excavation campaigns on this site thanks to the authorization of the Afghan government and funding from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Detailed field reports were regularly published, as the research progressed, by P. Bernard in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (CRAI), in 1965–1972, 1974–1976, 1978 and 1980 and in the *Bulletin de*

l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (BEFEO), LXIII (1976) and LXVIII (1980). The definitive publications were published in *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* (MDAFA), *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum* (nine volumes already published; for a recent summary of the work on the site, see Lecuyot ed. 2014 and Martinez-Sève, this volume).

In Uzbek, Ai Khanoum means 'Lady Moon' but we do not know the original name of the city founded in the Seleukid period under Seleukos I or Antiochos I (the earliest name may have been *Oskobara). The city was a royal residence and a provincial capital until it was abandoned by the Greeks who were driven out by nomadic invaders, first Saka and then Yuezhi, who plundered it and destroyed part of the city.

The abandonment of the city and of the north-eastern part of the Bactrian territory occurred after the assassination of Eukratides I, probably by his son, about 145/144 BC. Before the end of the 2nd century BC, Greek power gradually withdrew southward, into the territories south of the Hindu Kush, where it was known as the Indo-Greek kingdom, and finally disappeared at the turn of our era before being replaced by a new empire, the Kushans.

EUKRATIDEIA

The refoundation of the city under the name of Eukratideia undoubtedly marks the intention of King Eukratides (c. 171/170–145/144 BC) to confirm the rank of the city as a capital. It is on this occasion that a vast architectural program was launched. It can be seen in the emblematic buildings of the city, starting with the palace, but also in the gymnasium (Veuve 1987) and in the main sanctuary whose completion was stopped at the death of the king and the subsequent abandonment of the city by the Greek authorities. This last phase of (re)construction and development of the urban space corresponds to a monumentalization of the buildings that was intended to mark the reign and perhaps even create a true royal style (Lecuyot 2007). It is with local know-how and materials, and the use of the Greek decorative repertoire, that the builders recomposed the urban landscape from the foundations of the first buildings. Although very little is known of the architectural phases prior to the reign of Eukratides, the remains that we know already show a certain grandeur. The heroon, the gymnasium, the main temple, and the south-western house are the only buildings to have been excavated in depth. In the case of the palace, only a few older rooms were cleared to the west of the hypostyle entrance hall. Let us not forget that this colonial city was founded by the early Seleukids, probably originally for its strategic role, and it is undoubtedly at the time of Antiochos III and the first Graeco-Bactrian kings that the city developed greatly as a provincial capital and a royal residence.

Colonial architecture is above all that an architecture of compromise. In general, it tries to adapt the way of life of the settlers to different cultural and material environments. Using local resources, it creates a hybrid architecture of both cultures, mixing material and cultural influences to match the needs and requirements of the owners. It is inspired by elements seen and encountered in the surrounding area and in different neighbouring countries, creating its own, original architecture.

There are two main categories of architectural influence. Depending on the type of building (official, private or religious buildings), particular influences predominate: Western or Eastern. In official and private buildings, an ostentatious Greek-style

decoration asserts the political power of the Greek settlers even when the plans remain influenced by the eastern Mesopotamian and Achaemenid worlds with their well-marked separation of different functions.

For religious architecture, it is Syrian and Mesopotamian influence that seems to dominate in the temples (the main temple referred to as “temple à redans” and the temple outside the walls beyond the northern rampart),² while a podium located at the south-west corner of the upper city reflects Iranian influence.

As we know, this colonial architecture takes into account natural resources and local know-how, earth and bricks, stone or wood architecture, that correspond to climatic, geographical and historical data. Here, this architecture uses earth as a foundation material (adobe bricks and mud masonry), on which is placed stone decoration of Greek style comprising columns with bases, drums and capitals: Doric in the gymnasium and the palace (Veuve 1987, pp. 25–26, pl. 18d; Garczinski 1980, pp. 42, 90–91, pl. XIV, XXXIII), Ionic in the royal mausoleum with stone vault (Francfort and Liger 1976, p. 36, pl. XIV 2), with a wooden Ionic example in the temple (Bernard 1969, p. 351, fig. 24)³, and Corinthian as, for example, in the south portico of the large palace courtyard (Bernard et al 1973a, p. 32, pl. 37) and in the porch of the house outside the walls (Figure 25.1, Lecuyot 2013, pp. 114–115, pl. XXV 2–3). The edges of the roofs were ornamented with terracotta tiles and antefixes (Bernard et al 1973, pp. 13–15, pl. 99–102; Garczinski 1980, pp. 42–43, 91, pl. XVI). It also conveys the traditions, habits and customs of the owners, who remain all the more attached to their culture of origin as the distance increases from the ‘homeland’. This is illustrated by the presence of the Delphic maxims inscribed on a stele in the mausoleum of the founder of the city, Kineas. Its exhibition in this particular place testifies to the importance that the settlers accorded to this stele and the desire of the colonists to preserve their Hellenic identity (Robert 1973, pp. 211–237, pl. 108 ; Hoffmann Thiollier 2017). This is also the case in the presence of a

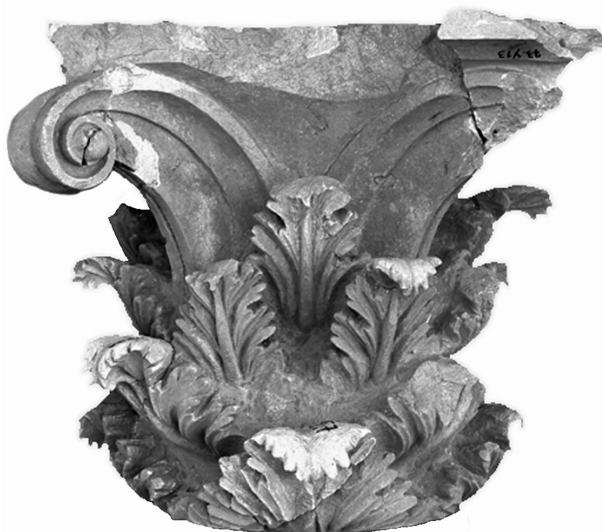


Figure 25.1 Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, Corinthian capital (photo DAFA).

gymnasium which, as a learning centre, transmitted the Greek culture and language diffused through the theatre which could hold over 5,000 people.

In general, the plans of the constructions are characterized by their orthogonality and their symmetry, with rooms separated by a large number of corridors and circulatory routes which divide the different parts of the buildings. They are on a single level and covered with flat roofs, although the tiles and antefixes that border them give a Greek appearance.

The palace, the most imposing monument, covers a rectangular area of 350×250 metres in the centre of the lower town. It includes several functions: administrative, political, residential and financial, with the treasury (Rapin 1992).

In the case of the palace, we might speak of a true royal district (*basileion*), since it is accessible from a propylaeum located along the main street of the city (Guillaume 1983), which also serves a street giving access to the heroon of Kineas and the mausoleum with the stone vault (Canepa 2018, pp. 308–314). The present entrance to the palace is marked by another – but smaller – propylaeum. The visitor entering the palace courtyard was faced with a huge and impressive peristyle courtyard with a Rhodian portico. The rectangular courtyard was 137×108 meters and was lined with four porticos, totalling 118 columns, topped with Corinthian capitals, the roofs being lined with tiles and antefixes. Rooms probably occupied the south, east and west sides of the courtyard, but it is to the south that the rooms corresponding to the administrative district (audience-halls and chancellery offices) and the palace residences were located. The east side has not been excavated, and only a small part of the west side has been cleared, the part where the treasury was located.

The general plan of the palace (with a large courtyard to the north and the majority of buildings situated to the south) is similar to those of the two palace-residences which follow the same pattern and are characteristic of certain large houses that we define as ‘Graeco-Bactrian residences’. It also includes a forecourt and a main core of living quarters grouped on the south side. Generally, these houses had fireplaces and bathrooms.

In the south-west part of the building the palace residences occupy two blocks (the west group measures 58×49 metres and the south group 60×32 metres) that possessed a large front courtyard, rooms and bathrooms to the south (Lecuyot 2013, pp. 193–197, fig. 72.3).

Each bathroom was divided into two or, more often, three units, walled with red-painted stucco and paved with stone or with cement and pebble mosaic (the other rooms had an earth floor). The first of the three units was a cloakroom for undressing, the second was the bathroom itself, where the bather washed by spraying. The bath water, cold and hot, came from the third room; a stove in the adjacent kitchen served for heating the water (Figure 25.2).

THE HOUSES

The same master plan can be seen in both public and private architecture (Fig. 25.3; Lecuyot 2014). This is the case with the two large houses studied, the ‘Graeco-Bactrian residences’: the first in the south-west area (Lecuyot 2013, pp. 13–74, fig. 3–24, pl. III–XIV) and the second beyond the northern city wall (Lecuyot 2013, pp. 103–136, fig. 38–58, pp. XXII–XXXIII).



Figure 25.2 Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, north view of the bath complex: cloakroom, ablution room and water supply room (photo DAFA).

Different architectural states (I to V) of the south-west house (66×35 metres) were excavated; they date from about 200 and 140 BC. In its last architectural state (II), the south-west house presents the original plan of the ‘Graeco-Bactrian residence’ (Figure 25.4) which is divided into two parts: to the north a large courtyard (1) and to the south the main building itself. The latter, opening through a porch with two columns *in antis* (2) on the courtyard (Figure 25.5), is articulated around a central reception room (3) surrounded on three sides by a *pi*-shaped corridor (4b–d) which serves the other rooms (5–14), kitchen (17–18), bath complex (15–16).

The second luxurious house, outside the walls, is even larger and measures c. 107×72 metres. Like the other large residences, the building is divided into two parts, a courtyard to the north and the main building to the south that opens onto the courtyard by a porch with two columns *in antis* and with Corinthian capitals (Figure 25.6), with in addition a peripheral corridor which surrounds the entire building on its four sides. The residential part itself is also divided into two parts, the first organized around a central reception room separated by a corridor from the other rooms (Figure 25.7). The second, to the south, corresponds to the service area with the kitchen and the bath complex comprising three adjoining rooms: a cloakroom, a room for ablutions and a water supply room that communicated via a service hatch with the kitchen adjacent to the boiler room (Figure 25.8).

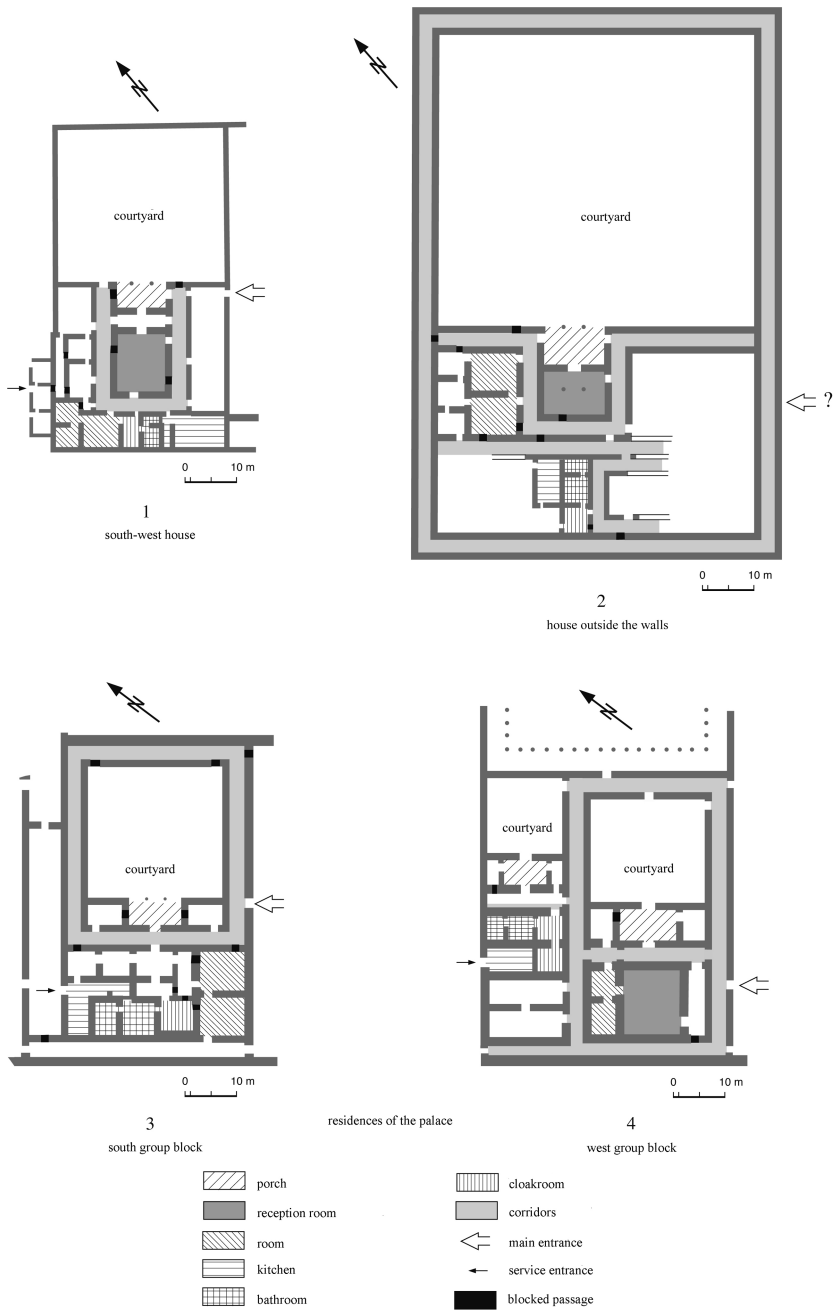


Figure 25.3 Ai Khanoum. Plan of 'Graeco-Bactrian residences': 1 south-west house, 2 house outside the walls, 3-4 residences of the palace: 3 south group block, 4 west group block (drawing by G.L.).

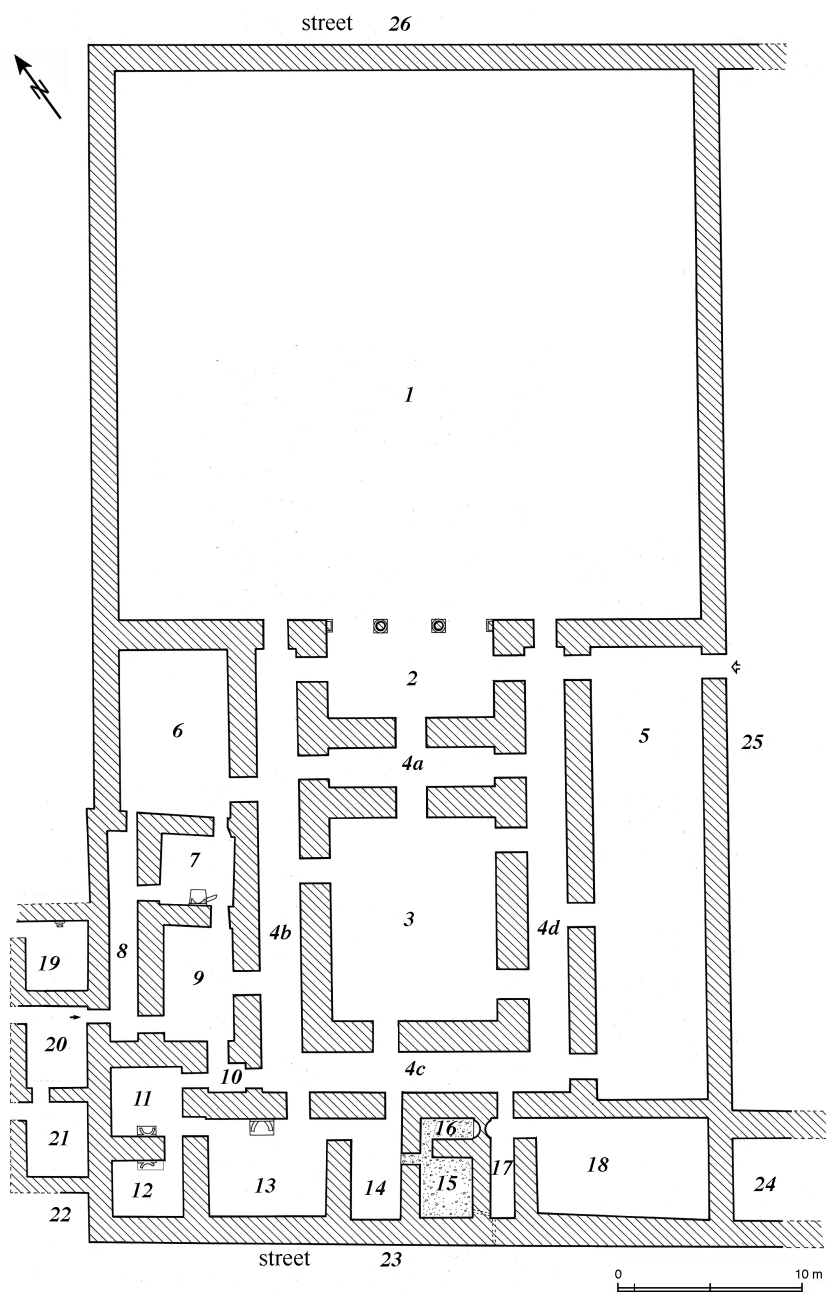


Figure 25.4 Ai Khanoum. South-west house, south view of the porch with two columns in antis (photo DAFA).



Figure 25.5 Ai Khanoum. South-west house, south view of the porch with two columns in antis (photo DAFA).



Figure 25.6 Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, south view of the porch with two columns in antis (photo DAFA).

As we have said, the large houses and the palace with its residential buildings follow the same plan (Lecuyot 2013, fig. 72). The multiple corridors served to separate the movements of different people living in the buildings, notably the masters and their servants. The lack of architectural decor inside the house also points to an eastern way of living, as carpets and tapestries replace part of the furniture, and



Figure 25.7 Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, north view with two rooms of the bath complex (ablution room and water supply room) in the foreground and the central reception room in the background (photo DAFA).

one can imagine that the traditional Greek banquet was organised sitting on the ground.

This plan, unknown in Greece, probably expresses a very particular way of life of the inhabitants, the master of the house and his family. The layout and the internal economy of the houses do not depart from the Greek model. Indeed, here the courtyard is no longer in the centre of the house as a place of exchange and passage from one part to another, but a place apart for private use that communicates with the main building through a porch with two columns *in antis*, although no vestige of garden landscaping has been observed. As we have pointed out for the other buildings, the original architecture of the houses undoubtedly proceeds from several influences. The house located in the southern area had several architectural phases (V to I). The last one (Phase II) is characterized by the transformation of an existing building into a large residence; the previous construction already had certain characteristics which can be found in the last state and that may have belonged to the local background with structured and orthogonal architecture, an independent courtyard located on one side of the building, and corridors.

Part of the construction of architectural state III has been preserved and reused in the new construction to transform the previous house into a large residence. To arrive at the structured plan of such an elaborate and symmetrical residence supposes that the model was known elsewhere and was used as a guide before being simply adapted in the case of this house. We can see here a simple but very clever adaptation of such a model, the same master plan described for the palace and large residences.

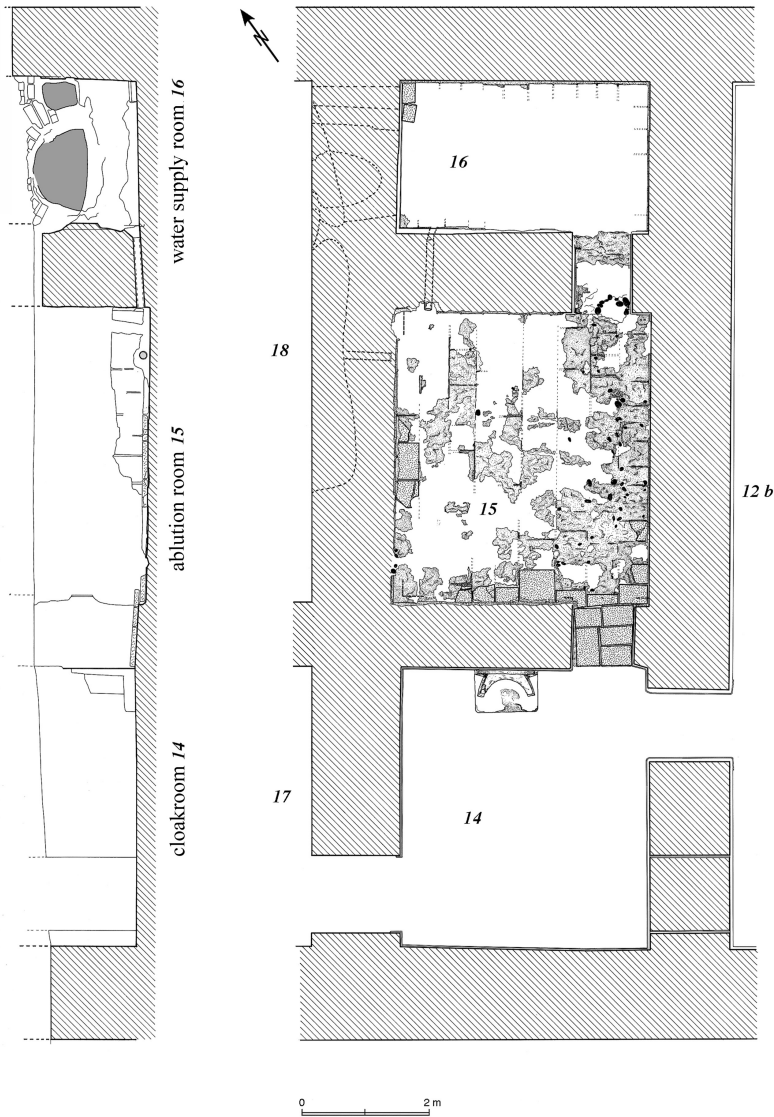


Figure 25.8 Ai Khanoum. House outside the walls, bath complex (document DAFA).

It should be noted, however, that there are other types of housing such as the residence along the edge of the main street (with a courtyard of 75×39 metres: Lecuyot 2013, pp. 75–92, fig. 25–32, pl. XV–XIX), the south-east building (Lecuyot 2013, pp. 93–101, fig. 33–37, pl. XX–XXI), or the houses intended for people of lower status with one or two rooms (Martinez Sève 2013, pp. 137–139, fig. 60–63, pl. XXXIV–XXXV).

ORIGIN

The very particular architecture of the large residences of Ai Khanoum raises the question of their origin and, also, of their posterity.

As they appear in the last state of the south-west house, these houses present a very elaborate plan, which may have existed previously. The transformation of state III into state II of the south-west house seems to provide evidence for a pre-existing plan that allowed the adaptation of the remains of state III from an earlier house.

Some features of the constructions are due to the physical conditions of the place (mud brick construction) or oriental architecture (buildings isolated from the outside, often low and with a flat roof), but beyond these general remarks, what are the most obvious features of our residences and their very composed, orthogonal plan, comprising many corridors leading to well-separated and differentiated spaces? Is their origin local, Greek, Mesopotamian or Iranian?

In Central Asia let us remember that a very structured form of earth architecture had existed at least since the Bronze Age. It was already the seat of a highly developed urban civilization with an ancient tradition of monumental architecture, like at Altyn depe, and orthogonal and highly centred plans, like at Ulug-depe in Turkmenistan, Babish-mulla I in Kazakhstan (5th–4th century BC), or Sangir-tepe in Uzbekistan (6th century BC). It is also the case for Mesopotamian architecture with its long corridors separating different spaces, as in the palace of Kish A (middle of the third millennium) or in the neo-Babylonian palaces in Iraq.

As far as one goes back in the Mediterranean tradition, to the Mycenaean palace of Nestor in Pylos (Greece), houses have a main room (ancient megaron), sometimes preceded by a vestibule, opening into a courtyard. Most often, Mediterranean or Near Eastern houses are built around a courtyard, a place of passage and circulation serving the various premises or parts of the building. In the courtyard, the main room of the house can open onto a colonnade in front of the room or via a sort of porch separating the main room from the courtyard. We call the first type of these houses *pastas* houses, and the second *prostas*. S. de Pontbriand reports that these two types have been identified in Greece at Delos and Olynthos and in Asia Minor at Priene (Pontbriand 2015, 471; see also Allara 2002, pp. 207–219, fig. 164–176).

The large residences of Ai Khanoum belong somewhat to both types, since they have a porch with two columns *in antis* in front of the central room, and for the south-west house an additional vestibule between the porch and the main hall. However, in Ai Khanoum the courtyard is private and reserved for the exclusive use of the master of the house.

While “the great residences of the Hellenistic and Roman periods all have a complete or incomplete peristyle when they belong to the Mediterranean influence zone, whose limit can be placed at the edge of the Syrian desert”⁴ (Pontbriand 2015, p. 551), this is not the case for the houses of Ai Khanoum.

It seems that Iranian architecture represents the best compromise between all these elements, as in the palace of Darius at Persepolis with its rectangular and symmetrical plan and its porch opening onto an esplanade. In support of this hypothesis, the red house of Nisa dating to the reign of Mithridates I (a contemporary of Eukratides I) in the 2nd century BC, has a similar plan (with a central room, a porch opening onto an esplanade and corridors: Invernizzi Lippolis 2008 ; see also Bruno, this volume). In

Iran, later buildings such as the Ayadana of Susa (late 1st century BC) or the monuments of Kuh-i Khwaja (Parthian period) and of Khurha (2nd century AD) undoubtedly also belong to the same type (Lecuyot 2013, pp. 203–206, fig. 79 et 81).

POSTERITY

In Central Asia, the posterity of our large residences is well illustrated by several houses such as those of Saksanokhur (1st century BC) in Tajikistan, Merv (2nd century AD) in Turkmenistan, Dal'verzin-tepe (2nd century BC) in Uzbekistan, and Dil'berjin (2nd century AD) in Afghanistan (Lecuyot 2013, pp. 205–207, fig. 78–79). But what is more surprising is to find in Mesopotamia, at Abu Qubur (Iraq), at a much later time (2nd century AD) and when the site of Ai Khanoum was already abandoned, a house reusing the south-west house plan (Lecuyot 2013, fig. 3). It therefore seems that the only possible and plausible link between these two worlds was the Iranian world.

During the Parthian and Islamic periods, porticoes with columns *in antis* were replaced by iwans that opened onto large courtyards. For the Parthian period, this is the case, for example, at Mansur depe in Turkmenistan or at Assur and Nippur in Iraq or, in the 4th century AD, at the Hajabad manor in Iran.

CONCLUSION

In general, the buildings of Ai Khanoum present very structured and orthogonal plans, characterized by large rooms served by numerous corridors inside the buildings. The layout of these spaces has been adapted to the lifestyle of the owners and seems to have been mainly influenced by eastern ways of life, while the decoration of porticoes with columns remained Greek, with Doric, Ionic or Corinthian capitals as well as tiles and antefixes at the edge of the roofs.

The Greeks of Ai Khanoum were undoubtedly attached to their culture and their traditions (with the presence of a gymnasium, a theatre, inscriptions including Delphic maxims, etc.), but they had to live as easterners and therefore had adopted an architecture corresponding to this lifestyle.

For the palace, the combination of large courtyards and closely linked administrative, economic and residential units rather evokes the oriental tradition of palace architecture. Close parallels can be observed with several examples from the Achaemenid period, such as the palace of Darius at Susa or the palace of Persepolis. In turn, these monuments were influenced by the Mesopotamian palaces of the Neo-Babylonian period, including Nebuchadnezzar's palace in Babylon with its reception courtyards, administrative and residential units, and its system of long corridors.

The plan of the residences shows very hierarchical relations, with reserved spaces (courtyards), and numerous corridors allowing the many domestic servants to move around without disturbing the master of the house and his family.

Regarding the houses, the contemporary presence of similar buildings at Nisa (with similar Parthian architectural style in the Red House with Achaemenid decor), at Ai Khanoum (with Greek decor) and later in at Abu Qubur in Mesopotamia suggests that the model, at least in part, should be sought in the Iranian world, the only link between these different places.

In Central Asia, this type of large residence continued during the Kushan period. More curiously, it is in Mesopotamia, during the Parthian period, several centuries after the disappearance of Ai Khanoum, that one can find a plan almost unchanged from that of the large Graeco-Bactrian residences.

At Ai Khanoum, the local culture, marked by fidelity to Hellenism mixed with oriental influences, has created an original – composite – architecture that appears related to the Greek world as well as to the Iranian and Central Asian world, which accounts for its originality.

NOTES

- 1 See for example what he wrote to one of his friends in Fenet 2010, p. 121.
- 2 On local Central Asian influences see also Rapin, Khasanov, 2016.
- 3 For a wooden miniature capital, see Francfort 1984, p. 31, pl. XV 8.
- 4 Examples of peristyle houses: in Greece, the Vergina Palace and the Dionysos House in Pella (4th century BC); in Syria, the governor's palace at Jebel Khaled (3rd century BC).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations:

BEFEO: Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

CRAI: Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

MDAFA: Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan.

Allara, A.F. 2002, *Problemi di architettura domestica a Dura-Europos sull'Eufrate. L'isolato dei Vasai (B2)* (Dissertationes, 2), Istituto universitario orientale, Naples.

Bernard, P. 1969, « Quatrième campagne de fouilles à Ai Khanoum (Bactriane) », CRAI 1969, pp. 315–355.

Bernard, P., Desparmet, R., Gardin, J. C., Gouin, P., de Lapparent, A., Le Berre, M., Le Rider, G., Robert, L., and Stucki, R. 1973a, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum I (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968)*, MDAFA XXI, Paris.

Bernard, P., Francfort, H. P., Gardin, J. C., Liger, J. C., Lyonnet, B., and Veuve, S. 1976, « Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan): campagne de 1974 », BEFEO LXIII, pp. 5–51 et pl. I–XVII.

Bernard, P., Le Berre, M., and Stucki, R. 1973b, « Ch. V. Architecture. Le téménos de Kinéas », in eds. Bernard, P., Desparmet, R., Gardin, J.-Cl., Gouin, P., de Lapparent, A., Le Berre, M., Le Rider, G., Robert, L., and Stucki, R. 1973, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum I (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968)*, MDAFA XXI, Paris, pp. 85–102, pl. 12–18, 85–96.

Canepa, M. P. 2018, *The Iranian Expanse. Transforming Royal Identity Through Architectural, Landscape, and the Built Environment, 550 BCE–642 CE*, University of California Press, Oakland, CA.

Francfort, H. P. 1984, *Le sanctuaire du temple à niches indentées 2. Les trouvailles, Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum III*, MDAFA XXVII, Paris.

Francfort, H. P., and Liger, J. C. 1976, « II. L'hérôon au caveau de pierre », in eds. Bernard, P., Francfort, H. P., Gardin, J. C., Liger, J. C., Lyonnet, B., and Veuve, S. 1976, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan): campagne de 1974*, BEFEO LXIII, pp. 25–39 et pl. III–IV, XI.2–XIV.

Fenet, A. 2010, *Documents d'archéologie militante. La mission Foucher en Afghanistan (1922–1925)*, Paris: AIBL.

- Garczinski, P. 1980, « IV. Le palais. La cour dorique », in eds. Bernard, P., Garczinski, P., Guillaume, O., Grenet, F., Ghassouli, N., Leriche, P., Liger, J. C., Rapin, C., Rougeulle, A., Thoraval, J., de Valence, R., and Veuve, S. 1980, *Campagne de fouille 1978 à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)*, BEFEO LXVIII, pp. 39-43, 86-91 et pl. XXXII-XXXIII.
- Guillaume, O. 1983, *Les propylées de la rue principale, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum II*, MDAFA XXVI, Paris.
- Hoffmann, P., and Thiollier, A. 2017, « Les maximes delphiques d'Aï Khanoum : retour sur la base de Kinéas et restitution en 3D de la stèle disparue », *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (CRAI)*, juillet-octobre fas. III, pp. 1103-1151.
- Invernizzi, A., and Lippolis, C. 2008, *Nisa Partica. Ricerche nel complesso monumentale arsacide, 1990-2006*, Centro ricerche archeologiche e scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia. Missione in Turkmenistan I, Monografie di Mesopotamia IX, Florence.
- Lecuyot, G. 2007, « Aï Khanoum reconstructed », in eds. Cribb, J., and Hermann, G., *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam, Proceedings of the British Academy* 133, Oxford, pp. 155-162 et pl. 1-4.
- Lecuyot, G. 2013, *L'habitat, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IX*, MDAFA XXXIV, Paris, with contributions of Bernard, P., Francfort, H. P., Lyonnet, B., and Martinez Sève, L.
- Lecuyot, G. 2014, « Les grandes résidences aristocratiques d'Aï Khanoum », *Archaeologia* 519, pp. 68-73.
- Lecuyot, G., ed. 2014, *Il y a 50 ans ... la découverte d'Aï Khanoum*, Paris: De Boccard, contributions of Francfort, H. P., Grenet, F., Lecuyot, G., Lyonnet, B., Martinez Sève, L., and Rapin, C.
- Martinez, Sève L. 2013, « Le quartier du temple principal », in Lecuyot, G., *L'habitat, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IX*, MDAFA XXXIV, Paris, 2013, pp. 137-143, fig. 60-63, pl. XXXIV-XXXVI.
- de Pontbriand, S. 2015, *La résidence de Lysias à Europos Doura (Syrie) et les grandes demeures urbaines privées au Proche-Orient, des Séleucides à l'arrivée des Sassanides*, Thèse de l'Université Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne UFR 03 École doctorale d'archéologie (112), 13 juin 2015.
- Rapin, C. 1992, *La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum. L'apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum VIII*, MDAFA XXXIII, Paris.
- Rapin, C., and Khasanov, M. 2016, « Les traditions architecturales de l'époque achéménide à l'époque hellénistique: récentes découvertes en Sogdiane », in eds. Espagne, M., Gorshenina, S., et al., *Asie centrale. Transferts culturels le long de la Route de la soie*, Paris, pp. 53-85.
- Robert, L. 1973, « Ch. XII. Les inscriptions », in eds. Bernard, P., Desparmet, R., Gardin, J. C., Gouin, P., de Lapparent, A., Le Berre, M., Le Rider, G., Robert, L., and Stucki, R., 1973, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum I (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968)*, MDAFA XXI, Paris, pp. 207-237, pl. 108-109.a.
- Veuve, S. 1987, *Le Gymnase, Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum VI*, MDAFA XXX, Paris.

CHAPTER 26

GLOBALIZATION AND INTERPRETING VISUAL CULTURE



Milinda Hoo

INTRODUCTION: “THE HUB OF HALF THE PLANET”

“Globalization”, “globalism”, “the global”, and other cognate words are in vogue in today’s media, economic analyses, political discourses, and scholarly communities. We are riding the wave of globalization – and so is the field of classics. World history has gained unprecedented popularity in academic literature while historians and archaeologists dealing with the classical world increasingly incorporate globalization terms, evoking a sense of new normativity. Following scholarship on the Roman world, the Hellenistic world too is now frequently described as, and embedded in an age of globalization – a revolutionary and experimental time during which the *oikoumene* expanded with global, East–Western connectivity in the fields of politics, economics, science, and above all, arts and culture (Bricault and Versluys, 2012; Chaniotis, 2018, 386–391; Malitz, 2000, 37; Martin and Pachis, 2004; Moore and Lewis, 2009, 174–205; Strootman, 2014; Thonemann, 2015; Versluys, 2017; Vlassopoulos, 2013). By extension, Hellenistic Central Asia has surged into the public and scholarly eye through growing interest in this global connectedness. The region’s connectedness is commonly framed by imperialism and long-distance trade relations, and increasingly hinted at through references to the Silk Roads – conceptualized and romanticized as the prime example of ancient globalization and heralded as a beacon of civilizational interconnectedness across Eurasia (Benjamin, 2018, 12–13; Foltz, 2010). Taking centre stage, imagined and emplaced at the temporal and spatial nexus of it all, is Hellenistic Graeco-Bactria: a Greek-ruled kingdom (or rather, a series of kingdoms) in Central Asia of the third and second centuries BCE, covering a region described by Frank Holt as “the hub of half the planet”, where “in a sense, globalism was born” (Holt, 2012, res. 3, 2).

Frequently perceived as a classic cultural crossroads (e.g. Errington et al., 1992; Hiebert and Cambon, 2011; Lerner, 2015), Bactria has been coined as a paradigm of intercultural dynamics in the Hellenistic age (Holt, 1999, 9–20) – dynamics that are increasingly phrased in global terms. Though speaking to the imagination of a dramatic shrinkage of the ancient world, such globalization talk about Central Asia seems to play into our sense of confusion about what “globalization” and the context of “the global” exactly entail. In reference to the Hellenistic period, scholars have casually spoken about “the globalization of Greek culture” (Thonemann, 2015, 8),

with the city of Ai Khanoum in eastern Bactria – mostly highlighted by its gymnasium, theatre, and Greek inscriptions – as an exciting and seemingly self-evident case to illustrate the geographical extent of the diffusion of Greek civilization into remote Central Asia (e.g. Walbank, 1981, 60–62). At the same time, global connections, global processes, and global–local interactions have become pervasive and almost common proclamations and *explanantia* of cultural mixture and cultural change – particularly in those regions “along the Silk Roads”. This terminological ubiquity has created an aura of radical newness, resulting in many people talking about globalization, yet few feeling the need to explain what precisely it entails, implies, or what to do with it. While the words “globalization” and “the global” have entered ancient history and archaeology from the heavily theorized field of social sciences, it is remarkable how their suggestive usage in the study and narrativization of ancient (material) culture rarely includes adequate theoretization of, and engagement with the vast literature of globalization research (but cf. Hodos, 2016, 2010; Pitts, 2008; Pitts and Versluys, 2015a; Versluys, 2013, 2017; Vlassopoulos, 2013; Whitmarsh, 2010). In contrast, this chapter makes an effort to address the need for Central Asian, Hellenistic, and broader ancient studies to move beyond the cursory global talk. Though by no means intending to be comprehensive, this chapter considers the definition of globalization for antiquity and its common uses and misunderstandings, before continuing to their methodological implications and what globalization could actually mean for the study and analysis of visual culture and material artefacts in “culturally eclectic”, “ex-centric” regions such as Bactria and adjacent areas in Central Asia. I will argue that seriously engaging with globalization research grants us the conceptual vocabulary and specifically the methodological gaze to think about, investigate, and reconstruct the Central Asian past in more inclusive terms, underlining the variety of people, interactions, and identity positions.

DEFINING GLOBALIZATION FOR ANTIQUITY

Globalization preoccupies, fascinates, and therefore sells in our contemporary intellectual landscape. Seen as the defining characteristic of modern-day society, globalization functions as both a descriptive and an analytical framework within which major questions and issues about being in the world are raised, reframed, and debated across various disciplines. The term therefore means different things to different people; from globalization as a lens, a process, a project, or a force, to globalization as a condition, an order, an epoch, or a system (Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 16–17). This conceptual ambiguity may be said to be globalization’s curse as well as its blessing. It is a curse, because the growing prominence of the globalization lexicon can drive scholars to include them for the sake of popular relevance and competition at the expense of methodological depth. Meanwhile, their pervasiveness suggests that globalization terms reflect common, uncomplicated knowledge about what they mean and imply. Such an attitude is practical and well-intentioned, but trivializes the broad scope, variety, and complexity of globalization through the innocence of language. There is no such thing as “a process of general globalization” (Thonemann, 2016, back cover), much less a straightforward unified theory of globalization. On the contrary, globalization scholarship encompasses an extensive multidisciplinary research field involving numerous disagreements, controversies, and muddled consensus.

Thus, while casually evoking “the global” reinforces the image of globalization being fashionably relevant, such tendencies in fact eschew and impede conceptual clarity, as they prioritize rhetoric over actual theoretical engagement with the various trappings of globalization research.

On the other hand, globalization’s broad conceptual range can simultaneously mean its blessing for ancient studies – especially regarding scale and periodization. Globalization has eagerly been divorced from its imperative connection to planetary globality and industrialized society, and reformulated in order to accommodate earlier historical periods with the allure of the global (e.g. Bordo et al., 2003; Chanda, 2007; Hopkins, 2002; McNeill, 2008; Osterhammel and Petersson, 2005).¹ Following La Bianca and Scham’s *Connectivity in Antiquity* (eds. 2006), and Jennings’s assault of “the Great Wall” between antiquity and modernity in his *Globalizations and the Ancient World* (2011), a number of recent scholars aiming to integrate antiquity with globalization discourse has successfully argued that globalization neither requires a worldwide scale nor condition(s) of modernity (Hall et al., 2011; Hodos, 2010, 2016; Jennings, 2011, 3–33; Kardulias, 2014; LaBianca and Scham, 2006; Malkin, 2011, 1–64; Pitts and Versluys, 2015a; Seland, 2008). This chapter agrees that globalization is best understood not as a quality of modernity, nor a static mode of globality, but as a multidimensional and *trans-scalar* set of processes of increasing connectivities between distant localities. As phrased by foundational globalization thinkers (Appadurai, 2000, 6; Giddens, 1990, 64; Held et al., 2000, 54–55; Pitts and Versluys, 2015b, 11; Tomlinson, 1999, 2), these connectivities entail the intensification of economic, political, and cultural interactions through moving and migrating flows of people, goods, knowledge, activities, and ideas across vast distances. By virtue of their varied contents, pace, purposes, and directions, such flows are profoundly uneven and disjunctive. From this rises a range of complex interdependencies which affect and even transform people’s cultural, political, and economic lives, particularly how they experience and structure their social relations. Such interdependencies imply that local things as fashion, pots, food, religion, politics, sports, money, labour, resources, diseases, architecture, and institutions can become disembedded from previous contexts and entangled on larger network scales, which in turn can spur significant shifts in the range, rules, forms, sense, and materiality of social contact in other localities. Following this definition, globalization indeed does not require the full-fledged integration of the planet, nor does it need to firmly start or lineally end with modernity. Rather, globalization can recur transversely in human history during periods of intensifying large-distance connectivities and interactions, making globalization research relevant for studies of the ancient world, too.

COMMON USES AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS: A CLARIFICATION

Despite its current popularity within academia, the idea of globalization in the ancient world has generated much scepticism, beyond the simple objection that cultural processes in antiquity did not operate on a truly planetary scale as in our modern “network society” (Castells, 1996). Early critics contended that globalization runs the risk of becoming “yet another word for interdependence” – an empty word-play replacing grand narratives such as imperialism, colonialism, Westernization, and modernization, with a new one (Naerebout, 2006, 153; Rosenberg, 2005, 66;

for Central Asia see also Ball, 2015, 251). This criticism is not unfounded. There are numerous ways how globalization words have been evoked within studies of the ancient world, without critical engagement with the theoretical work. The most general use of globalization is as a self-explanatory metaphor for dissemination and exchange “in its broadest extensions” – ranging “from military conquest and trade relations to the spread of religious, artistic, or scientific ideas” (Geller, 2014, 5). Particularly for places such as Hellenistic Central Asia – imagined in both modern and ancient times as a frontier zone of the Greek *oikoumene* and, accordingly, etically perceived through its “hybrid” visual culture as a cultural melting pot of East and West (Bernard, 2005; Bhattacharya-Haesner, 2016; Hannestad, 2013, 110) – globalization and related cognates provide an attractive idea and vocabulary to broadly explain the wide cultural interconnections that would result from dissemination and exchange (Mairs, 2016). Although appealing, general usages of globalization are frequently coupled with a number of recurring problematic presumptions and implications that follow from them which require careful unpacking.

Firstly, too often are broad-scale dissemination and exchange implicitly seen to result in, and therefore represent systemic, interregional integration. Globalization as such refers to the progressive integration of peripheral and semi-peripheral regions into a systemic network of dependencies, dominated by a single political or societal core. According to Immanuel Wallerstein, world economies and world empires are defined by such integrative networks: complex economic and/or political webs in which macro-regions are tied together, unified, controlled, driven, and constrained by state power (Wallerstein, 1974; 1980; 1989). Indeed, it is not uncommon to refer to Hellenistic and Roman empires as examples of such understandings of globalization, each with regional centres and peripheries feeding back into an internally coherent imperial system – especially through the role of elites (Hingley, 2005; Lavan et al., 2016; Strootman, 2014). Central Asia is increasingly asserted in scholarship as one of such integrated peripheries, playing an indispensable part in both the Persian Achaemenid and Seleukid empires (e.g. Kosmin, 2014; Wu, 2017). However, theorizing globalization as a systemic network structured by state-regulated core-periphery relations (“a world system” as termed by Wallerstein) runs the risk of indeed reproducing grand-narrative tendencies of imperialization or colonialization.² While intensifying interactions may induce degrees of integration, this presumption about what globalization entails invites deterministic and absolute thinking: heightened interactions will lead to assimilative integration. Moreover, applying such reasoning to a “globalized world” headed and driven by Persians or Macedonians, not only upholds rather conservative ideas of empire dynamics as unidirectional top-down and core-periphery policies, but also excludes the possibility that local people and regional polities participated in, stimulated, and sustained transregional networks without being politically or economically integrated – a case well illustrated by the Xiongnu in Central and Inner Asia (Miller, 2015; Miller and Brosseder, 2016). Commitment to the idea of interregional integration, however, ultimately prioritizes (and potentially reifies) systemic coherence and internal scalability over the various disjunctive processes and impacts that globalization entails.

Paradoxically, although world systems theory allows for multiple cultures and actually emphasizes unevenness and asymmetry across macro-regions within the system, there is a tendency to relate its notion of political-economic integration to the

idea of cultural singularization. This brings us to a second common but problematic presumption, that globalization engenders a successive trend towards the homogenization of culture, and with it, the obliteration of local differences and identities over time. According to such interpretations, intensified large-scale interactions will lead to widespread diffusion and universal assimilation of the same cultural objects, forms, and norms – a vision captured in the term *McDonaldization* (Ritzer, 1993). This would result in the formation of a uniform global culture, flattening out existing cultural diversity. It is not difficult to see how such ideas are already locked into certain persistent threads in scholarly discourse about Hellenization, Hellenism, and its acculturative impact across Eurasia as a “supranational form of culture” which was “in essence what we might now term Greek” (Strootman, 2014, 9). Although alongside an abundance of “non-Greek” material, scattered visual culture and material artefacts in Central Asian regions that are archaeologically identified as Greek – such as the stone fragment of a sandaled foot of the cult statue in Ai Khanoum’s niched main temple, the city’s theatre and gymnasium, the Ionic capital and clay portraits at Takht-i Sangin’s Oxus Temple, and numerous royal coins with Greek legends, effigies, and depicted deities across Bactria and India – are frequently highlighted, combined, and integrated to serve coherent historical narrative as passive representations of Greek identity in Central Asia (e.g. Litvinskiy, 2010, 37–38), commensurate with modern views on the “global success” of Hellenism.³

Although the idea of a global culture is an appealing explanation for what we analytically examine as Greek(ish) visual culture across Eurasia and what some describe as Hellenism in passing, we should be wary about how we use the concept. Without proper reflection and clarification, there is a risk of simply equating global culture to the assimilation of local difference into plain sameness, centred on a particular society or civilization – Greek in the case of Hellenistic period Central Asia – from where global culture disseminated to peripheral areas. According to globalization thinkers (Appadurai, 1996, 1990; Friedman, 1997; Hannerz, 1997, 1990; Nederveen Pieterse, 2009; Tomlinson, 2006, 1999), global culture is by no means homogeneous because the flows of goods, objects, ideas, and meanings are mediated through asymmetrically organized channels. Although we infamously lack written sources to inform us in detail about these channels in Hellenistic Central Asia, the archaeological presence of fragile unbaked sculptures of local clay in various styles at Takht-i Sangin (Litvinskiy, 2003; Litvinskiy and Pichikyan, 1983), the mould-made and locally fired “Megarian” bowls at Ai Khanoum (Gardin, 1990, 189, 1985, 453–454), and templates and plaster casts for the manufacture of figural art at Ai Khanoum (Bernard, 1971, 432–435; Francfort, 1984, 31–37) and at the late Hellenistic sites of Sakhsanokhur (in an artisanal quarter; Litvinskiy and Mukhitdinov, 1969) and Kampyr Tepe (Nikonorov and Savchuk, 1992; Rtveladze, 2009), amongst others, should make us think about numerous different hands, eyes, experiences, and interpretations that mediated and intersected in processes of producing, transporting, using, and making meaning of Greek and other styled material objects and visual culture (Mairs, 2016, 2014a; see also the approach in Hoo forthcoming).

Moreover, globalization is not only characterized by flows, but also by ebbs of connectivities and interactions, creating distinct *unevenness* in velocity, intensity, extent, and impact of global connectivities on localities (Appadurai, 1990; Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, 32–34; Tomlinson, 1999, 26). This means that globalization is not

“a ‘one-way’ process of the determination of events by massive global structures,” (Tomlinson, 1999, 26) but rather pertains to *differential* local experience and negotiation of increasing connectivity. Globalization thus prompts disparate patterns of behaviour in (re)configurations of social and cultural life, patterns that may follow different and less visible directions than modern scholars tend to focus on. As explained by Hannerz, global culture “is marked by an organization of diversity rather than by a replication of uniformity”, and is “created through the increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, as well as through the development of cultures without a clear anchorage in any one territory” (1990, 275). Global culture is therefore better understood as “global interconnected diversity [to which] people can relate in different ways” (ibid.). This has significant implications for how we look at material remains in Hellenistic Central Asia – our main sources of information – and how we create historical narratives from them. “Hybrid” objects such as the so-called Atrosokes votive altar at the Oxus Temple – a stone miniature altar topped by a Marsyas figure playing the double flute, and with a Greek dedicatory inscription to the Bactrian river deity Oxus by a man with an Iranian name – were surely not as culturally contradictory as modern scholars ascribe them to be (Wood, 2011). Similarly, Greek-styled objects need not be plain expressions of ethnic Greekness (Mairs, 2014b, 102–103). Although often rather vaguely termed as “Hellenistic influence”, visual culture and objects with stylistic properties that modern scholars render as obviously Greek in Central Asia, such as columns with Corinthian, Ionic, and Doric capitals and naturalistic sculptural art, are not static cultural distillates, singular representations of an original Greek culture, but rather flexible accumulations of various meanings and past potentialities to produce various, sometimes new meanings, acquired through and depending on the differential social contexts and hands that objects moved in and out of, at different stages of their use-life (Appadurai, 1986).

Of key relevance here is the term *deterritorialization* or rather, *disembeddedness*: the detachment, abstraction, or “lifting out” of objects, ideas, forms, and relations from their previous cultural context(s) in the face of large-scale intensifying interactions, to be restructured, recontextualized, and re-embedded in other, old, or new local settings (Appadurai, 1996, 1986, 13–20, 41–48; Giddens, 1990, 21–29; Tomlinson, 1999, 106–149). With disembeddedness, there is an increasing potential of objects, ideas, forms, and relations to become commoditized – to acquire the property of assets with exchange or social value (competence or affordance), partly or fully leaving behind old meanings. As assets, they can become cultural resources for assertions of an increasing variety of optional identity positions, whether elsewhere or “at home”. In other words, objects, materials, and visual styles can have differential cultural competence with which people engage, strategically or habitually, for a variety of purposes and in various trajectories of the objects’ life course. Thus, objects, even in their static appearance, are always “in motion” through their networked presence (Versluys, 2014). They have agentic power impacting social practice and human thought (see e.g. Gell, 1998; Hicks, 2010; Hodder, 2012; Knappett, 2005; Knappett and Malafouris, 2008; Miller, 2005; Van Oyen and Pitts, 2017; Versluys, 2017, 2013).⁴ Rather than the homogenization of culture, globalization therefore contrastingly entails the emergence of a shared, disaggregated repertoire of disembedded things and ideas that may contribute to a degree of sameness in

appearance (material or otherwise), but with a high variability in contents (meanings) and contexts (usage) – or vice versa – across distant locales.

A third recurring presumption closely connected to globalization as cultural homogenization, is the idea that the global and the local are opposing units – dichotomous in their relation to each other. Oftentimes, scholars seem to refer to “the global” as a forceful imposing structure, a faceless harbinger of dramatic consequences, while “the local” is associated with ideas of conservative, internally consistent communities that either integrate in, or resist globalizing structure. Thus, localism and local identities are often conceived as purely reactionary to globalization, only able to defend their treasured authenticity, resist change, or otherwise succumb to global assimilative forces (Tomlinson, 2006, 150–151). Like cultural diversity, they are seen as consequential victims of globalization. Accordingly, the word “global” has been used as shorthand for “imperial” or anything that is not considered (or permitted) as “truly local” – in our case Greek material in the peripherally emplaced and imagined regions of Central Asia. According to this logic, Greek material is categorically excluded from localism, with an exception of visual culture in the Aegean peninsula itself. Indeed, it has been suggested that, despite their significant non-Greek ground plan, the residential mansions in the southern domestic quarter at Ai Khanoum must have been housed by Greek colonists rather than indigenous Bactrians, because the houses were equipped with Greek-styled mosaic-floored bathrooms (Holt, 2005, 160; Martinez-Sève, 2012, 381). Likewise, to make cultural ends meet, the distinctly non-Greek architecture at Ai Khanoum, particularly the religious structures, are often ascribed to regional pragmatics or innovative experimentation and originality on the part of ethnic Greek settlers, rather than local(ized) Bactrians (Bernard, 2012, 47–50).

However, opposing Greeks against non-Greeks strongly reduces dynamic complexities of human interactions to singular and exclusive identity-positions of (etically highlighted) groups of people: Greek colonial settlers and local Bactrians. Conceptualizations of localism as pure, ingrained, and spatially contained, not only construe local agents as unassertive, merely reactionary to global change, but also overlook the outward and social basis of their behaviour. People navigate and (re) produce distinction and affinity across changing scales and spectra of difference, not solely those in their direct vicinity and not only those that are materially visible. Especially in the face of intensified large-scale interactions such as at Hellenistic Central Asia, people increasingly come in contact with a growing amount of unlike “Others” (people, but also objects and ideas), inducing an expanding array of identity positions, practices, and expressions. The global (or rather supralocal) thus weaves itself in the *texture of locality*, enabled by and enabling the reflexive (re) production and experience of what is local (Robertson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1999, 10–12). Rather than opposing localism or being inherently disconnected from it, globalization entails the structural proliferation of situations, possibilities, and ways of belonging and participation in the world (Friedman, 1990; Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, 70–74; Tomlinson, 2006, 152, 1999, 9–12). Such proliferation accommodates an increasing variety of new or reinvented common grounds, differences, and identifications in people’s social lives. Recently, the term *glocalization* has gained currency to capture simultaneous processes of globalization and localization (Robertson, 1992, 97–115, 1995, 29–32 see also Hannerz, 1990, 249–250).⁵ These processes happen in

continuum rather than in isolation, forming principles for either one to be formed. The global cannot exist without locales, and *vice versa*.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

These common uses and misunderstandings have important methodological implications for the analysis of visual culture and material remains and the way we observe, think, speak, and infer conclusions about cultural encounters and interactions. The presumptions underlying such misunderstandings derive from unitary representations of globalization, picturing it as integrative, homogenizing, and external – exclusively taking place on a non-local scale – while globalization processes actually usher complex variety and difference across multiple scales and dimensions. Such tenacious beliefs are understandable because lexical forms of globalization (as a noun, verb, or adjective) etymologically and semantically privilege the global. This encourages a methodological gaze that prioritizes that which is global, becomes global, or is globalizing. Together with the misguided assumptions that (1) globalization entails inter-regional integration, (2) globalization entails cultural homogenization in the form of a global culture, and that (3) the global stands in opposition to the local, the logical method to analyse cultural material for some seems to be investigating cultural similarities, resemblances across distance, and foreign sameness in an ocean of difference.

It is not surprising that the logic of such approaches largely aligns with popular methods to assess cultural interaction in Hellenistic Central Asia. Many historians and archaeologists have tried to identify the extent and impact of Greek influence in non-Greek places, analysing the progressive hybridization of culture from the Mediterranean towards Central Asia (e.g. Boardman, 2015; Colledge, 1987; but cf. Kouremenos et al., 2011). According to its common evocative usage, globalization facilitates an appealing way to speak about the spread and adoption of Greek culture across Eurasia after Alexander. “The great Macedonian adventure in the East” (Thonemann, 2015, 7) is seen to have set in motion both the expansion and integration of the known Greek world through a converging common culture that is predominantly Greek. In connection to this, the material presence of Greek culture in Bactria is frequently used to demonstrate the vast geographical extent to which the Greek *oikoumene* expanded from its homeland, and with it, Greek identity (e.g. Boardman, 2015; Burstein, 2008; Walbank, 1981, 60–62). Changes in material assemblages in Greek form or style have been interpreted as indicators of ethnic Greek settlers, or otherwise adoptions or imitations of Greek culture as part of, or largely representing a common culture – a *koine* – in the wake of Alexandrian and Seleukid colonization of Eurasia (e.g. Martinez-Sève, 2016 in reference to Hellenism, cf. Mairs, 2014b, 98–102). The appearance of what is taxonomically recognized as Greek culture, alongside other material with different origins within the same archaeological context, would then not only indicate the penetrative extent and manifestation of Greek “influence”, but also testify to the intense connectedness and integration of Central Asia in the Hellenistic world.

Although bringing connectedness in focus marks a shift away from culture-historical determinism, caution is needed not to recycle old views of multiculturalism under the header of connectivity and an emerging Hellenistic *koine*. Methodologically, to identify and analyse different, multiple “influences” within an archaeological

context, is to prioritize the continuity, authenticity, and origins of objects in terms of their meanings, usage, and users (prior to their potential transformation). Moreover, while tracing neat boundaries for the practicalities of cultural analysis, little attention is given to the role, choice, and dynamic identifications of actual people.⁶ Agentic possibilities of locals (whether Central Asians, Greeks, or others) and localized immigrants (whether Central Asians, Greeks, or others) to variously engage, adapt, appropriate, and recontextualize disembedded culture (material and immaterial) then risk to be distorted or obscured both by dominating voices in history (those with access to durable and visible material culture), and the lenses of the researcher. Searching for foreign sameness across distances and concluding it to reflect a cultural *koine* (notably, a *Greek* term that originally referred to shared language) in Hellenistic Central Asia, privileges distinct (Greek) cultural behaviour as isolated intentional acts over other perhaps more habitual acts. Moreover, such a method encourages an approach couched in ideas of cultural integration, symmetry in signification, and a strict separation of the local and the global. While cultural flows across wide distances certainly galvanize degrees of sameness in terms of comparable practices, values, and objects, we should not lose sight of lives and identities constituted in situated actions; sharing practices, values, and objects does not necessitate or even involve identical replications of the matter at hand (Dirlik, 1999; Escobar, 2001; Friedman, 2002, 1990).

Thus, whereas many research agendas have adopted global mind-sets, expanding in geographical scale to look for connections, their analytical prisms have not. Despite successful efforts within classics to reach consensus that cultures are construed, imagined, and fluid, compartmentalizing labels such as Greek, Graeco-Macedonian, Western, non-Greek, Oriental, and Eastern remain surprisingly prevalent in the narrativization of ancient visual culture in Hellenistic Central Asia – whether casually used or integrated in analytical practice. As illustrated above, a story of Ai Khanoum often emphasizes its theatre and gymnasium, Greek inscriptions and artistry, juxtaposing them with non-Greek features – elements that culturally contradict the idea of a Greek city in the Far East, and are therefore described in nearly apologetic terms. These “perplexing” features, notably the city’s religious buildings and mansions, are often labelled Eastern; derivative of Mesopotamian and Persian traditions (Bernard, 1976). Their presence is explained by stating that they probably did not carry ethnic (Greek) significance, or that they otherwise could be ethnically neutralized or rationalized in order to be compatible with a Greek identity and lifestyle, befitting to the Greeks’ pragmatic and experimental attitude (e.g. Bernard, 2012, 47–49; Mairs, 2013, 102–107, 2008; Martinez-Sève, 2014, 272). The notion of a fixed package of Greekness, containing a “cultural checklist” of stable traits of markers of identity, such as institutions, artistic styles, or pottery types (Dietler, 1998; Van Dommelen and López-Bertran, 2013), remains particularly compelling in scholarly narrativizations of visual material culture at Ai Khanoum – renowned in scholarship as an outpost of Hellenism in the Far East (Bernard, 2012, 1997; Rapin, 1990). Even when broken down in smaller categories of Greek, Iranian, Chinese, and Indian, analyses of mixed material culture in Central Asia are often couched in essentialist and metageographical thinking of East versus West, implicitly linking influences in visual material with the ethnocultural origins of different peoples traversing these “crossroads” (cf. Hoo, forthcoming; Lewis and Wigen, 1997). Analysis of visual culture and material

assemblages, particularly those in Hellenistic Central Asian studies, still largely rest on an authoritative “knowledge paradigm primarily based on a nationally organized society” (King, 1997, 6). Objectifications of cultural identities as national ones are then theoretically privileged over other entry points into an ancient person’s identification. A person in Hellenistic Central Asia may well have Greek in his identity repertoire, as well as Bactrian and Central Asian, alongside being male, a potter, and a flute-player – all at the same time, at different occasions. Thus, while the intention to focus on connections instead of spatially contained cultures reflects a scholarly ethos in line with globalization theories, how this is operationalized often remains surprisingly conservative, abiding by a strict separation and externalization of local and non-local dynamics.

TRANSLOCALISM: THE PROMISE OF GLOBALIZATION

How, then, can globalization theory contribute to Hellenistic Central Asian studies and, by extension, studies of “culturally eclectic” visual culture? I argue that the merit of globalization theory is not necessarily to provide a coherent framework of connectivity to embed material changes, transformations, and continuations. Nor should globalization only induce a shift from territorial space to international macroscale, focusing on long-distance ties and relations from a satellite perspective. Globalization should not be about what connectivity *is* or what it consists of, but about what it *does* (Versluys, 2014). It profoundly disturbs our conceptualizations of culture and locality (Tomlinson, 1999, 27). Therefore, the merit of globalization theory primarily lies in providing heuristic tools to critically reflect on persisting methods, to sharpen our theoretical premises, and to adapt our analytical gaze to humanize the stories behind “mixed” visual culture and material artefacts. Key terms from globalization research such as disembedding, disjuncture, unevenness, and glocalization, can help to study and think about visual and material culture in social and relational terms, rather than as spatial phenomena embodied in objects and architecture. As argued above, globalization virtually entails the social reorganization of increasing diversity in the face of intensifying trans-scalar interactions, rather than an external wave of change that intrudes localisms, resulting in their systemic integration or cultural homogenization. Taking globalization seriously should therefore make aware, and force scholars not only to take into account the proliferation of situations, possibilities, and means of identifications, but to move these to the locus of research questions.

This means that instead of tracing foreign sameness (identifying stable markers of external “influences” such as Greek style) against the backdrop of political networks and trade relations between societies and peoples, we should shift our units of analysis to translocal *contexts*, *situations*, and *practices* across Eurasia (Hoo, forthcoming, 2018). Translocalism firmly takes connectivity and global-local embeddedness as points of departure rather than the arrival of analysis, without externalizing and privileging global space and scale over the local. Thus, central to assessing visual culture and material artefacts should not be geographical proximity, distance, or origins, but the local, regional, and transregional range and intersection of practices, scenarios of, and possibilities for people’s (re)negotiation of social relations on the ground.

CONCLUSION

The methodological implications of globalization for the interpretation of ancient visual culture, particularly in “culturally eclectic” regions such as Hellenistic Central Asia, can be summarized twofold. When used evocatively, globalization risks recycling and encouraging well-worn tropes of cultural essentialism, lending itself to the very dichotomous and reifying views that scholars aim to overcome. Lingering in a knowledge paradigm wherein civilizational or societal cultures remain the units of analysis, “local culture” then becomes synonymous to static continuity, parochialism, and conservatism, while “global culture” becomes the hyper-diffusion of predominantly Greek culture across Hellenistic Eurasia, signifying dynamic change and innovation.

When used as a critical heuristic tool, globalization can provide a valuable way to unsettle persistent essentialist methods by shifting the units of analysis from spatially bound cultures to translocal situations, practices, and contexts. Taking up a globalization approach is more than focusing on trade networks and interregional connections. It should direct attention to what transregional mobility and connectivity *do* to people’s experience and social (re)organization of relations. It therefore offers a way to study, talk about, and humanize cultural interaction by foregrounding human experiences of social relations rather than settle at their existence. It is time for Hellenistic Central Asia to be liberated from its dubbed status as an intermediate cultural crossroads – a “hub of half the world” – and to be considered as a place of, and on its own.

NOTES

- 1 For concise summaries of the controversy, see Nederveen Pieterse, 2012.
- 2 Despite the many controversies of, and within world systems theory (Chase-Dunn, 1999; Frank and Gill, 1993; Hall et al., 2011), the conceptualization of globalization as an integrated system remains influential.
- 3 Modern scholarship is notoriously led by the “thousand cities” of Bactria mentioned in classical literary sources (Strab. 15.1.3; Just. Epit. 41.1.8). Ai Khanoum, however, remains the only monumental one excavated thus far.
- 4 Material semiotics and the innovating impact of “objects in motion” has been productively explored in other fields (Hölscher, 2004; Versluys, 2017, 2013), yet remains of marginal interest in existing scholarship on Hellenistic Central Asia.
- 5 Robertson (1992) has explained this as the universalization of a particular culture and the particularization of a universal culture – a phrasing which many historians and archaeologists have adopted. However, this risks the analytical fallacy of emphasizing the universal and the particular as ontologically separate entities that are interpenetrative, rather than mutually constitutive.
- 6 Although this increasingly begins to change across classics, see e.g. the approach in Langin-Hooper, 2013; Mairs, 2014b; Nitschke, 2013.

REFERENCES

- Appadurai, A., 1986. Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value, in: Appadurai, A. (Ed.), *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 3–63.

- Appadurai, A., 1990. Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7, 295–310.
- Appadurai, A., 1996. *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization, Public Worlds*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis/London.
- Appadurai, A., 2000. Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination. *Public Culture* 1, 1–19.
- Ball, W., 2015. *The Gates of Asia. The Eurasian Steppe and Europe's Border*. East & West Publishing, London.
- Benjamin, C., 2018. *Empires of Ancient Eurasia: The First Silk Roads Era, 100 BCE–250 CE*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bernard, P., 1971. La campagne de fouilles de 1970 à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan). *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 115.2, 385–453.
- Bernard, P., 1976. Les traditions orientales dans l'architecture gréco-bactriennes. *Journal Asiatique* 264, 245–275.
- Bernard, P., 1997. Ein Vorposten des Hellenismus in Zentralasien, in: Hoepfner, W. (Ed.), *Frühe Stadtkulturen*. Spektrum, Heidelberg, 97–105.
- Bernard, P., 2005. Hellenistic Arachosia: A Greek Melting Pot in Action. *East and West* 55.1, 13–34.
- Bernard, P., 2012. Aï Khanum: A Greek Colony in Post-Alexandrian Central Asia, or How to be Greek in an Oriental Milieu, in: Aruz, J., Valtz-Fino, E. (Eds.), *Afghanistan. Forging Civilizations Along the Silk Road*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 42–53.
- Bhattacharya-Haesner, C., 2016. Central Asia: A Melting Pot of Persian, Greek, Indian and Chinese Cultural Traditions. *Indian Journal of History of Science* 51.4, 630–643.
- Boardman, J., 2015. *The Greeks in Asia*. Thames & Hudson, London.
- Bordo, M.D., Taylor, A.M., Williamson, J.G. (Eds.), 2003. *Globalization in Historical Perspective*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Bricault, L., Versluys, M.J. (Eds.), 2012. *Egyptian Gods in the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean. Image and Reality between Local and Global, Supplemento a Mythos*. Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta.
- Burstein, S.M., 2008. Greek Identity in the Hellenistic Period, in: Zachariaia, K. (Ed.), *Hellenisms. Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*. Ashgate, Hampshire/Burlington, 37–58.
- Castells, M., 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Vol. I*. Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Chanda, N., 2007. *Bound Together. How Traders, Preachers, Adventurers, and Warriors Shaped Globalization*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Chaniotis, A., 2018. *Age of Conquests. The Greek World from Alexander to Hadrian*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Chase-Dunn, C., 1999. Globalization: A World-Systems Perspective. *Journal of World-Systems Research* 5.2, 186–215.
- Colledge, M., 1987. Greek and Non-Greek Interaction in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East, in: Kuhrt, A., Sherwin-White, S. (Eds.), *Hellenism in the East. The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia After Alexander*. Duckworth, London, 134–162.
- Dietler, M., 1998. Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter, in: Cusick, J.G. (Ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact. Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, 288–315.
- Dirlik, A., 1999. Place-Based Imagination: Globalism and the Politics of Place. *Review of the Fernand Braudel Center* 22.2, 151–187.

- Errington, E., Cribb, J., Claringbull, M. (Eds.), 1992. *The Crossroads of Asia. Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan*. Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge.
- Escobar, A., 2001. Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization. *Political Geography* 20, 139–174.
- Foltz, R., 2010. *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Francfort, H.-P., 1984. *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum III. Le sanctuaire du temple à redans. Les trouvailles, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*. De Boccard, Paris.
- Frank, A.G., Gill, B.K. (Eds.), 1993. *The World System. Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* Routledge, London.
- Friedman, J., 1990. Being in the World: Globalization and Localization. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7, 311–328.
- Friedman, J., 1997. Global Crises, the Struggle for Cultural Identity and Intellectual Porkbrelling: Cosmopolitans versus Locals, Ethnics and Nationals in an Era of De-hegemonisation, in: Werbner, P., Modood, T. (Eds.), *Debating Cultural Hybridity. Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*. Zed Books, London, 70–89.
- Friedman, J., 2002. From Roots to Routes: Tropes for Trippers. *Anthropological Theory* 2.1, 21–36.
- Gardin, J. C., 1985. Les relations entre la Méditerranée et la Bactriane dans l’antiquité, d’après des données céramologiques inédites, in: Huot, J. L., Yon, M., Calvet, Y. (Eds.), *De l’Indus aux Balkans. Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes*, 447–460. Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris.
- Gardin, J. C., 1990. La céramique hellénistique en Asie Centrale. Problèmes d’interprétation, in: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Ed.), *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin, 24.-30. Juli 1988*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 30–36.
- Gell, A., 1998. *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*. Clarendon Press, Oxford/New York.
- Geller, M.J., 2014. Introduction to Melammu: Early globalization, in: Geller, M.J. (Ed.), *Melammu. The Ancient World in an Age of Globalization*. Edition Open Access, Berlin, 5–13.
- Giddens, A., 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Hall, T.D., Nick Kardulias, P., Chase-Dunn, C., 2011. World-Systems Analysis and Archaeology: Continuing the Dialogue. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19.3, 233–279.
- Hannerz, U., 1990. Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7.2–3, 237–251.
- Hannerz, U., 1997. Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures, in: King, A.D. (Ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System. Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 107–128.
- Hannestad, L., 2013. A Comparative Study of the Cultural Dynamics of Two Cities in the Eastern Seleukid Empire: Uruk and Ai Khanoum, in: Lindström, G., Hansen, S., Wiczorek, A., Tellenbach, M. (Eds.), *Zwischen Ost und West. Neue Forschungen zum antiken Zentralasien. (Archäologie in Iran und Turan)*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt, 99–115.
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., Perraton, J., 2000. Rethinking Globalization, in: Held, D., McGrew, A. (Eds.), *The Global Transformations Reader. An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*. Polity Press, Malden, 54–60.
- Hicks, D., 2010. The Material-Cultural Turn, in: Hicks, D., Beaudry, M.C. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 25–98.

- Hiebert, F.T., Cambon, P., (Eds.), 2011. *Afghanistan. Crossroads of the Ancient World*. British Museum Press, London.
- Hingley, R., 2005. *Globalizing Roman Culture. Unity, Diversity and Empire*. Routledge, London/New York.
- Hodder, I., 2012. *Entangled. An Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things*. Wiley-Blackwell, Malden.
- Hodos, T., 2010. Local and Global Perspectives in the Study of Social and Cultural Identities, in: Hales, S., Hodos, T. (Eds.), *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 3–31.
- Hodos, T. (Ed.), 2016. *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*. Routledge, London/New York.
- Hölscher, T., 2004. *The Language of Images in Roman Art*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Holt, F.L., 1999. *Thundering Zeus. The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Holt, F.L., 2005. *Into the Land of Bones. Alexander the Great in Afghanistan*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Holt, F.L., 2012. *Lost World of the Golden King: In Search of Ancient Afghanistan*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Hoo, M., 2018. Ai Khanum in the Face of Eurasian Globalisation: A Translocal Approach to a Contested Site in Hellenistic Bactria. *Ancient West and East* 17, 161–186.
- Hoo, M., in press 2021. Western, Eastern, Both, or Neither? Translocalism as an Alternative to Syncretism and Hybridity, in: Lindström, G. (Ed.), *Ritual Matters. Archaeology and Religion in Hellenistic Central Asia. (Archäologie in Iran und Turan.)* Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.
- Hopkins, A.G. (Ed.), 2002. *Globalisation in World History*. Pimlico, London.
- Jennings, J., 2011. *Globalizations and the Ancient World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kardulias, N., 2014. Archaeology and the Study of Globalization in the Past. *Journal of Globization Studies* 5.1, 110–121.
- King, A.D., 1997. Introduction: Spaces of Culture, Spaces of Knowledge, in: King, A.D. (Ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System. Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1–18.
- Knappett, C., 2005. *Thinking Through Material Culture: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Knappett, C., Malafouris, L. (Eds.), 2008. *Material Agency. Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach*. Springer, Boston.
- Kosmin, P.J., 2014. *The Land of the Elephant Kings. Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge/London.
- Kouremenos, A., Chandrasekaran, S., Rossi, R. (Eds.), 2011. *From Pella to Gandhara. Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*, BAR International Series. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- LaBianca, Ø.S., Scham, S.A. (Eds.), 2006. *Connectivity in Antiquity. Globalization as Long-Term Historical Process*. Equinox, London.
- Langin-Hooper, S.M., 2013. Terracotta Figurines and Social Identities in Hellenistic Babylonia, in: Feldman, M.H., Brown, B. (Eds.), *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*. De Gruyter, Berlin, 451–479.
- Lavan, M., Payne, R.E., Weisweiler, J. (Eds.), 2016. *Cosmopolitanism and Empire. Universal Rulers, Local Elites, and Cultural Integration in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- Lerner, J.D., 2015. Regional Study: Bactria – The Crossroads of Ancient Eurasia, in: Benjamin, C. (Ed.), *The Cambridge World History IV. A World with States, Empires and Networks 1200 BCE–900 CE*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 271–299.
- Lewis, M.W., Wigen, K.E., 1997. *The Myths of Continents. A Critique of Metageography*. University of California Press, London.
- Litvinskiy, B.A., 2003. Hellenistic Clay Portraits from the Temple of the Oxus. *Parthica* 5, 37–62.
- Litvinskiy, B.A., 2010. Problems of the History and Culture of Bactria in Light of Archaeological Excavations in Central Asia. *Anabasis* 1, 23–48.
- Litvinskiy, B.A., Mukhitdinov, K., 1969. Античное городище Саксанохур [The Ancient Site of Saksanakhur]. *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* 2, 160–178.
- Litvinskiy, B.A., Pichikyan, I.R., 1983. Monuments of Art from the Sanctuary of Oxus (North Bactria). *Acta Antiqua* 27, 25–83.
- Mairs, R., 2008. Greek Identity and the Settler Community in Hellenistic Bactria and Arachosia. *Migrations and Identities* 1.1, 19–43.
- Mairs, R., 2013. The “Temple with Indented Niches” at Ai Khanoum: Ethnic and Civic Identity in Hellenistic Bactria, in: Alston, R., van Nijf, O.M., Williamson, C. (Eds.), *Cults, Creeds and Identities in the Greek City after the Classical Age*. Peeters, Leuven, 85–111.
- Mairs, R., 2014a. Models, Moulds and Mass Production: The Mechanics of Stylistic Influence from the Mediterranean to Bactria. *Ancient West and East* 13, 175–195.
- Mairs, R., 2014b. *The Hellenistic Far East. Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Mairs, R., 2016. Lapis Lazuli, Homer and the Buddha. Material and Ideological Exchange in West Asia (c.250 BCE–200 CE), in: Hodos, T. (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*. Routledge, London/New York, 885–898.
- Malitz, J., 2000. Globalisierung? Einheitlichkeit und Vielfalt des Imperium Romanum, in: Schreiber, W. (Ed.), *Vom Imperium Romanum zum Global Village. “Globalisierungen” Im Spiegel Der Geschichte*. Ars Una, Neuried, 37–52.
- Malkin, I., 2011. *A Small Greek World. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Martin, L.M., Pachis, P., (Eds.), 2004. *Hellenisation, Empire and Globalisation. Lessons from Antiquity*. Vaniias, Thessaloniki.
- Martinez-Sève, L., 2012. Les Grecs d’Extrême Orient: communautés grecques d’Asie Centrale et d’Iran, in: Martinez-Sève, L. (Ed.), *Les diasporas grecques du VIIIe à la fin du IIIe siècle av. J.-C., Pallas*. Presses Universitaires du Mirail, Toulouse, 367–391.
- Martinez-Sève, L., 2014. The Spatial Organization of Ai Khanoum, a Greek City in Afghanistan. *American Journal of Archaeology* 118.2, 267–283.
- Martinez-Sève, L., 2016. Ai Khanoum: Échanges et résistances, in: Espagne, M., Gorshenina, S., Grenet, F., Mustafayev, S. and Rapin, C. (Eds.), *Asie Centrale. Transferts culturels le long de la Route de la soie*. Vendémiaire, Paris, 97–114.
- McNeill, W.H., 2008. Globalization: Long Term Process or New Era in Human Affairs? *New Glob. Stud.* 2.1, 1–9.
- Miller, B.K., 2015. Navigating and Negotiating the Middle Ground: Cultural Politics and the Southern Xiongnu in Northern China, in: Bemmman, J., Schmauder, M. (Eds.), *Complexity of Interaction Along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the First Millennium CE, Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology*. Vfgarch Press, Bonn, 127–198.
- Miller, B.K., Brosseder, U., 2016. Global Dynamics in Local Processes of Iron Age Inner Asia, in: Hodos, T. (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*. Routledge, London/New York, 470–487.
- Miller, D. (Ed.), 2005. *Materiality*. Duke University Press, Durham.

- Moore, K., Lewis, D.C., 2009. *The Origins of Globalization*. Routledge, London/New York.
- Naerebout, F.G., 2006. Global Romans? Is Globalisation a Concept that is Going to Help Us Understand the Roman Empire? *Talanta* 38–39, 149–169.
- Nederveen Pieterse, J., 2009. *Globalisation and Culture. Global Mélange*, 2nd ed. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham.
- Nederveen Pieterse, J., 2012. Periodizing Globalization: Histories of Globalization. *New Global Study* 6.2, 1–25.
- Nikonorov, V.P., Savchuk, S.A., 1992. New Data on Ancient Bactrian Body-Armour (in the Light of Finds from Kampyr-Tepe). *Iran* 30, 49–54.
- Nitschke, J., 2013. Interculturality in Image and Cult in the Hellenistic East: Tyrian Melqart Revisited, in Eftychia Stavrianopoulou (Ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period. Narrations, Practices, and Images*. Brill, Leiden, 253–282.
- Osterhammel, J., Petersson, N.P., 2005. *Globalization. A Short History*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Pitts, M., 2008. Globalizing the Local in Roman Britain: An Anthropological Approach to Social Change. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27, 493–506.
- Pitts, M., Versluys, M.J. (Eds.), 2015a. *Globalisation and the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pitts, M., Versluys, M.J., 2015b. Globalisation and the Roman World: Perspectives and Opportunities, in: Pitts, M., Versluys, M.J. (Eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 3–31.
- Rapin, C., 1990. Greeks in Afghanistan: Ai Khanoum, in: Descoeudres, J. (Ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, 9–14 July, 1985*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 329–342.
- Ritzer, G., 1993. *The McDonaldization of Society*. SAGE, London.
- Robertson, R., 1992. *Globalization. Social Theory and Global Culture*. SAGE, London.
- Robertson, R., 1995. Globalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity, in: Featherstone, M., Robertson, R. (Eds.), *Global Modernities*. SAGE, London, 25–44.
- Rosenberg, J., 2005. Globalization Theory: A Post Mortem. *International Politics* 42.1, 2–74.
- Rtveladze, E.V., 2009. Kampyr-Tepe-Pandocheion - Alexandria Oxiana, in: Hansen, S., Wieczorek, A., Tellenbach, M. (Eds.), *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt. Asiens Kulturen im Wandel*. Schnell & Steiner, Mannheim, 169–175.
- Seland, E.H., 2008. The Indian Ocean and the Globalisation of the Ancient World. *Ancient West and East* 7, 67–79.
- Strootman, R., 2014. *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires. The Near East After the Achaemenids, c. 330 to 30 BCE*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Thonemann, P., 2015. *The Hellenistic World. Using Coins as Sources*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Thonemann, P., 2016. *The Hellenistic Age*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Tomlinson, J., 1999. *Globalization and Culture*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Tomlinson, J., 2006. Globalization and Cultural Analysis, in: Held, D., McGrew, A. (Eds.), *Globalization Theory. Approaches and Controversies*. Polity Press, Cambridge, 148–168.
- Van Dommelen, P., López-Bertran, M., 2013. Hellenism as Subaltern Practice: Rural Cults in the Punic World, in: Prag, J.R.W., Quinn, J.C. (Eds.), *The Hellenistic West. Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York, 300–319.
- Van Oyen, A., Pitts, M. (Eds.), 2017. *Materialising Roman Histories*. Oxbow, Oxford.
- Versluys, M.J., 2013. Material Culture and Identity in the Late Roman Republic (c. 200 BC – c. 20 BC), in: Evans, J.D. (Ed.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic*. Blackwell, Malden/Oxford, 429–440.

- Versluys, M.J., 2014. Understanding Objects in Motion. An Archaeological Dialogue on Romanization. *Archaeological Dialogues* 21.1, 1–20.
- Versluys, M.J., 2017. *Visual Style and Constructing Identity in the Hellenistic World. Nemrud Dağ and Commagene under Antiochos I*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Vlassopoulos, K., 2013. *Greeks and Barbarians*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York.
- Walbank, F.W., 1981. *The Hellenistic World*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge/London.
- Wallerstein, I., 1974. *The Modern World System I. Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. Academic Press, New York.
- Wallerstein, I., 1980. *The Modern World System II. Mercantilism and the Consolidation of European World Economy*. Academic Press, New York.
- Wallerstein, I., 1989. *The Modern World System III. The Second Great Expansion of the Capitalist World Economy, 1730–1840*. Academic Press, New York.
- Whitmarsh, T., 2010. Thinking Local, in: Whitmarsh, T. (Ed.), *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World. Greek Culture in the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1–16.
- Wood, R., 2011. Cultural Convergence in Bactria: The Votives from the Temple of the Oxus at Takht-i Sangin, in: Kouremenos, A., Chandrasekaran, S., Rossi, R. (Eds.), *From Pella to Gandhara. Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*. Archaeopress, Oxford, 141–151.
- Wu, X., 2017. Ruling the Unrule-able: Bactria in the Achaemenid Empire, in: Weber, K.O., Hite, E., Khatchadourian, L., Smith, A.T. (Eds.), *Fitful Histories and Unruly Publics. Rethinking Temporality and Community in Eurasian Archaeology*. Brill, Leiden/Boston, 258–287.

CHAPTER 27

REPRESENTATION OF GREEK GODS/ GODDESSES IN GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK VISUAL CULTURE



Suchandra Ghosh

Studying the visual culture of a particular kingdom or a dynasty offers some insights into the ethos of that kingdom. This again becomes all the more significant when the rulers belong to an ethnic group whose roots are distant from their actual area of control. Visuals could be used by rulers as a tool for exhibiting power, for highlighting the religious practices of the rulers and the ruled, for the projection of one's cultural identity and even for seeking legitimation. In the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek world the most persuasive medium of visual culture was coins. Their world encompassed the regions of Sogdiana, Bactria, Paropamisadae, Gandhāra, western Punjab and eastern Punjab. Tentative territorial limits for the different kings could be mapped out from their coinages (Bopearachchi, 1991, 1998; on numismatic reconstructions of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek history see also the chapters in Section 5 of this volume).¹ Thus, while Diodotos and Euthydemos ruled in both Sogdiana and Bactria, Demetrios lost Sogdiana, but extended his rule into Gandhāra. Euthydemos II ruled only over Bactria but his contemporary Agathokles, Pantaleon and, later on, Apollodotos I and Antimachos II, were in control of Paropamisadae and Gandhāra. Antimachos I and Demetrios II were in charge only of Bactria. Eukratides I again expanded his regime from Bactria to Gandhāra. However, his kingdom in Bactria was taken over by Eukratides II and the regions south of Hindu Kush by Menander I. Menander, in fact, extended his control even further, and his kingdom covered an extensive area from Paropamisadae to eastern Punjab. Plato and Heliokles I followed suit in Bactria and Heliokles I was the last ruler of Bactria. After Menander, his territory was divided and ruled by several contemporary rulers. Among the later Indo-Greek kings, mention should be made of Apollodotos II who recovered Taxila from Maues and also ruled in eastern Punjab. Finally, by c.57 BCE, only eastern Punjab remained under the rule of the Indo-Greeks, which they lost around 10 CE. It has been justly pointed out by Frank Holt that 'the competition for personal power led them to "rule and divide" until no strong states remained to gamble for the relics of Alexander's greatness' (Holt, 1999, 21–9, 44). The reverse devices of the coins of these kings exhibit a continuous tradition of Greek religious iconography harnessed to bolster the authority of the rulers.² Religion was evocative of the Greek rulers' notion of their own identity. They publicly acknowledged the traditional pantheon of their distant homeland. Zeus, Apollo, Athena, Herakles and the Dioscuri were

popular choices, though other deities like Poseidon, Nike, Hermes, Dionysos, Tyche, Helios and Artemis were also less frequently represented. These gods were not mere monetary emblems. They represented the chosen beneficent deity. We find that the deities chosen by the Greek kings for representation on coins tended to be those who could be used as symbols of power, such as Zeus, Herakles and Athena. Along with coins, excavations at different sites of the Indo-Iranian borderlands which were home to the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers, have yielded art historical materials which often portray Greek gods and goddesses.

In Bactria the Greeks had wrested power from the Seleukids. The patron deity of the Seleukids was Apollo. When Diodotos I, the first Graeco-Bactrian ruler assumed kingship in Bactria and Sogdiana, he replaced Apollo by none other than the king of the Greek gods, Zeus. The reverse device that Diodotos I adopted for his coins was Zeus, striding to the left, bearing the aegis on his outstretched left arm and holding in his right hand the thunderbolt, with an eagle at his feet. The choice of Zeus suits the name Diodotos, 'the gift of Zeus'. On breaking away from the Seleukids, Diodotos called on the greatest of the gods to help him. The figure of Zeus wielding the thunderbolt may have been intended to intimidate Diodotos' enemies. Zeus is one of the most frequently represented gods and is seen occasionally holding the goddess Nike alongside the title 'Nikephoros'. This obviously signifies some kind of conflict between rival groups. Diodotos II issued coins with a balance between male and female divinities. The bronze coins of Diodotos represent Hermes. Hermes was the last born of the Homeric Olympians. That Hermes was revered by the people of Ai Khanoum is evident from a Greek inscription from the Ai Khanoum gymnasium which bears a dedication to the gods Hermes and Herakles, traditionally associated with Greek gymnasial culture (Veuve, 1987; see also Mairs, this volume). Though Hermes is represented as the protector of the gymnasium, he had other roles to play. In fact the art of chemistry is ascribed by Alexandrian authors to the mysterious Hermes Trismegistos or Hermes, the Thrice-Great and he was considered by them as the father of the 'Hermetic Art' and also the patron of the practitioners of this art, who proclaimed themselves as the 'sons of Hermes'. He was also the patron of heralds. As a traveller he loved to accompany men and to escort them. The caduceus is associated with Hermes and when he became the general herald and messenger of the gods, the caduceus became his badge of office (Pinsent, 1988, 32). Thus, the caduceus has often been used as a symbol for the god.

Though Apollo, Zeus's son, god of the sun and patron of truth, archery, music, medicine and prophecy was the most majestic of the Olympians, he had a rather low profile among the deities depicted on coins. However, he did not go unrepresented. He is depicted, either in person or through his symbol the tripod, on the coins of the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings. Apollo is recognizable by his usual representation as a nude youth carrying a bow and an arrow. This representation suggests his role as communicator to mankind of the will of the gods through his shrine at Delphi. The tripod is the symbol of the Delphic Oracle, as it was here that the priestess of the oracle sat (Errington and Cribb, 1992, 78-79). We are aware of the importance of the Delphic Oracle and Ai Khanoum could boast of an inscription reproducing the Delphic Oracle. (Robert, 1968, 416-57) The inscription reads: *'As a child, be well-behaved. As a youth, be self-controlled. As an adult, be just. As an elder, be wise. As*



Figure 27.1 Herakles on a coin of Euthydemus. Photo courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi.

one dying, be without pain'. An epigram affixed to the inscription emphasizes that this text was copied down at Delphi itself. Two kings who used Apollo's image and the tripod also bore the name Apollodotos.

In Hellenistic times, Herakles (the Glory of Hera) was a symbol of strength and courage and the favourite deity of many rulers, including Alexander. Together with Hermes, he patronized the *gymnasium* (Veuve, 1987). In the worship of Herakles, large banquets occupied a prominent place. He is one of the most widely represented gods on the coins of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings. The transformation from a hero to a deity could be seen in the case of Herakles who was famous for his twelve labours. Herakles was used by Euthydemos I, Demetrios and Euthydemos II and shown in a variety of poses, always with his club and lion skin (Figure 27.1). It was Euthydemos I who replaced Zeus with Herakles. There are two significant reasons behind his choice: first, the king was originally from Magnesia on the Meander, in Ionia, where Herakles enjoyed much popularity; secondly, he wished to identify himself with Alexander, who was none other than a new Herakles, the mortal who was raised to the pantheon of Olympian gods for his bravery and courage (Bopearachchi, 2011, 47). On the coins of Euthydemos I, Herakles was seated on a rock and on the coins of Demetrios and Euthydemos II, Herakles was shown standing, holding his club in his left hand and crowning himself with a laurel wreath with his right hand. The types of Demetrios and Euthydemos II may indicate a shift from the old images of Herakles, who on the coins of Euthydemos I was seated as if after his labours (Narain, 1980, 23). On their coins, Herakles stands up with fresh vigour as if ready to conquer new lands. The most interesting image of Herakles is a bronze statuette found at Ai Khanoum where Herakles is posed in exactly the same manner as on Demetrios' coins (Bopearachchi, 2005, 51–65). In the coins of Euthydemos II, Herakles is shown already crowned and holding in his outstretched right hand another wreath. The holding of a wreath by Herakles meant that he was proclaiming Euthydemos II a king which in other words implied that Euthydemos II owed his kingship to Herakles. This particular pose for Herakles was popular throughout the Hellenistic world in the second century. The representation of a boar's head in an issue of Menander might link it with the fourth labour of Herakles, the capture of the gigantic boar of Mount Erymanthos and the palm branch on the reverse might signify his subsequent victory (Errington and Cribb, 1992, 111).



Figure 27.2 Athena on a coin of Menander I. Photo courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi.

The goddess Athena was equally famous in the Indo-Greek world. The monarch of the whole Indo-Greek kingdom integrating several areas of the north-west was Menander I. His dominant reverse type was Athena standing to left, holding a shield and hurling a thunderbolt. (Figure 27.2). Athena, as goddess of war appropriating her father Zeus' thunderbolt, was an appropriate design for Menander. Tarn suggests that as Athena had been a principal deity of the Greek pantheon and was also widely represented on Alexander's coinage, Menander adopted this device in order to emphasize that in spite of the predominantly Indian character of his empire he was still a Greek king (Tarn, 1980, 261). The war-like posture of Athena is accentuated by the fact that her shield is decorated by another of her attributes, the aegis, a monstrous goat skin, decorated with the head of the gorgon. According to Greek mythology, Perseus killed the gorgon Medusa. She had snakes for hair (Pinsent, 1988, 64). The coiled form of the snake had also been used as a design for Menander's helmet. The gorgon's head seems to have had an independent existence as a magical symbol to ward off evil. Interestingly, the portrait of Menander on the obverse of the coin shows the aegis appearing on his shoulder. He brandishes his javelin in the same manner as Athena hurled her thunderbolt. By choosing precisely the image of Athena, Menander wanted to make a direct reference both to Alexander as king of Macedonia and also to the Greek homeland. The representation of Athena on the coin is the same as that which appears on the Macedonian coins of King Antigonos Gonatas and on the Alexander portrait coins of Ptolemy.

Another significant inclusion in the repertoire of Greek deities is Poseidon. Poseidon was the god of the sea and earthquakes, and giver of horses to men. Poseidon's representation was, perhaps, connected with his association with horses. The Greeks prayed to Poseidon to be kindly in heart and help those who voyage in ships (Bowra, 1966, 181). The robe and palm in his left hand, as depicted on the coins of Antimachos, were probably a local innovation.

The coins of Artemidoros bear the depiction of the Greek goddess Artemis. She was a virgin goddess, twin sister of Apollo and mighty huntress. Artemis' most distinctive attributes were her bow and arrows, but she was also sometimes equipped with a quiver, pair of hunting spears, torch, lyre, and/or water jug (Pinsent, 1988, 28). The goddess was clothed in a knee-length girl's dress or a full-length woman's robe (*chiton*), with a cloak (*chlamys*, *himation*), headgear (a crown, tiara, headband,

bonnet or animal-pelt cap), and occasionally the pelt of a deer draped across her shoulders. In Ephesos, a principal city of Asia Minor, a great temple was built in her honour, which became one of the 'Seven Wonders of the Ancient World'.

Pantaleon and Agathokles are the only ones who used Dionysos as a revered deity on their coins. The son of Zeus by a mortal mother, he was the god of the vine and fertility, of joyous life and hospitality and was associated with revelry. On these coins, Dionysos is recognizable by his ivy leaf wreath and diadem, his usual attributes. He also carries over his shoulder the thyrsos, his pine-cone tipped staff. The reverse design also depicts a panther, the animal Dionysos rode on his journey to the East (Errington and Cribb, 1992, 82). The representation of the vine forms a part of the entire scheme of representing Dionysos. Perhaps, they used the Dionysian device to celebrate their victory over Kabul to honour Dionysos, the mythical conqueror of the Kabul Valley. The helmet with the bull's horn and ears owes its origin to Dionysos. It has been suggested that the bull's horns came into visual prominence as part of Dionysos' iconography in the Hellenistic period, when they were used to suggest the Dionysos-like divine and royal powers of the king (Errington and Cribb, 1992, 109).

Apart from the Olympian deities, a few other deities also found a place on the coins of the Indo-Greek rulers. A very significant representation is that of Nike, the Greek goddess of victory. She is normally with wings and is seen both with Zeus and Athena. She is seen standing on their outstretched hands. An appealing depiction is an image of standing Nike holding a wreath in her outstretched right hand (Bordeaux, 2018). It is easy to assume that the goddess of victory was about to offer the wreath to a triumphant ruler. Thus Nike symbolized victory for the rulers. The other goddess is Tyche. On the coins of Amyntas we have an enthroned Tyche holding a cornucopia. She was the Greek goddess of chance, fate and fortune. She was also represented as a city goddess with turreted crown.

Though the Iranian gods are not singularly represented on the coins of the Bactrian and Indo-Greeks, they find a place in the pantheon through assimilation. The representative example is the Iranian god Mithra. He has been assimilated with Zeus and also with Apollo (Martinez-Sève, 2010, 8–9). A coin of the Greek King Hermaios shows Zeus wearing a Mithraic cap with a multi-rayed crown. Apollo appears in the guise of the sun god. Originally, the Greek sun god Helios had a separate identity but later he was assimilated with the representation of Apollo shown with a rayed head, driving a chariot. Even on the issues where he is holding a bow and an arrow, rays emanating from his head can be seen. In this case, Helios-Mithra, perhaps, converged, forming a single identity of a sun god. In his coinage, Plato introduced an unprecedented and unique reverse type in Graeco-Bactrian coinage: Helios radiate, standing in a quadriga. Plato had a very short reign of perhaps five years (c.145–140 BCE) and his territory in southern Bactria would not have been large. The use of the sun god as a reverse device and the title 'Epiphanes', which in turn was used by Antiochos, are attempts to legitimize his rule among his subjects. (Ghosh, 2017, 143).

The Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux were the sons of Leda who were connected with the Trojan war (Pinsent, 1988, 114). On Eukratides' coins they are shown charging on horseback and holding spears. This provides the epitome for a motif running throughout the history of Bactrian kingship and warfare: Hellenistic kings were the leaders of armies and their kingship depended on military strength, which in Bactria was cavalry, and, therefore, for Eukratides, a king who experienced continued

warfare, the Dioscuri represented his power base and, if all went well for him, his reason for success. This was a well-known Seleukid type including the legend 'soter' meaning the 'saviour' in a very special sense. According to Tarn, Eukratides' use of this type meant that he had come to the East as a soter, a saviour (Tarn, 1980, 204). The Dioscuri were part of the wider Hellenistic Bactrian culture. This is evidenced by a c.150 BCE temple at Dilberjin where they are featured in two wall paintings.

Along with the visual evidence of Greek deities on coins, excavated materials from certain sites offer some clues to the presence of objects which are reminiscent of the presence of Greek deities within the territory of these rulers. Smaller-sized reliefs and statuettes in a variety of materials (metal, terracotta, bone and ivory) are known from Iran and, in some quantity, from Central Asia and the Indo-Iranian borderlands (Bernard and Jullien, 1982). The excavation at Takht-i-Sangin (the stone platform) in Tajikistan brought to light a monumental temple (Litvinskiy and Pichikiyan, 1981, 133–67; see also Lindström this volume). In votive store no. 4 of Takht-i Sangin, the sheath of a miniature votive makhaira has been found. It is decorated with a relief of Alexander of Macedon, shown as Herakles. Moreover, together with the sheath, a reliably dated stone altar was found, which was supporting a bronze figure of Silenus-Marsyas playing a double flute. The Greek inscription on the altar base reads as follows: 'Atrosokes dedicated [his] vow to the Oxus'. Silenus, a satyr, the foster father of Dionysos, is represented here in a typical fashion with an enormous head, broad nose and projecting ears. This was a characteristically Greek convention for depicting such wild and lustful persons. The worship of Silenus may indicate the presence of the cult of Dionysos in this region. Though there is hardly any strong numismatic evidence to corroborate it, the writings of classical writers show that the cult of Dionysos was also quite popular in some areas of the Indo-Iranian borderlands. From the writings of Arrian, we find that Alexander came across a city called Nysa, situated between the Kophen and the Indus. According to a legend, this city is said to have been founded by Dionysus when he subdued the Indians and named it Nysa in honour of his nurse Nyse. The people of Nysa begged Alexander to let them remain free and independent. They claimed that since ivy grew nowhere in India but at Nysa, Dionysos must have been the founder of their city. According to Megasthenes, Dionysus was the bestower of wine for the Indians, and the one who influenced them to devote themselves completely to Bacchic ecstasies. That the cult of Dionysos had some impact in the region is also attested by the fact that Dionysian themes are a common subject on drinking cups, bowls and reliefs. Some toilet trays from Sirkap, Taxila depict bacchanalian scenes which are reminiscent of the Dionysian tradition (Dani, 1986, 158–59).

Another dedication of an altar to the Greek goddess Hestia in Zeus's grove comes from the site of Kuliab, north of the Oxus also in Tajikistan (Bernard et al, 2004, 227–356; Lindström this volume). This dedication is by a man named Heliodotos, in honour of the local Greek King Euthydemos and his son Demetrios 'in the grove of Zeus'. Put differently, the goddess was asked to ensure the protection of King Euthydemos and his son Demetrios. This Heliodotos must have been a royal officer who publicly sought protection for the royal family from the goddess Hestia. Hestia was the daughter of Rhea and Kronos and sister of Zeus (Pinsent, 1988, 15). The name of Hestia appears in Greek script on ceremonial drinking horns from the site of Nysa (Bruno, this volume).



Figure 27.3 Cybele on a plaque from Ai Khanoum. Photo courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi.

Situated at the confluence of the Oxus (Amu Darya) and its tributary the Kokcha, Ai Khanoum's direct connection to a wider Greek world is evident from its material remains, sculptural representations, and epigraphic mentions (Martinez-Sève, this volume). An interesting gold-plated silver plaque has been found in the temple at Ai Khanoum. Here, the medallion represents the goddess Cybele. (Francfort, 1984, 94). She is dressed in chiton and a short himation. The goddess Cybele is represented on the plaque as crossing a mountainous region in a lion drawn chariot (Figure 27.3). Her association with the lion emphasizes her war-like character. Nike, the goddess of victory, can be seen driving the chariot of Cybele. Since Cybele is associated with Nike, we can very well assume that the ruler of Ai Khanoum considered her a symbol of sure victory for his kingdom and so we find that this Cybele was not only a simple war goddess but a victorious one for the kingdom. Another interesting feature of this plaque is the *polos* headdress of Cybele. We learn from Pausanias (Mukherjee, 1969, 71–4) that Tyche, the Greek goddess of fortune, had a *polos* on her head and held the 'horn of plenty' or *keras amaltheias* in her right hand. The *polos* headdress of Cybele may connect her with Tyche, though she does not have the cornucopia. There is every possibility that an idea may have gained ground in this region that Cybele Nikephoros brought prosperity to the kingdom. So, the victorious war goddess Cybele also became the goddess of prosperity for the kingdom of Ai Khanoum.

The cultural influence of Greek rule in Sirkap (Taxila), as revealed in the excavated material, is quite significant (Marshall, 1951). However, we hardly have any sculptures of Greek deities. Among the stone artefacts, attention may be drawn to the toilet trays or decorative plates, where the Greek gods and goddesses are depicted as part of a story. The theme of the earliest tray depicting Apollo disrobing Daphne, is entirely Western and so is the costume and style. Henri-Paul Francfort believes it to be one of the earliest specimens of Bactrian Greek art (Francfort, 1979, 9). In the vast repertoire of jewellery excavated from Taxila, some are distinctively Greek or Graeco-Roman in character. Gold brooches display figures of gods and goddesses like winged Aphrodite, Eros and Psyche. Some of the motifs for finger rings include Herakles standing with his club and Nike holding a wreath and diadem, cornucopia, etc. Some imports from the Western world have also been found, e.g. the silver Dionysos head, the bronze Harpokrates, the gold repoussé figure of Aphrodite and Psyche with Eros and the stone statuette of Demeter.

From objects unearthed in a specific site we shall now turn our attention to certain objects representing Greek deities with uncertain provenance but attributed to a region between the valley of the Oxus and Indus. A silver bowl housed in the J. Paul Getty museum represents Dionysos caressing Ariadne in a composition inspired by the Eros-Psyche couple. (Bopearachchi, 2005, 51–65). It has been dated to the end of the second century or the beginning of the first century BCE. In the Cretan ritual of Dionysus, it is said that Ariadne was his consort (Pinsent, 1988, 110). Thus here the artists were aware of the myths and legends of Greece. We may also introduce an example of a slightly later period, an inlaid gold pendant from Tillya Tepe, south of the Oxus. A pair of pendants shows Dionysos and Ariadne on a lion, with wine, and a satyr below waiting to catch the spill in his rhyton. Boardman considers it as 'straight Greek iconography' (Boardman, 2007, 12). Knowledge of Greek tales and iconography is reflected here.

Another object that draws our attention is an ivory medallion on which we have a scene in relief. It represents in a pastoral setting a scantily dressed Aphrodite, sitting on a mound of rocks. The whole scene is composed of three figures: Aphrodite in the middle, a winged female figure to the left and Eros to the right. Aphrodite is represented semi-nude, seated on a pile of rocks, her left hand resting on a rock, while her other hand is on her right thigh. She wears a himation loosely draped around the lower part of her body leaving the torso bare. The winged female figure, wearing a sleeved chiton, stands on a capital, holding what is probably a mirror box. At the extreme left of the plaque, winged Eros stands on the same pile of rocks on which Aphrodite is seated. His right arm is raised while the other is making a gesture as if to unveil the himation of the goddess from the back. This type of mirror was very popular in Greece from the second half of the fifth century BCE. Aphrodite is an Olympian goddess of love and beauty.

Representations of Greek deities in the visual culture of the Indo-Greek world is certainly related to the patronage of Greek kings. Travelling artists could have helped in the execution of different art forms like medallions, toilette trays and independent sculptures. There could also have been a migration of craftsmen after the occupation of Bactria by the nomads. These sculptures are striking examples of the continuity of the Greek tradition vigorously followed in Hellenistic Bactria. What is significant is that the gods chosen for depiction on their coins by the Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers were those who represented symbols of royal power. For the consolidation of their power, these successors of Alexander used a certain set of deities who symbolized strength and power among the Olympian deities. The numerous ways in which Zeus, Athena and Herakles have been depicted is remarkable. Another criterion for choice was their association with Alexander or the Seleukids. These were closely associated with the intention of making the rulers acceptable to the subject population, a sizeable number of whom were Greek. Hellenistic identity through the portrayal of the deities was very actively claimed and cherished. With this penchant for displaying Hellenistic identity the settlers sought to follow the artistic tradition of classical Greece rather than the tradition of their contemporary Greek society. To cite a few examples, Hermes is shown in Ai Khanoum in the archaic style of the end of the sixth century BCE as a bearded man. Not much innovation in the iconography of deities could be perceived in the numismatic issues. Again in the technique of composing mosaics we have instances of pebble mosaics which were used as pavement

in bathrooms.³ Instead of being composed of small stone cubes, which could be laid down in tight patterns to create skilful effects of depth and colour, the mosaics were made by the old technique of setting pebbles in a bed of binding mortar. The mosaic floor of the palace bathroom displays dolphins, sea horses and sea monsters. They were essentially characteristic of similar creations in Greece. The gymnasium in its earliest phase also yielded traces of pebble mosaics. It can perhaps be said that the religious iconography of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek world epitomizes the tendency to take inspiration from the Classical Greek world.

NOTES

- 1 The study of Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins is based on Osmund Bopearachchi's *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: Catalogue raisonné*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1991 and *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, Part 9, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins*, New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1998.
- 2 This has been discussed in detail in Suchandra Ghosh, *From the Oxus to the Indus, A Political and Cultural Study c. 300 BCE to c. 100 BCE*, Delhi: Primus Books, 2017, pp. 135–148.
- 3 For mosaics in Ai Khanoum see Paul Bernard et al., 'Fouilles D'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan): Campagne de 1974', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 63, 1976, pp. 16–24.

REFERENCES

- Arrian, N., *Anabaseos Alexandrou*, V.I.1–6, 1935, 1939 reprint, 2 vols. London/Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1958 and 1961.
- Bernard, P. et al., 'Deux Nouvelles Inscriptions Grecques De L'Asie Centrale', *Journal Des Savants*, 2(1), 2004, pp. 231–331.
- Bernard, P., and C. P. Jullien. 'Haltères votives de lutteurs dans le Gandhāra'. *Studia Iranica* 11, 1982, pp. 33–47.
- Boardman, J. 'Central Asia: West and East'. In *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam*, eds., Joe Cribb and Georgina Hermann. London: British Academy, 2007.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'A New Approach to the History of the Greeks in India', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies*, Bareilly, 1991, p. 10.
- Bopearachchi, O. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, Part 9, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins*, New York: American Numismatic Society, 1998.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Découvertes récentes des sculptures hellénistiques en Asie centrale'. In *Art et Archéologie des monastères Gréco-bouddhiques du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et de l'Asie centrale*, eds. Zmaryalai Tarzi and Denyse Vaillancourt. Paris: De Boccard, 2005.
- . 'The Emergence of the Greco-Baktrian and Indo-Greek Kingdoms'. In *Coins from Asia Minor and the East, Selections from the Colin E. Pitchfork Collection*, ed. Nicholas L. Wright. Adelaide: Numismatic Association of Australia, 2011.
- Bordeaux, O. *Les Grecs en Inde: Politiques et pratiques monétaires (III^es.a.C.-Ier s.p.C.)*. Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2018.
- Bowra, C. M. *Classical Greece*. New York: Time-Life International, 1966.
- Dani, A. H. *The Historic City of Taxila*. Japan: UNESCO and The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1986, pp. 158–9.

- Errington, E., and J. Cribb, eds., *The Crossroads of Asia, Transformation in Image and Symbol*. Cambridge: The Ancient India and Iran Trust, 1992.
- Francfort, H. P. 'Les palettes du Gandhāra'. *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, no. 23. Paris: De Boccard, 1979.
- Francfort, H.P. *Fouilles D'Aikhanoum, III, Le sanctuaire du temple a niche identee, 2. Les Trouvailles*, Paris, 1984, p. 94, Plate 41.
- Ghosh, S. *From the Oxus to the Indus, A Political and Cultural Study c. 300 BCE to c. 100 BCE*. Delhi: Primus Books, 2017.
- Holt, F. L. *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 32. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Litvinsky, B. A., and I. R. Pichikyan, 'The Temple of the Oxus'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 113(2): 133–167, 1981.
- Marshall, J. *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951.
- Martinez-Sève, L. *Pouvoir et religion dans la Bactriane hellénistique. Recherches sur la politique religieuse des rois seleucides et greco-bactriens*. Chiron Mitteilungen Der Mission Fur Alte Geschichte Und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Sonderdruck aus Band 40, 8–10, 2010.
- Mukherjee, B. N. *Nana on Lion: A Study in Kushana Numismatic Art*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1969.
- Narain, A.K., *The Indo-Greeks*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Pausanias. *Periegesis tes Hellados*, translated by W. H. Jones, IV.30, 5 vols. London: Loeb Classical Library, 1959.
- Pinsent, J., *Greek Mythology*. London: Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1988.
- Robert, L. 'De Delphes à l'Oxus'. *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 112–113: 416–457, 1968.
- Tarn, W. W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938; 1st Indian edn. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1980.
- Veuve, S. *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, Le Gymnase*, vol. VI, Paris: Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, De Boccard, 1987.

CHAPTER 28

ROMAN OBJECTS IN THE BEGRAM HOARD AND THE MEMORY OF GREEK RULE IN KUSHAN CENTRAL ASIA



Lauren Morris

Decades before the Greek kingdoms of Central Asia finally began to materialise in the archaeology of Afghanistan, over two hundred objects from the Roman Empire were uncovered during the DAFA's excavations at the urban site of Begram (1936–1942; 1946). The vast majority of this corpus was found within a hoard of over 400 ornate and unusual objects from far-flung places of production, concealed in two former reception rooms (Rooms 10 and 13) of an erstwhile elite residence at Begram's "new royal city," i.e. the southern *tepe* (Hackin and Hackin 1939 [RAB]; Hackin et al. 1954 [NRAB]). The components of this hoard were perhaps drawn from the possessions of an elite residence and an associated atelier in a moment of danger (MacDowall and Taddei 1978, 257) but never recovered after its abandonment. The remaining objects were recovered from an apparently unsealed room adjacent to the hoard rooms (Room T), which remains only poorly documented in the excavation publications.

The Begram hoard included footstools, disassembled furniture legs, and large panels from chairs adorned with low-relief decorative ivory and bone carvings, produced somewhere in the Indian subcontinent (the precise location remains unclear). There were also a dozen lacquered boxes and cups manufactured in state and private workshops of Han China, and locally made bronze vessels, in addition to worked ostrich eggs and glazed pottery of unclear provenance. But the most diverse and plentiful group of individual artefacts in this hoard were made in the Roman Empire. Although it is difficult to locate precise places of production within this complex cultural *koine* through macroscopic observations alone, it seems at least likely that many objects in this group were made in Roman Egypt (Coarelli 1962, 318). Solely for brevity, I hereafter gloss this group as "Roman objects." The Roman objects comprised almost two hundred glass vessels produced through a diverse manufacturing and decorative techniques, in addition to bronze basins, elaborate bronze "aquariums" with mobile elements, bronze figural balsamaria and figurines, over fifty plaster casts apparently taken from designs on metalwork, and vessels of alabaster, porphyry, and rock crystal.

Unfortunately, the question of the Begram hoard's wider historical significance has been impossibly complicated by its documentation history. Because of the deaths of the three primary excavators – Joseph Hackin, Ria Hackin, and Jean Carl – in 1941,

the published documentation of this find exists in the form of a preliminary and post-humous report only. These reports have good qualities, such as their excellent photography and art-historical commentary, but also profound deficiencies, especially in that they convey very little archaeological contextual information. Accordingly, most scholarship about the hoard has been concerned with the question of its date, informed by arguments about the production dates of its constituent objects.

It is widely accepted that the hoard has something to do the Kushan Empire (c. 50–350 AD), but this is where agreement ends. Over time, many scholars have argued that certain of the hoard objects – including glass vessels with applied trailed decoration and those with high relief engraved decoration – may have been produced in the later 2nd or even 3rd–4th centuries AD (See, e.g., Menninger 1996; Rütli 1999). A number of more recent publications have maintained that hoard objects were produced over a shorter period of time, or that they are even coeval, dating to a limited range in the 1st century AD. Of the latter position, Mehendale has suggested that the hoard may represent an abandoned trader's stock in mid-transit along long-distance trade routes (i.e. those of the Silk Road) (Mehendale 1997) which should thus implicitly reflect broader patterns of exchange across Eurasia. But continued research indicates that the hoard objects are not coeval. For example, the lacquer-wares were produced in at least two different workshops between the late 1st century BC to the early 1st century AD (Zhang 2011) and recent reanalysis of numismatic evidence associated with the hoard demonstrates that it was deposited at least after the mid-3rd century AD, appearing to coincide with an abandonment phase of the wider “new royal city” (Morris 2017). The Roman objects are also not as finely datable as might be hoped. The examples with surviving good comparanda from the archaeological record appear to cover a spectrum, beginning in the early 1st century AD, and possibly clustering in the late 1st and early 2nd century (Whitehouse 2001), but later dates for contested objects cannot be ruled out *a priori*. In sum, as the probable production dates of the hoard objects now span at least between the late 1st century BC and late 1st or early 2nd century AD, it seems rather more possible that the hoard objects were imported into Central Asia throughout this period, rather than representing a single abandoned trader's stock. Indeed, such links drawn between the Begram hoard and transit trade reflect enduring, flawed historiographical conceptions of the supposedly central role played by “Kushan middlemen” in external long-distance trade across Eurasia (Morris 2020).

These developments invite us to reconsider the wider significance of the Begram hoard. Two further possible strands of interpretation may be raised here. First, numerous scholars have already sidestepped the minutiae of the dating debate by citing the hoard as evidence for the cosmopolitan tastes of Kushan rulers (e.g. Frye 1984, 264). While the concept of cosmopolitanism is not entirely mistaken, it does not explain the significance of particular patterns which can be observed in the types of objects included, their functions, places of origin, and the subjects they depict. Second, the Begram hoard has figured in the enduring “Greek or Roman” debate in Gandhāran art, namely whether the “classical” stylistic and iconographic elements in this sculptural tradition were transformed from visual culture introduced into Gandhāra in its Hellenistic period, or should rather be seen as an influx of new “models” and/or artists from the Roman Empire. Such models are usually presumed to have taken the form of imported, relatively portable objects. Thus, the presence of Roman objects in

the Begram hoard has been used as evidence for the regional availability of Roman-era models in the development of Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture (Whitehouse 1989). Recent scholarship tends to lean towards some version of the “Roman” argument (e.g. Cribb, this volume), yet the implicit appeal of Roman visual and material culture in this region is hardly self-explanatory.

It is possible to suggest a more historically grounded interpretation of the wider significance of the Roman objects in the Begram hoard. I posit that this corpus sheds light on numerous aspects of elite consumption in Kushan Central Asia, a space encompassing the two northern centres of the empire, Bactria-Tokharistan and Gandhāra, between which lay Begram. The appeal of the Roman objects cannot be explained solely by their “foreignness,” “exoticism,” or their possible association with the Roman Empire and its cultural koine. Instead, I argue that the appeal of these objects derives from the social memory of Greek rule in this space, forming locally held associations about Greeks and Greek culture which were mobilised in expressions of socio-political power and prestige. Here, I use the term “Greek” not in the problematic sense of an essentialised and stable ethnocultural group, but in recognition of a locally meaningful ethnocultural designation. In local, contemporary epigraphy, Gandhāri and Bactrian versions of this descriptor were in use, both presumably derived from Old Persian *yauna*. The Gāndhārī *yona* has been used as an ethnonym (CKI 455) and to describe a regnal era (CKI 405), and the Bactrian *ἰωνάγγο* refers to a Greek language version of an edict of Kanishka I (c. AD 127–151) in the Rabatak inscription, which will be discussed later. Although these terms demonstrate a clear conception of an ethnocultural group, the dynamics of ideas about Greeks and Greek culture prevalent in this space and time remain to be fully explored in scholarship.

The first aspect to tackle about the Roman objects in the Begram hoard is that that they cover a wide spectrum of types of objects, from the relatively common that were widely distributed within the Roman Empire and even beyond across Eurasia, to those that are extremely rare or unique in the global archaeological record. Many among the group of bronzes, for example, were widely distributed. These included the bronze figurines, some of deities, representing the Graeco-Egyptian Herakles-Serapis (NRAB 25), Harpocrates (NRAB 153), Eros (NRAB 63), and others of two horsemen, and a comedic figure (the latter two found in Room T; NRAB 237 and Ghirshman 1946, pl. XII, 1–5). Also common were the bronze figural balsamaria (converted from steelyard weights), almost exclusively depicting deities: Ares (RAB 240 [95]), Athena (RAB 241 [95]; RAB 242 [96]), and Hermes (NRAB 78; NRAB 79). This group also includes the numerous detached elements from composite decorative art, a lamp stand of types found (for example) ubiquitously in Pompeii (NRAB 26), and the group of 37 bronze two-handled basins (RAB 268; 278–294; 296–310; NRAB 56–58; NRAB XI). Two such basins have also been found far beyond the empire in a hoard at Kolhapur in southern India (De Puma 1991, 91, Nos. 40–41, Figs. 5.13–16). Ribbed glass bowls (RAB 177; 247; 311) were also widely distributed. In Central Asia, one has also been documented at the royal pavilion of Khalchayan (Пугаченкова 1966, 55, Fig. 32) and fragments of another at Sirkap (Marshall 1951, 688, Nos. 8–9).

Certain other objects appear to have had a more limited range of distribution, being more specialised, but still have a number of parallels both within and outside

the Roman Empire. The group of glass goblets with enamel painted decoration at Begram (Hamelin 1954) is the largest corpus (by far) of these, but they are also attested in a number of graves in Magna Germania (Rau 2017), and another as far as Lebedevka in modern west Kazakhstan (Мошкова and Трейстер 2014). The set of circular and trapezoidal plaster casts of designs from metalwork at Begram can be usefully compared to the presumably Hellenistic period deposit from Mit Rahineh at Memphis (Reinsberg 1980). Hellenistic-period plaster casts have also been found at Ai Khanoum (Lecuyot 2013, 68) and at the Yuezhi-Kushan period workshop at Old Termez (de Pontbriand and Leriche 2012).

Yet, besides these groups, numerous objects in the hoard were extremely unusual or unique. For example, the two Egyptian porphyry vessels (NRAB 95; 119), and the rock crystal kantharos found in Room 13 (NRAB 121) were considered products of the highest prestige within the Roman Empire (Lapatin 2015, 124–26). There are also numerous classes of oddities among the glass, which is a significant fact as the surviving corpus of comparative Roman glass from the empire and beyond is enormous. For example, the “ichthyomorphic” vessels are a group of blown glass executed in the forms of fish, dolphins, and ships, with distinctive trailed exterior decoration (Hamelin 1953, pl. X). Only broadly formally similar vessels are known from the archaeological record and the antiquities market. The case is similar for the substantial class of glass vessels with external trailed decoration, which were executed in deep blue and colourless varieties, foremost in the form of goblets and two-handled jars (Hamelin 1953, pl. IX). The single closest surviving comparandum was found in a late 1st – early 2nd century tomb in Padua, Italy (Bonomi and Tagliaferro 2006, No. 12). Finally, the decorative technique used for the famous glass goblet depicting a lighthouse in high relief (RAB 203 [56]) is so rarely-attested that it has provoked a hitherto unsettled debate as to exactly how it was made among glass specialists (see, e.g., Lierke 2013, 93). Turning back to the bronzes, the two aquariums – composite devices with repoussé aquatic imagery and attached mobile elements – are extremely singular (RAB 216 [70]; MG 22878, reassembled from poorly-documented fragments in Room 10). The better documented of the two seems to have depicted a mythological scene in an aquatic setting with a gorgon’s head at its centre (possibly Perseus’ rescue of Andromeda), and bore traces of gold flakes and applied polychrome paint (Quivron and D’All’ava 2006, 291). This was an extremely rare decorative technique for Graeco-Roman bronzes. Among its many constituent pieces, it had been set originally under a thick glass plate.

This list could easily be expanded, but I think the point has been sufficiently made: the Roman objects at Begram represent a great spectrum of types, materials, value, and rarity, as well as functions and production dates. From these observations, it might seem plausible to infer that there was high connectivity between agents of the Roman Empire and those of Kushan Central Asia, and prolonged direct communication between these two cultural worlds. However, the broader picture of evidence hitherto available to us does not really support this. Although the first centuries of our era witnessed increasing connectivity across Afro-Eurasia, including regular maritime trade between ports of the Roman Empire and India, emblematically attested by the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (a 1st century AD trading manual written in koine Greek), direct documentation of regular contact between agents of the Roman and Kushan Empires remains very scarce. Bactria and the

Kushans were known only peripherally to the author of the *Periplus*; they were “a very warlike people, the Bactrians, under a king (μαχιώτατον ἔθνος Βακτριανῶν, ὑπὸ βασιλέα ὄντων” (PME 47, trans. Casson). Possible diplomatic relationships between envoys of the “Bactrians” to Roman emperors are hinted at in two late antique Latin literary sources referring to the much earlier reigns of Hadrian (AD 117–138) and Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161) (*SHA* Hadr. 8; *Epit. De Caes.* 15.4). Genuine Roman imports into Central Asia, with which we could contextualise those at Begram, remain uncommon and sometimes optimistically identified (Staviskij 1995), the most relevant finds having already been described above. Although Cribb (this volume) rightfully reiterates that the purported Hellenistic influence on Gandhāran art appears to have closer iconographic and moreover chronological connections with the visual material culture of the Roman Empire, the seeming paucity of Roman imports into this space besides those at Begram means that the question of the transmission of these motifs and styles is still something of an uncomfortable point of speculation. It is wholly possible that the Roman objects at Begram *were* representative of wider patterns of elite consumption in this space. A bias in the available data has some part to play here, as Kushan urban archaeology has not been comprehensively studied. It would not be surprising, for example, if extensive excavation in the Kushan era remains at Balkh could turn up more Roman imports. But for now, how representative the Roman objects at Begram are for this wider space must remain an open question.

Although many questions must remain open, the unique objects in the hoard are key to solving some of them. The very existence of these objects in this chronological and spatial context cannot be a random by-product of some natural distribution of Roman objects across Eurasia, but is the result of a matrix of intentional choices. Unfortunately, in this matrix of choices, producers and intermediaries remain quite obscure from the evidence available to us, but we do have some access – foremost epigraphic and onomastic – to the recipients and consumers of these objects, and this group is the most important for our present concerns. As Miller put it, in her groundbreaking study of Athenian receptivity to Achaemenid Persian culture, “the state of the recipient, not the status of the donor, is the crucial element in reception” (Miller 2004, 243).

Kushan Central Asia was a multilingual and multiethnic space, and this was also reflected among its socio-political elite. The king and royal family, as far as we know, was drawn from the Kushan clan, being one of five such groups from which the Yuezhi was composed. The ethnocultural origins of the Kushans are still obscure. Chinese historical source place the homeland of the Yuezhi in Gansu, and onomastic evidence suggests that the *-shk* suffix in the names of several Kushan kings is a Saka development from an Old Iranian hypocoristic (Sims-Williams 2002, 236–240), but neither of these points help us very much. Although in Kushan official art, references to their nomadic heritage can be discerned (Grenet 2012), this was not the main way the Kushan kings presented themselves to their subjects. They did draw partly on Greek and Indian vocabularies, but the primary language of power utilised in imperial contexts was Iranian in origin. This was especially the case from early in the reign of Kanishka I, when the court language of the empire was changed from Greek to Bactrian, and local and Iranian deities of the Kushan pantheon began to be depicted on Kushan coins, as will be discussed below.

Epigraphic and onomastic evidence provides clues to the roles and ethnocultural identity of the sociopolitical elite under the empire. Relating to the core region of Bactria-Tokharistan, the small corpus of Bactrian inscriptions of the Kushan period name several high officials and titles, if their real functions remain largely obscure. The recently published inscription on an unprovenanced silver dish gives some insight into the figures surrounding the king (Sims-Williams 2015). The inscription describes Nukunzuk's promotion of rank or status under Kanishka I, from an *αμβουκαιο* and *μαρηγο* (servant, slave), to become "equal (?) with (his) father's and with (his) grandfather's servants [*μαρηγανο*], with the foremost (people)" (Line 2, trans. Sims-Williams 2015, see also 259–260). Nukunzuk is attested again later with the high-ranking title of *καρλαργγο* (margrave) (Surkh Kotal 4 M, see Sims-Williams 2010a). His promotions indicate the possibility of upward mobility within this group of foremost "servants." Interestingly, however, Nukunzuk's name appears to be non-Bactrian in origin (Sims-Williams 2010b, 96, §289), raising the possibility that he was an outsider to the region.

We also have some insight into the identities of different elites at lower levels of government. For example, under the empire, the Kapisa region (including the urban site of Begram) probably had a governor, which may be inferred from the Gāndhārī inscription on a reliquary casket from the foundation deposit of the Manikyala stupa, southeast of Taxila. This inscription refers to a "donation of the governor [*kṣatrapa*] of Kapiśā, son of the governor [*kṣatrapa*] Gaṇavhryaka" (trans. Baums 2012, 249, No. 53; CKI 150). Gaṇavhryaka's name is evidently broadly Iranian in origin, and it would appear that this occupation could be hereditary. Also within the highlands of the Hindu Kush, the Wardak reliquary inscriptions (c. AD 178) document the dedication of a stupa by an important local family and shed light on their heritage: family members bear names of variously Bactrian and Indic origins, and the date is somewhat surprisingly given in Greek format, according to the month of Artemisios (Fussman 2015, 172–174).

It is important to note that Greek names were still in use at least into the 2nd century AD; one monumental Bactrian inscription in stone found at the site of Surkh Kotal (SK 3) was signed in Greek by a certain Palamedes (Sims-Williams 2010a, 78, no. 3). The plethora of Gandhārī donative inscriptions of this period not only shed light on elite donors and their professions, but also reveal that Greek names continued to be used, and often within families with members bearing Indic or other foreign names. In light of this, Baums has observed that although the use of Greek names in this manner in Gandhāra "bespeaks the continuing historical memory and prestige of the Indo-Greek rulers, we can deduce nothing from it about the ethnicity or cultural self-identification of their bearers" (Baums 2018, 41–42, Table 1.2). Although this is true in a broad sense – we cannot tell whether a certain Heliophilos (Heliophila), father of Aprakhaka (CKI 328) considered himself ethnically or culturally Greek, and what precisely that would mean – onomastic patterns also reflect deliberate choices, underpinned by some awareness of ethnocultural difference.

What could have motivated a person at Begram to acquire Roman objects, presumably at considerable expense? What was their appeal? It is clear that these items – as the rest of the hoard objects – were considered to be very valuable. Although value is a slippery term formed by cultural agreement, the relative value of the hoard objects is evident from the fact that, prior to their intentional deposition and concealment,

they had been retained for many years (and in some cases, centuries). To describe the range of phenomena embroiled in the question of “appeal,” Bourdieu’s conceptions of different forms of capital, the role of specific tastes in the consumption of cultural goods, and the relation of taste to social status are useful (Bourdieu 1984; 1986). First, the very existence of the hoard objects indicates that their owner/owners possessed significant economic capital, as well as social capital, evident in the size and scope of networks of connections mobilised in procuring these objects. We may already thus suspect that the owner/owners of the hoard objects belonged to a social group in the “dominant class,” which we can gloss here as an “elite group.” Bourdieu argued that the uneven accumulation of cultural capital produces what he termed “lifestyles” of distinctive groups, in which taste is a differentiating social phenomenon. Regarding the Begram hoard, the acts of desiring and obtaining foreign objects imply some possession of the requisite cultural knowledge to appreciate them. Bourdieu discussed the taste for consuming “exotic” food as reflective of cultural capital in certain social groups (Bourdieu 1984, 185–186), and others similarly propose that the “exoticism” of an archaeological object was a criterion which contributed to its value (Dillian and White 2010, 9–11; Selbitschka 2018, 11). Yet while the “otherness” of any such object and effort involved in procuring it may have shaped conceptions of its value, surely the locally held sociopolitical and cultural associations entangled with selected foreign objects contributed to their capability to express and produce distinction. Otherwise, we would observe few patterns in the consumption of different kinds of foreign objects in archaeological contexts. In a related vein, others have suggested that the incorporation of “Western” or Hellenistic elements in Gandhāran art was the initiative of an elite social group who sought to socially distinguish themselves (Taddei 1969, 155–156; Galli 2011, 282–283). I thus propose that it is useful to interrogate the possible cultural associations held in Kushan Central Asia about Roman objects.

Due to the little evidence we have for frequent contact between agents of the Kushan and Roman Empires, it seems unlikely that the Roman objects at Begram were associated by their recipients solely with the contemporary Roman Empire. On the contrary – without specialist knowledge, for example, of the typological and technological developments seen in Roman art and material culture – these objects could be easily read by both modern and ancient observers as iconographically, stylistically, and formally belonging to the world of Greek visual and material culture. Although material and visual culture of the Roman Empire was generally indebted to that of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, a number of the Roman objects at Begram have especially strong links with visual culture of the Hellenistic period.

Perhaps the best examples of this are the Begram plaster casts. These appear to have been produced from negative matrices, themselves made of perhaps clay or wax, and taken from pre-existing silverware of varying antiquity. As such, it is impossible to say when exactly these casts were produced, but they certainly drew on models of the Hellenistic period found in Egypt, spanning probably the 3rd–1st centuries BC, if not a little later (Adriani 1955; Coarelli 2009, 97). Coarelli has also established that the enamelled paintings on numerous glass vessels found in the hoard are likely based on works of the Hellenistic period, especially the large goblet depicting a scene from the *Iliad*, Hector and Achilles fighting in chariots (NRAB 27) which should have its origins in Hellenistic painting (Coarelli 1962). The identification of the scene is

perfectly clear: this goblet features labels painted in Greek identifying both figures. Iconographically, the deities depicted in various forms on the hoard objects could also be easily described as belonging to the Hellenistic world. As mentioned above, among the figural bronze balsamaria we can recognise the busts of Ares, Athena, and of Hermes, and the same is true for the bronze figurine of Eros. Harpokrates and Herakles-Serapis, represented as bronze figurines in the hoard, are examples of Graeco-Egyptian gods. Both Harpokrates and Serapis were popular during the Hellenistic period and later throughout the Roman Empire.

It is fully plausible that such objects would have been associated with ideas about Greeks and Greek culture by a member of the sociopolitical elite in Kushan Central Asia, i.e. the probable recipients and consumers of these objects. As outlined by Cribb (this volume), the period of Greek rule introduced settlers, religious and socio-cultural practices, monetization, and the use of Greek language into Central Asia, and left profound traces in the visual and material culture of this space, extending into the Kushan period and beyond. Accordingly, even in the Kushan period, it is likely that the Greek origin of these deities would have been understood, even though their iconography and attributes had often been mobilised for the expression of Indic and Iranian deities. It is true that the Greek deities depicted on Kanishka's first emissions – including Helios, Salene, Hephaistos and Anemos, all named with Greek (and later, Bactrian) legends – are an act of *interpretatio graeca* for deities of the Kushan pantheon (Grenet 2015, 212–214). But what is most important about these depictions is that they reveal a clear understanding of the deities themselves. Even after Kanishka's reforms (see below), some foreign gods are depicted on occasional issues of Huvishka. Herakles, for example, was depicted on a limited set of gold and copper issues of Huvishka, with recognisable iconography; he carries a club and the lion skin. He is also the only nude deity on all of Kushan coinage, and is unambiguously named in Bactrian variously as HPAKIAO, HPKIAO or HPEIKEIAO. Although during the Kushan period, attributes of Herakles had been adapted variously to depictions of Orlango and Oesho (of the Kushan pantheon) and of Vajrapani in Buddhist art, it is significant here that Herakles is unmistakably coded on these coins as Greek. Serapis presents another unusual case; on rare gold issues of Huvishka he is named in Bactrian ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟ and is iconographically recognisable also from the modius on his head. As now numerous depictions of Harpokrates and Serapis – foremost figurines and seals – have been discovered in Central and South Asia (Mairs 2006, 84–85) it seems possible that both deities, and perhaps also Herakles enjoyed some form of worship in this space even into the Kushan period. The bronze figurine of Herakles-Serapis at Begram (NRAB 25) may well have been read as either deity in this context. Finally, there are also compelling continuities between the Roman objects at Begram and the visual and material culture of the Hellenistic period in Central Asia. As mentioned above, Hellenistic plaster casts were also found at Ai Khanoum, and the Yuezhi-Kushan workshop excavated at Old Termez, and those at Begram seem to likewise constitute part of longstanding traditions of craft production.

The possibility of reading Roman objects as Greek, however, still does not explain the appeal of these objects in Kushan Central Asia. Here, we turn to the question of locally held sociopolitical and cultural associations about Greeks and Greek culture. An important document for interpreting these associations is the Rabatak inscription

of Kanishka I (after c. AD 132) (Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995; Sims-Williams 2004). This limestone slab, inscribed with a Bactrian text, commemorated the foundation of a βαγολαγγο (image temple) fitted with images of the gods of the Kushan pantheon, and the past kings of the dynasty. It also narrated a number of events purportedly occurring in year one of his reign; these included Kanishka's inauguration of a new era for measuring time, replacing the Yona (Greek) era that was previously in official use (for example in the Dasht-i Nawur inscription), and his invasion of India. Most interesting for the present purposes is the following line: "And he issued a Greek (ἰωνάγγο) edict (and) then he put it into Aryan (αρῖαο)" (Rabatak line 3, trans. Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995, 78). The exact meaning here is not clear; Sims-Williams suggests that it could be understood to mean that "he discontinued (the use of) the Greek language," and highlights the similarity of the reference to "Aryan" to that in Darius' Bisitun inscription; but it is not sure whether the author of the Rabatak inscription had direct knowledge of the Bisitun inscription, or if its contents were transmitted orally (Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995, 82–83). And in fact, early in Kanishka's reign, the Bactrian language was chosen to replace Greek as the official language of the empire. Panaino has reiterated the parallel with the Bisitun inscription, but underscores that the term "Aryan" should not be seen simply as a denomination for the Bactrian language. Instead, he suggests that it functioned as an ethnoreligious designation to pronounce the exalted character of the text, was perhaps also entangled with a concept of leadership over the Iranian and Indo-Aryan *ethnē*, and intended to distinguish an "Aryan" meta-linguistic identity from another (Greek) ethno-linguistic tradition (Panaino 2015, 96–101).

It seems that this statement in the Rabatak inscription can be directly connected with Kanishka's reforms as a king. Already in 1976, Fussman referred to these reforms as the "Iranian Revival" (*renouveau iranien*), positing that there was undeniably an anti-Greek political reaction under the Kushans, which did not however entail a rejection of technology in architecture introduced under the Greek kingdoms. Thus, the Kushans presented themselves as an indigenous Iranian dynasty maintaining or restoring Iranian values (Fussman 1976). Two points can be nuanced here. First, the Rabatak inscription derives its power from memories of distant Achaemenid and Greek imperial pasts which were still potent enough to have shaped contemporary political sentiment. The potency of such vocabularies implies the presence of a long and locally held social memory about these times in the past. Social memory consists of a constructed collective notion about the past, which is emphatically not monolithic across society, and plays an important role in the legitimisation of authority and community senses of identity. Material culture is extremely important for the construction of social memory (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003, 2–4).

Yet we may wonder whether there was an anti-Greek sentiment in Kushan Central Asia. Was the political shift towards the power vocabularies of the Iranian world specifically a negative reaction against the Greek past? A different emphasis can be proposed. Kanishka's "Iranian Revival" was not so much anti-Greek, as it was pro-Iranian, choosing this vocabulary as being more appropriate and effective in communicating the political message desired by the ruling family in an imperial context, and perhaps also inspired by contemporary Arsakid usage of the same vocabulary (Sinisi 2017). Although it is often mentioned that the use of the Greek language was

abandoned at this time, Gāndhārī was also taken out of use on Kushan coinage, too; yet, few would interpret this as an anti-Gandhāran sentiment.

It remains fascinating that associations relating to Greeks and Greek culture were clearly not the obvious choice to draw upon in expressions of taste during the Kushan period. Yet in the arguments I have laid out above, the presence of Roman objects at Begram indicates that this was indeed a possible choice to be made, shaped by the history of Central Asia. However, we should also remember that these expressions of taste must have also been adapted into locally relevant practices. For example, the number of glass vessels in the hoard is very high – almost 200 in number – and the majority of these are goblets in conical forms. The number of this corpus implies commensality at a large scale, and invites us to consider drinking practices of the period. In fact, a new vessel form was introduced to Bactria in the “nomad” period: the pedestaled goblet (Lyonnet 1997, 165–169). This implies the introduction of new drinking habits (Maxwell-Jones 2015, 501). This vessel form became ubiquitous in the Kushan period, and special versions featuring triangles painted in black were also produced in the Kapisa region (Ghirshman 1946, pl. XL). I propose a general formal and functional similarity between these pedestaled goblets and the many Roman glass goblets found at Begram, and the possibility that these goblets were integrated into elite commensality in Kapisa.

A plaster cast recovered from the Yuezhi-Kushan period coroplastic workshop at Old Termez provides another example of a Hellenistic artefact being incorporated into local practice. In the Graeco-Roman world, such casts are thought to have been used in workshop contexts, however not for direct mechanical copying of the images they replicated, but as sources of inspiration; see for example, evidence for the use of painted guide lines (Reinsberg 1980, Fig. 61). Although the Termez plaster cast depicts a complex composition, probably a Gigantomachy, the examples of the surviving terracotta figures documented in this workshop do not seem to relate directly to this imagery: they include musicians, and what appears to be a lion, which is so crude that the excavators suggested it was a child’s toy (de Pontbriand and Leriche 2012, 19–22). Naturally, it remains possible that objects were produced at this workshop that imitated visual elements of the Termez plaster cast, but the surviving figurines should remind us that the process of drawing “inspiration” from Graeco-Roman plaster casts in the context of Kushan Central Asia may produce objects that are unexpected to us as modern observers.

In sum, this contribution has proposed that the presence of the Roman objects in the Begram hoard was deeply entangled with the social memory of Greek rule in Kushan Central Asia. Due to the seeming infrequency of direct contact between agents of the Roman and Kushan Empires and the paucity of Roman imports in Central Asia, I have suggested that the appeal of these objects to the multi-ethnic elite of Kushan Central Asia was related to associations about Greeks and Greek culture, as they conceived of it. This is also because many of the Roman objects at Begram could have easily been read by a local elite consumer as Greek, rather than as specifically Roman. During the Kushan period, the Greek language and the origins of many Greek deities were still understood in certain circles. Although Kanishka’s reign saw a shift in the vocabulary of imperial power towards that of the Iranian world, the Rabatak inscription reveals the potency of the social memory of Greek rule and does not imply an anti-Greek sentiment during this period. Finally, for the effective

communication and production of social distinction, the Roman objects at Begram must have been integrated into locally meaningful social and cultural practices, and examples of this have been suggested from the glass goblets and plaster casts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My thanks are due to Lara Fabian, Moritz Huber, Sitta von Reden, and Eli Weaverdyck for many helpful discussions in developing this contribution.

REFERENCES

- Adriani, A. 1955. "Segnalazioni alessandriae: Le scoperte di Begram e l'arte alessandrina." *Archeologia Classica* 7 (2): 124–38.
- Baums, S. 2012. "Catalog and Revised Texts and Translations of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions." In *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries*, edited by D. Jongeward, E. Errington, R. Salomon, and S. Baums. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 200–251.
- . 2018. "Greek or Indian? The Questions of Menander and Onomastic Patterns in Early Gandhāra." In *Buddhism and Gandhara. An Archaeology of Museum Collections*, edited by H. P. Ray, 33–46. London: Routledge.
- Bonomi, S., and C. Tagliaferro. 2006. "Uno pseudo-diatretum da Padova." In *Ut ... rosae ... ponerentur. Scritti di archeologia in ricordo di Giovanna Luisa Ravagnan*, edited by E. Bianchin Citton and M. Tirelli, 105–11. Canova: Edizioni Quasar.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1986. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson, 241–58. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Casson, L. 1989. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Coarelli, F. 1962. "The Painted Cups of Begram and the Ambrosian Iliad." *East and West* 13 (4): 317–35.
- . 2009. "Ritorno a Begram." *Parthica* 11: 95–102.
- De Pontbriand, S., and P. Leriche. 2012. "Un bâtiment d'artisan kouchan à l'ancienne Termez." *Проблемы истории филологии, культуры* 4 (38): 14–23.
- De Puma, R. D. 1991. "The Roman Bronzes from Kolhapur." In *Rome and India. The Ancient Sea Trade*, edited by V. Begley and R. D. De Puma, 82–112. London: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Dillan, C. D., and C. L. White. 2010. "Introduction: Perspectives on Trade and Exchange." In *Trade and Exchange. Archaeological Studies from History and Prehistory*, edited by C. D. Dillan and C. L. White, 3–16. New York: Springer.
- Frye, R. 1984. *The History of Ancient Iran*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Fussman, G. 1976. "Le renouveau iranien dans l'empire Kouchan." In *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique: leurs relations à la lumière des documents archéologiques*, Paris, 22–24 Mars 1976, 313–22. Paris: CNRS.
- . 2015. "Kushan Power and the Expansion of Buddhism Beyond the Soleiman Mountains." In *Kushan Histories: Literary Sources and Selected Papers from a Symposium at Berlin*, December 5 to 7 2013, edited by H. Falk, 153–202. Bremen: Hempen Verlag.
- Galli, M. 2011. "Hellenistic Court Imagery in the Early Buddhist Art of Gandhara." *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 17 (2): 279–329.

- Ghirshman, R. 1946. *Begram: recherches archeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*. MDAFA XII. Paris: G. Van Oest, Éditions d'art et d'histoire.
- Grenet, F. 2012. "The Nomadic Element in the Kushan Empire." *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies* 3: 1–22.
- . 2015. "Zoroastrianism among the Kushans." In *Kushan Histories: Literary Sources and Selected Papers from a Symposium at Berlin*, December 5 to 7 2013, edited by H. Falk, 203–40. Bremen: Hemen Verlag.
- Hackin, J., and R. Hackin. 1939. *Recherches archéologiques à Begram: Chantier no. 2 (1937)*. MDAFA IX. Paris: Les Éditions d'art et d'histoire.
- Hackin, J., R. Hackin, J. Carl, and P. Hamelin. 1954. *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram (ancienne Kâpici) (1939–1940)*. MDAFA XI. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale - Presses Universitaires.
- Hamelin, P. 1953. "Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des verreries de Bégram." *Cahiers de Byrsa* 3: 121–56.
- . 1954. "Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des verreries de Begram (suite)." *Cahiers de Byrsa* 4: 153–83.
- Lapatin, K. 2015. *Luxus: The Sumptuous Arts of Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Lecuyot, G. 2013. *Fouilles d'Air Khanoum IX. L'Habitat*. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, XXXIV. Paris: Éditions de Boccard.
- Lierke, R. 2013. "On the Manufacture of Diatreta and Cage Cups from the Pharos Beaker to the Lycurgus Cup." In *New Light on Old Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass*, edited by C. Entwistle and L. James. London: British Museum, 89–102.
- Lyonnet, B. 1997. *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974–1978)*. Vol. 2: *Céramique et peuplement du Chalcolithique à la conquête arabe*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- MacDowall, D. W., and M. Taddei. 1978. "The Pre-Muslim Period." In *The Archaeology of Afghanistan*, edited by F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, 233–99. London: Academic Press.
- Mairs, R. 2006. "Egyptian Artefacts from Central and South Asia." In *Current Research in Egyptology VI: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Symposium which took place at the University of Cambridge*, 6–8 January 2005, edited by R. Mairs and A. Stevenson, 74–89. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Marshall, J. 1951. *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maxwell-Jones, C. 2015. *Typology and Chronology of Ceramics of Bactra, Afghanistan 600 BCE–500 CE*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Mehendale, S. 1997. *Begram: New Perspectives on the Ivory and Bone Carvings*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Vol. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Menninger, M. 1996. *Untersuchungen zu den Gläsern und Gipsabgüssen aus dem Fund von Begram (Afghanistan)*. Würzburg: Ergon.
- Miller, M. C. 2004. *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morris, L. 2017. "Revised Dates for the Deposition of the Begram Hoard and Occupation at the New Royal City." *Parthica* 19: 75–104.
- . 2020. "Constructing Ancient Central Asia's Economic History." In *Handbook of Ancient Afro-Eurasian Economies. Volume 1: Contexts*, edited by S. von Reden, M. Dwivedi, L. Fabian, K. Leese-Messing, L. Morris, and E. J. S. Weaverdyck, 669–692. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg.
- Panaino, A. 2015. "Ομόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν?." *Electrum* 22: 87–106.

- Quivron, G., and F. D'All'ava. 2006. "De la restauration à l'analyse, l'exemple d'un Bronze de Begram." In *Afghanistan, les trésors retrouvés. Collections du Musée national de Kaboul*, edited by Pierre Cambon, 290–91. Paris: Musée national des Arts asiatiques - Guimet.
- Rau, A. 2017. "Fragmente eines Glasbeckers der Begram-Gruppe (Eggers Typ 186) aus Bordesholm, Schleswig-Holstein. Zu den emailbemalten Gläsern im mittel- und nordeuropäischen Barbaricum." In *Interaktion ohne Grenzen*, edited by B. V. Eriksen, A. Abegg-Wigg, R. Bleile, and U. Ickerodt, 411–424. Schleswig: Archäologisches Landesamt Schleswig-Holstein.
- Reinsberg, C. 1980. *Studien zur hellenistischen Toreutik. Die antiken Gipsabgüsse aus Memphis*. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag.
- Rütti, B. 1999. "Der Pharosbecher von Begram, ein spätantikes Figurendiatret." In *Antike Glastöpferei, ein vergessenes Kapitel der Glasgeschichte*, edited by R. Lierke, 129–34. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Selbitschka, A. 2018. "Genuine Prestige Goods in Mortuary Contexts: Emulation in Polychrome Silk and Byzantine Solidi from Northern China." *Asian Perspectives* 57 (1): 2–50.
- Sims-Williams, N. 2002. "Ancient Afghanistan and its Invaders: Linguistic Evidence from the Bactrian Documents and Inscriptions." In *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, edited by N. Sims-Williams, 225–242. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2004. "The Bactrian Inscription of Rabatak: A New Reading." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18: 53–68.
- . 2010a. "Bactrian Historical Inscriptions of the Kushan Period." *The Silk Road* 10: 76–80.
- . 2010b. *Bactrian Personal Names. Iranisches Personennamenbuch: Band II: Mitteliranisches Personennamen*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- . 2015. "A New Bactrian Inscription from the Time of Kanishka." In *Kushan Histories: Literary Sources and Selected Papers from a Symposium at Berlin, December 5 to 7 2013*, edited by H. Falk, 255–64. Bremen: Hempen Verlag.
- Sims-Williams, N., and J. Cribb. 1995. "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4: 76–142.
- Sinisi, F. 2017. "Royal Imagery on Kushan Coins: Local Tradition and Arsacid Influences." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 60: 818–927.
- Staviskij, B. J. 1995. "Central Asian Mesopotamia and the Roman World. Evidence of Contacts." In *In the Land of the Grypons: Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity*, edited by A. Invernizzi, 191–202. Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere.
- Taddei, M. 1969. "Harpocrates-Brahmâ-Maitreya: A Tentative Interpretation of a Gandharan Relief from Swât." *Dialoghi Di Archeologia* 3: 364–90.
- Van Dyke, R. M., and Susan E. Alcock. 2003. "Archaeologies of Memory: An Introduction." In *Archaeologies of Memory*, edited by R. M. Van Dyke and S. E. Alcock. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Whitehouse, D. 1989. "Begram, the Periplus and Gandharan Art." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2: 93–100.
- . 2001. "Begram: The Glass." *Topoi: Orient-Occident* 11 (1): 437–49.
- Zhang, L. 2011. "Chinese Lacquerwares from Begram: Date and Provenance." *International Journal of Asian Studies* 8 (1): 1–24.
- Мошкова, М. Г., and М. Ю. Трейстер. 2014. "Стеклянный кубок со сценой поединка гладиаторов из кочевнического погребения могильника Лебедевка V (Западный Казахстан) [Glass Cup with Scene of a Gladiator Fight in a Nomadic Burial at necropolis Lebedevka V (West Kazakhstan)]." *Российская Археология* 2: 108–19.
- Пугаченкова, Г. А. 1966. *Халчаян. К проблеме художественной культуры северной Бактрии [Khalchayan. On the Problem of the Artistic Culture of Northern Bactria]*. Ташкент: ФАН.

PART VII

BEYOND THE
GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND
INDO-GREEK WORLDS





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CHAPTER 29

CENTRAL ASIA IN THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD



Xin Wu

INTRODUCTION

The Achaemenid domination of Central Asia during the 6th to 4th centuries BCE constitutes one of the most important episodes in Central Asia's history. During the Achaemenid period, Central Asia formed a large constituency of the Persian Empire, consisting of several satrapies, or provinces. For the first time, the region is clearly documented in historical texts. Following the collapse of the Achaemenid Empire (c. 550–330 BCE), states within the empire were left with a writing-based bureaucratic system, coinage, and an expression of royal ideology using monumental visual representations. Some of the states, such as the Parthian Empire in Central Asia and the Mauryan Empire on the Indo-Iranian border, became large regional empires, and trade between China and the Mediterranean dramatically intensified. The ancient Silk Road, whose heartland lay in Central Asia, also started to take form. The incorporation of Central Asia into the Achaemenid imperial system, therefore, seemed to have profoundly impacted the region's social and economic development.

Despite these assumptions, the extent of Central Asia's integration into the Achaemenid Empire has up until now been the subject of heated debate (Briant 2002: 76, 78–79, 752–753; Stride 2005: 297–298; Cattenat and Gardin 1977: 241–246; Gardin 1986: 88; Lyonnet 1990: 86; Rtvelatze 2002: 133). Visual material from the Achaemenid heartland in Iran and texts from Persepolis and ancient Bactria give the impression that Central Asia was completely incorporated into the Achaemenid imperial system (Briant 2002: 752–754; Henkelman 2018; Wu 2005). Archaeological remains from Central Asia seem to point in the opposite direction, however (Gardin 1986: 88; Lyonnet 1990: 86). The local ceramic assemblages of Central Asia, referred to as the Yaz II–III complex, from pre-Achaemenid periods continue into the Achaemenid period with no significant changes (Lhuillier 2018a: 260). Persian-style material remains, which are traditionally used to define the Achaemenid presence in provinces outside of Iran, are also absent. Notably, Achaemenid *phialai* (or drinking bowls), which have been discovered in large numbers in Anatolia and the Indus Valley (Dusinberre 1999; Dusinberre 2003, 177; Magee, et. al. 2005, 732, Fig. 16; Petrie, et. al. 2008), are almost completely absent in Achaemenid period levels in Central Asia (Khasanov and Isamiddinov 2011). The discrepancy between the texts and the excavated remains has long been a problem. Recent excavations and a new

method for interpreting this archaeological data, however, is changing the picture about the Achaemenid Empire's impact on Central Asia. Drawing on the publication of new texts and recent archaeological discoveries in southern Central Asia, this contribution presents an up to date view on Central Asia in the Achaemenid period.

CENTRAL ASIA BEFORE THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

Little is known about Central Asia in the period immediately before the region was annexed into the Achaemenid Empire. Literary sources discussing Central Asia before the Achaemenid period are extremely rare, fragmentary, and somewhat unreliable. The scraps of information recorded by contemporary Greek authors such as Herodotos, Ktesias, and Xenophon almost exclusively concern Bactria. They portray Bactria as a place of military might and impressive wealth. The Bactrian kingdom was so strong and wealthy, it was capable of confronting and challenging the most powerful political entities of the time, namely the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians. Cyrus, the first Persian king, was defeated in Central Asia during his campaign against the nomadic peoples living to the east of the Caspian Sea. The literary sources, despite being scanty – and sometimes contradictory – nonetheless clearly indicate that, from the perspective of the contemporary Greek authors, Bactria was strong and wealthy enough to become a major player in the game for power in the first millennium BCE (Wu 2017: 260–261).

From an archaeological perspective, the era immediately before the Achaemenid period remained completely unknown until very recently. Excavations at Ulug Depe in southern Turkmenistan, Koktepa in the middle Zarafshan Valley and Bandikhan in the Surkhandarya Valley in Uzbekistan now offer some basic information on the socio-economic situation of Central Asia before the Achaemenid period. Among these sites, Ulug Depe is the best known.

Ulug Depe

The site of Ulug Depe is located in the piedmont zone near the border between modern-day Iran and Turkmenistan. The mound of Ulug Depe occupies an area of 13 hectares and rises more than 30 metres above the surrounding plain. The site has the deepest stratigraphic sequence of all Central Asian sites, having been continuously occupied since the Early Chalcolithic, perhaps even to the Neolithic period, up until the 7th century BCE, whereupon it was then partially occupied during the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods (Lecomte 2011: 221; Lecomte 2013: 168, 171; Lhuiller, et. al. 2013: 12; MAFTUR 2014: 5, 17). The most remarkable discovery at the site is the presence of a pre-Achaemenid, Middle Iron Age (Yaz II period, ca. 1100–600 BC) urban settlement at the top of the mound. The settlement is comprised of an upper and lower town that was surrounded by a strong, circular wall approximately 1.5 to 3 metres thick. A series of large monumental structures, including a citadel, a treasury, a manor, and a palatial complex, occupy the upper town. Most of these buildings stand on platforms built of mudbrick and *pakhsa*. The lower town is mostly occupied by domestic structures. Inside the city wall, the buildings are connected by a number of main streets and secondary alleys. The hierarchy and density of the intramural buildings suggest that Ulug Depe was perhaps already a centrally

organized urban settlement before the area was incorporated into the Achaemenid Empire. It has been noted that Ulug Depe is presently the only known urban complex in Central Asia with a Yaz II or pre-Achaemenid settlement (Lecomte 2013: 171). The citadel, now completely excavated, is the most important and well-preserved structure at Ulug Depe. The building, which stands on top of a two-stepped *pakhsa*-brick terrace, marks the highest point of the site. The structure is a large two-story fortified square building (43 × 43 metres) (Boucharlat, et al. 2005: 480). Buttresses and recesses decorating the outer walls bolster each façade in a visual display of strength and might. Loopholes, which could be both decorative and functional, penetrate the thickness of the wall. The first floor of the citadel consists of a series of elongated rooms surrounded by an outer and an inner corridor. Large jars, some almost one-meter tall, and administrative devices (a stone seal and numerous clay sealings) found inside the corridors, rooms, and closed doorways suggest the first floor of the building was a storehouse (Wu and Lecomte 2012). The upper floor was accessed by a broad staircase leading from the citadel's main entrance. The walls of the building were, at least partially, painted red (Lecomte 2013: 177). Owing to its height, large dimension, and bright colour, the building could have been seen from 30 kilometres away in antiquity (Lecomte 2013: 173). Apart from its utilitarian function, the citadel must have also served as a symbol of power and territorial control over the flat landscape around Ulug Depe. The archaeologists identified two occupation phases in the citadel, separated by a burnt deposit, indicating that fire had burnt down most of the structure at one point. Carbon 14 dates derived from this destruction level indicate the fire occurred around the 10th or 9th centuries BCE (Lecomte 2013: 174; Lhuiller, et. al. 2013: 13). Given the urban agglomeration, monumental buildings, and administrative devices, one can assume that a proto-state with a hierarchical society already existed in the pre-Achaemenid period at Ulug Depe.

Koktepa

Koktepa is located in the Zarafshan Valley about 35 kilometres north of Samarkand. Excavations at the site show that it was mainly occupied from the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE to the 3rd century BCE, or from the Early Iron Age (Yaz I period, ca. 1500–1100 BC) to the Hellenistic period (Lhuiller and Rapin 2013: 31). According to Rapin and Isamiddinov (Rapin and Isamiddinov 2013: 117, 124–126), Koktepe was a “proto-urban” centre and played an important role in agricultural and craft production between the 13th to 8th centuries BCE. The site is characterized by an agglomeration of densely compacted, multi-roomed houses built above ground with *pakhsa* blocks (Rapin 2007; Lyonnet 2009; Rapin 2010: 142; Rapin and Isamiddinov 2013: 124–125). Rows of wooden postholes that would have supported light-weight structures suggest that, from the early 1st millennium BCE to the beginning of the Achaemenid period, a semi-sedentary people, who lived in huts or yurts, occupied the site together with their livestock (Rapin 2007: 32; Rapin and Isamiddinov 2013: 126–127). By the 7th or 6th century BCE, the inhabitants of Koktepe, perhaps related to a sedentary Saka population, built two fortified monumental courtyards on top of artificial platforms (Lhuiller and Rapin 2013: 31). Rapin and Isamiddinov suggest (2013: 126–128) that these courtyards could have been the loci for the site's earliest politico-economic and religious bodies, implying the existence

of a local state organization. Rapin (2007: 35–36) further credits these presumed political entities with the construction of the Bulungar and Dargom, two large canals diverted from the Zerafshan River, which suggests the development of local agriculture during the second quarter of the 1st millennium BCE. The problem is that the evidence thus far is not strong enough to sufficiently demonstrate that Koktepe was a true urban settlement or that the canals date to this early period (Stride et al. 2009: 76–78, *contra*; Rapin and Isamiddinov 2013: 118–120; Isamiddinov 2002: 30, Rapin 2010: 142).

Bektepa and Jandavlat Tepa

While more research is being done at the Iron Age sites in the Surkhandarya Valley of Southern Uzbekistan, pre-Achaemenid levels are still little understood as few remains from this period have yet been exposed. For example, excavations conducted in the Bandikhan Oasis in northern Bactria show that sites were inhabited from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Medieval periods, and from the 2nd millennium BCE to the 4th to 5th centuries CE. The occupations are distributed on several different mounds, among which Majdatepa (Bandikhan I) is the earliest. The site is dated to the Early Iron Age. It consists of a citadel and a surrounding lower town. Immediately prior to the Achaemenid period in the first half of the 1st millennium BCE, the settlement shifted to the nearby site of Bektepa (or Bandikhan II). In the small area being excavated, Nikolaus Boroffka and Leonid Sverchkov discovered at the lowest level a pit house dated to the Middle Iron Age. The settlement was then temporarily abandoned before it was reoccupied in the Late Achaemenid period (Boroffka 2006; Sverchkov and Boroffka 2007: 119–121). In the Sherabad Oasis, an Czech-Uzbek team excavating the site of Jandavlattepa revised the chronology of the site proposed by earlier Soviet scholars from the Achaemenid period to the Early Iron Age (Abdullaev and Stančo 2011: 17, 20; Stančo 2018; Stančo *this volume*). Even so, the new research has not yet clarified the extent of the site in these earlier periods (Abdullaev and Stančo 2011: 17). Despite the limited information they offer, the archaeological work at these oases are crucial for understanding the settlement pattern of the following Achaemenid period. In addition to the excavations at Bandikhan and Jandavlattepa, on-going surveys in the Sherabad and a number of other oases in the eastern piedmont of the Kugitang mountains in Sukhandarya by the Czech-Uzbek team (Augustinová 2018; Stančo and Tušlov 2019), also offer the potential for recording a change in settlement patterns in the area during the Achaemenid period (see below).

The archaeological material (and textual sources) seem to indicate that Central Asia was at an early stage in its progress towards state formation in the pre-Achaemenid period. Some centers, such as Ulug Depe and Koktepa, might have been at an incipient stage of state formation (Rapin and Isamiddinov 2013: 117, 124–126; Abdullaev 2018: 139; Lhuillier 2018a: 264). There is no firm evidence, however, to sufficiently demonstrate that Central Asia had reached statehood. There is also no evidence to demonstrate that Bactria, as the literary texts claim, was particularly strong. This might be due to a lack of archaeological research at pre-Achaemenid sites in northern Afghanistan, however. At Bala Hissar, where the ancient site of Bactra was located, recent archaeological work yielded ceramics dated to the Early Iron Age (Lhuillier 2018a: 266), but it is not yet clear how big the site was during the

pre-Achaemenid era. At Tillya-tepe, which is one of the main reference sites for Iron Age culture and chronology in Afghanistan (Lhuillier 2018b: 121–122), Sarianidi identified both pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid levels. The excavation revealed a large monumental building, referred to as a citadel, dating to the Early Iron Age (Sarianidi 1989). For the Achaemenid period, however, the situation is not clear is not at all clear.

CENTRAL ASIA AND THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

Central Asia appears for the first time in written sources during the Achaemenid period. It is mentioned in Achaemenid royal inscriptions and administrative documents and in literary texts by classical Greek authors. Additionally, images depicting people from Central Asia, sometimes accompanied by labels identifying their ethnic identity, have been found in the Achaemenid imperial heartland and provinces. These texts and images allow a peek into the ideological, political, and economic relations between Central Asia and the imperial power that dominated the region. The Achaemenid royal inscriptions and the court art project the two sides of the Persian-Central Asian relationship: peaceful and cooperative and yet contested.

Central Asia in Achaemenid iconography

The earliest reference to the land and people of Central Asia is found on the Behistun rock inscriptions, which describe the uprising within the Persian Empire upon the accession of Darius to the throne in 522/521 BCE. In addition to mentions of Bactria, Sogdia, and Chorasmia, the text identifies the four countries (namely Parthia, Hyrcania, Margiana and Arachosia) of Central Asia and the six from Iran and further west that rose up against him. This suggests that, by Darius' reign, most of Central Asia was already, or was becoming, part of the Achaemenid Empire. Added to the list in 519 BCE were the nomadic Saka people of Central Asia.

Other Achaemenid sources mentioning Central Asia are mainly lists of the imperial provinces accompanied by visual personifications of those provinces. In official art, people of Central Asia are represented, like all the other imperial subjects, as peaceful and devoted supporters of the Persian king, bringing gifts, carrying the throne, and supporting the dais of the Great King. These images, and the royal inscriptions, intend to convey the Achaemenid royal ideology but, in terms of Persia's relationship with Central Asia, they do not say much more than that the region was perhaps under control of the Persian kings.

Political Relations between Central Asia and the Achaemenid Empire

Apart from the Behistun Inscription and relief, no official art or royal inscription refers to political and military conflicts between the empire and its provinces, except for the so-called “Daiva inscription” from the reign of Xerxes (XPh 37–38), which vaguely refers to a revolt occurring somewhere in the empire (Boucharlat 2010). Numerous pictorial representations depicting warfare or human combat scenes have been found on private media, however, especially on seals and sealings found throughout the Achaemenid Empire. Many of the images show conflicts between the Achaemenid

elite and people of Central Asia. A study of the representations of warfare scenes on these glyptics and other media suggests that Persian authority continued to be contested on the empire's northeastern frontier during the second half of Darius's reign and the during the reigns of Xerxes II (r. 486–465 BCE) and Darius II (r. 423–404 BCE) (Wu 2014: 221–222; 268–270). Central Asia and the mobile communities of the Central Asian steppe created major problems for the Achaemenid kings. Images of war with Central Asian people also gained in popularity in provinces outside of the imperial heartland and Central Asia. They were found on sealings impressed on clay tablets at Nippur in Mesopotamia, on a wooden comb in Kazakhstan, and on stone sculptures, painted wood, and seals or sealings in Anatolia and beyond (for examples, see Wu 2014: 222, 243, 245, 251–252, note 76; Sevinç, et. al., 2001; Summerer 2007; Simpson and Pankova 2017: 300, cat. 214; Kaptan 2002: 12, 27; 151–153; 207, figs. 257–98; Kaptan 2010: 367; Boardman 1970: 882). The adoption and popularity of such imagery throughout of the empire may indicate that the Achaemenid elite perceived the people of Central Asia and the steppe, at least on an ideological level, as being formidable “enemies/warriors” (Wu 2014: 254–256).

A number of accounts concerning revolts mention Achaemenid kings and Bactrian satraps (Wu 2010: 546; Wu 2014: 255–257). Briant has interpreted these political incidents as merely conflict within the Persian royal family or between the Great King and his brothers and royal contenders in Bactria (Briant 2002: 524, 570). As warfare images, these documented incidents could well be seen as snapshots of the Persian kings' attempts to “pacify and stabilize” the empire's northeastern frontier (Wu 2014: 256, Kuhrt 2007: 182).

Central Asia in the Achaemenid administrative system

Greek authors, clay tablets in Elamite from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, and Aramaic texts, especially the recently published Aramaic texts from Ancient Bactria (ADAB), all suggest that Central Asia was well incorporated into the Achaemenid administrative and economic system since at least the reign of Darius, if not earlier, until the very last moment of the Persian Empire. According to Herodotos' taxation list (Herodotos 3.89–97), which was perhaps copied from an Achaemenid official document (Briant 2002: 392), the peoples of Central Asia were obligated to pay an imperial state tax to the Great King. For example, the Bactrians as far as the land of the Aegli paid 360 talents of silver (Herodotos 3.93.1), the Sakas and Caspians gave 250 talents, and Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, and Areia together paid 300 talents (Herodotos 3.93.3).

The Elamite travel texts from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, which is dated to c. 509–493 BCE and document distributions from the Achaemenid imperial storehouses to individuals traveling under the state's aegis (Hallock 1969; Hallock 1978; Briant, et. al. 2008), attest that Central Asia was part of a complex communication network centred around Persepolis (Henkelman 2018). Accounts, referred to as Q texts, acted as receipts for rations (in flour/grain, livestock, beer, fruits, etc.) that were distributed to the people travelling on official business on the imperial royal road. They travelled under the authority of the king or other high officials, such as provincial governors, and received travel provisions daily at official way stations *en route*. The texts usually give the origins and destinations of the journey, the authority

under whom they travelled, the names of the suppliers and recipients, the number of people who received the rations, and, finally, the month and year issued. The tablets often (but not always) bore impressions of the seals of the allocators and recipients. The countries in the northeast, including Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Arachosia, and Paricana (a sub-region of Arachosia) were mentioned as places of origin and/or as destinations. The texts also mention ethnonyms such as “Bactrian,” “Sogdian,” “Arachosian,” “Paricanan,” and others.

The administrative accounts suggest a high level of connectivity between the empire’s heartland and the distant places in the East (Henkelman 2018: 229). Within the vast network that covers the entire empire, people from nearly all parts of Central Asia travelled to the imperial heartland for various tasks, such as participating in construction projects, delivering gifts and tributes, and forging political alliances. They went as organized labour groups, skilled craftsmen, servants, soldiers, and government officials, and, sometimes, they were accompanied by professional guides (*barišdama*) (Henkelman 2018: 229). The people of Central Asia travel to or from the imperial heartland as groups of workers (including women and children), specialized craftsman, soldiers, or high-status officers. Some travel groups also brought with them animals, such as horses, camels, or dogs. These animals, as part of the travel groups, also received provisions. The leaders of the groups usually carried with them written documents from the king or from high status administrators in Persepolis or Susa, including for example Parnakka and Ziššawiš, who were respectively the general and the deputy director of the Persepolis administrative system (Briant, et. al. 2008: 469–71, Henkelman 2010: 670), Bakabana, the satrap residing at Susa (Henkelman and Stolper 2009: 314), and other satraps residing in the East.

An analysis of the responsibilities and activities of the individuals and travel parties mentioned in the texts sheds light on the organization and administrative practices of, or related to, the East, and subsequently, the empire. The travel accounts mention the names of the satraps of the two most powerful provinces of Central Asia, namely Irdabanuš, satrap of Bactria, and Bakabaduš, satrap of Arachosia (Henkelman 2018: 230, 235). Whereas the purview of Irdabanuš’ authority is not yet entirely clear, Bakabaduš seems to have an overarching authority over the wide region of Arachosia and Gandhāra. He issued authorisations for not only those who travelled from Arachosia, but also those who passed through other regions. He handed out travel authorisations to travellers from Arachosia (PF 1351, NN 1898), Gandhāra (PF 1358), and Barikkana (PF 1495). His authority also stretched into Drangiana, Sattagydia, and possibly other areas in the southeastern part of the empire (Henkelman 2017: 168). Among the travellers from the northeast, the Bactrians were mentioned most frequently. The Sogdians are also well attested (Henkelman 2018: 225). Henkelman’s study of the Bactrians shows that while some of those Bactrians were fully incorporated in Achaemenid social structures, others maintained their own social cohesion, internal organization, and a certain level of independence (Henkelman 2018: 242).

The communication between Central Asia and the imperial heartland went both ways: specialists (such as stonemasons and perhaps scribes) and commodities carried by caravan also went to Central Asia from the imperial heartland. Some of these specialists were initially from the far west. One text refers to a group of over a hundred of female Skudrians of northwestern Anatolia or the Black Sea area and a party of

Ionians/Greeks traveling to Persepolis, presumably after finishing an assignment in Arachosia (Henkelman 2017: 133–134). Along with the movement of people was the movement of goods between Central Asia and the imperial heartland. For example, PF 2056 records the allocation of rations to a group of travellers travelling from Aria to Susa. The group consisted of 588 men, 18 horses, and 100 mules (Hallock 1969: 636). The large size of the group and the significant number of pack animals in the caravan suggest the transport of some sort of commodities. Since the group received provisions from the Persepolis economic network, it is more likely that the caravan was carrying goods for the Achaemenid central administration rather than trade items for private merchants. These goods may have been taxes or tribute owed to the royal court by the satrapy of Aria. A number of texts explicitly document the transport of *baziš* (tribute or tax) from Arachosia and Barrikana/*Parikāna to Susa. These travel groups were often composed of ten or more people, and, sometimes a number of horses (Henkelman 2017: 99, note 75, 163–165). Some groups also included a large number of *puhu* or servants. Henkelman (2017: 164) believes that these *puhu* may have comprised a part of the taxes from the East. Besides the taxes/tributes owed by the satrapies, individual households may have also sent their taxes/tributes to the imperial heartland. PF 1495 mention the transport of *baziš* from two individuals – who were perhaps high-status people bestowed with royal land grants – from Arachosia and Barrikana/*Parikāna to Susa. Such *baziš* could have been a personal form of tax (Henkelman 2017: 99, note 75, 163–165).

The travel documents, which are remnants of much more similar tablets belonging to an originally much larger archive, imply vast imperial investment. Apart from the food provisions for the travellers, investments in infrastructure would have included the construction and maintenance of a vast network of imperial roads, placing and supplying way stations *en route*, building storage facilities, workshops, animal farms, and sometimes even new cities. All of this would have to be equipped with logistic support, such as the guidance and protection of travellers by professional guides, military personnel to ensure the security of the travellers, and bookkeeping by administrators or scribes and accountants (see also Henkelman 2017: 83). Given the complexity of the administrative system alluded to in the Persepolis Fortification tablets, it is not difficult to imagine that a fair number of travellers were administrative officers who were either stationed in the East or who travelled there for official business. Especially worth mentioning are the various people associated with the “treasury” (*kapnuški*), or storehouses, at various levels (royal, satrapal, local). The administration of the treasury would also require scribes and/or accountants. More than two hundred pieces of green chert vessels (mortars, pestles, and plates) from the Persepolis Treasury carry Aramaic inscriptions, which mention craftsmen, a “sub-treasurer,” a “treasurer,” and a governor at work in some fortresses in Arachosia (Bowman 1970: 25–33). These inscriptions indicate the existence of a centralized administrative system, the use of writing, and a standard administrative protocol in Arachosia comparable to the court in the imperial heartland (Henkelman 2018: 243–244). Some of the scribes/administrators may have been trained in the heartland before moving east to have a career there (Henkelman 2017: 172); others were sent from the Great King to the East probably for short-term jobs such as auditing taxes.

Administrative texts found in Central Asia corroborate the Elamite texts from the imperial heartland, further suggesting that Central Asia was indeed fully integrated

into the Achaemenid Empire. Two fragments of clay tablets from Old Kandahar (see Ball this volume) provide tangible evidence for the existence of Persepolis' bureaucratic protocols in Central Asia. The texts record balances on deposits. They suggest, as Fisher and Stolper (Fisher and Stolper 2015: 20) rightly pointed out, a similar recording and administrative process at Persepolis and in the East. The texts from Old Kandahar also testify to a now-lost administrative archive, a collection of primary documents, and a central institution that monitored an administrative province (in this case, Arachosia) (Fisher and Stolper 2015: 20).

A corpus of administrative texts from Afghanistan, known as the Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (ADAB), offers direct evidence for the existence of a “director’s/governor’s archive,” which was hinted at in the travel documents in the Persepolis archive, but which has not yet been found. The documents, dated to the mid-late 4th century BCE (353 to 324 BCE) span the last years of the Achaemenid Empire and the first seven years of Alexander the Great (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 16–18). They likely once belonged to Akhvamazda, a high-level Achaemenid administrator, presumably the satrap of Bactria (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 17). The archive included 30 Aramaic texts written on leather and 18 wooden tally sticks for book-keeping. The Aramaic used in the Bactrian documents demonstrates an astonishing resemblance to the language used in Aramaic documents found in Egypt (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 39–57). The technical vocabulary was also similar to the language used in the Persepolis Fortification Archive (Henkelman 2018: 244).

The ADAB testify to the existence of central scribal schools in the empire and to some administrative personnel working in Central Asia who may have come from the imperial heartland (Henkelman 2017: 172; Henkelman 2018: 244). The content of the documents, specifically the letter orders and lists of travel provisions, reveal bureaucratic protocols and an institutionalized central economy at the satrapy level closely resembling and echoing the one at work at Persepolis (Henkelman 2018: 242). Henkelman (2018: 243) suggests that such mimicry reflects a duplication and implantation of the Persian centralized system in Arachosia and Bactria following the model of the imperial heartland centred around Persepolis, and that such an imperial system must have left its signature on the physical landscape. He surmises that such a signature would have consisted of an expansive road network, numerous way stations *en route*, various types of craft-manufacturing centres and store-houses, live-stock stations, bridges, forts, newly founded cities, agricultural and poultry farms for food, markets for acquiring other goods travellers may need, and, possibly, palaces and manors for the royal family or high officials as well. Henkelman (2017) has identified such features and structures for the imperial heartland, and posits, that if such a network existed in Central Asia, one should be able to see it in the archaeological remains of an institutionalized landscape.

CENTRAL ASIAN LANDSCAPE DURING THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

New settlements

Recent archaeological research has revealed drastic changes to the landscape in Central Asia during the Achaemenid period (Fig. 1). This is reflected primarily by the appearance of new settlements deliberately arranged in clusters or in lines to take

advantage of the landscape. Many of the new sites (of various sizes and purposes) are located at the foot of mountain passes or at the crossing point of rivers. They are often fortified in an apparent desire to control access to roads and river ways (Rtvelatze 2001: 297; Rtvelatze 2002: 132–133). For example, Khaitabad is one of the numerous new settlements in the Surkhandarya Valley in southern Uzbekistan. The fortified site is situated on a ford of the Surkhandarya River, a major tributary of the Oxus/Amudarya River. Next to the site lies the head of a large irrigation canal, whose construction has been linked to the site (Stride 2005: 287, 291). This configuration suggests that Khaitabad may have been built to control the traffic across the river and the distribution of water for agriculture (Stride 2005: 295, 299). Talashkan Tepa I, located to the northwest of Khaitabad, is another site established in the Achaemenid period. It is a fortress equipped with five-meter-thick walls composed of two walls and a corridor in between. Unfortified structures outside of the fortress, which have now disappeared, indicate that Talashkan I might have initially served as the citadel of a larger settlement (Stančo 2018: 15). The site of Talashkan I is situated at the foot of the Bajsuntau Mountains to control access to the mountain. thick layers of animal manure suggest that the site might have served as a shelter for animals in the face of danger (Shajdullaev 2000: 63), or a place for gathering and collecting livestock from the mobile pastoralists living in or near the mountains (Wu, et. al, 2005: 110, note 87). In northern Afghanistan, at Cheshme Shāfa, located c. 20 kilometres to the south of Balkh (ancient Bactra), the ancient capital of Bactria, a recent survey discovered a site located at the mouth of a narrow mountain pass (Besenval and Marquis 2008: 982–988). The site is comprised of a lower town with a well-defined plan surrounded by strong ramparts next to the river and a defensive system sprawling on the mountain tops on both sides of the pass. This configuration – an urban centre with a strong defence system – suggests that the site must have functioned as an administrative centre controlling access to crossroads. A large fire altar, which resembles those depicted on the rock reliefs of the Achaemenid royal tombs and on seals from the Persepolis Treasury (Besenval and Marquis 2008: 988), on top of a rock spur overlooking the lower town and valley beyond indicates the site may also have functioned as a cultic centre.

In the desert to the north of the Balkh Oasis, recent excavation revealed a line of small settlements under the sand dunes (Fouache et. al. 2012: 3423, Fig. 7). Next to these settlements are the remains of what appear to be an aqueduct. The structure, if indeed it was an aqueduct, was used to supply water to the sites nearby and to the agricultural hinterland. A similar linear arrangement of settlements has also been discovered in southern Turkmenistan in the Merv Oasis, where a survey team revealed two impressive lines of fortresses on the northeastern edges of the oasis (Genito 1998: 125, Fig. 1). The fortresses were built to presumably protect the agricultural land and the main waterworks within the oasis (Cerasetti 2004: 40). On the southernmost part of the oasis along the main streams of the Murghab, two great dams were constructed during the Achaemenid period to control the distribution of river water for irrigation (Cerasetti and Tosi 2004: 101–102, contra. Bader, et. al. 1996: 311–312).

The Surkhandarya Valley, which is archaeologically one of the best studied regions in Uzbekistan, provides more evidence for the transformation of the region's

settlement pattern during the Achaemenid period (Stride 2005; Stančo this volume). In the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the region, especially the upper Surkhandarya Valley, was only sparsely occupied, with no more than a few sites in each period (Stride 2005: 270). During the Achaemenid period, the area experienced a sudden settlement explosion, illustrated by the establishment of new sites on both the foothills and the alluvial plain (Stride 2005: 270–288; 291–292; 299). Very often, the settlements are situated near each other to form a cluster of sites. So far, a total of seven clusters has been identified in the Surkhanarya Valley. Each cluster contains one large central site surrounded by a number of small satellite sites (Rtveladze 1975: 266; Rtveladze 2002: 130; Pidaev 2001, 51, Fig. 4; Stride 2005: 298–299; Stančo 2018: 14–15). The site cluster in the Mirshade Oasis, located in the foothills of the Bajsuntau Range in the upper Surkhandarya Valley, is the largest among the seven. It is comprised by a central site, Kyzyltepa, and its 13 – at least – small satellite settlements, which are usually smaller than 0.2 hectares and located within a radius of less than 1.1 kilometres around the main settlement (Sagdullayev 1987: Fig. 1; Stride 2005: 174). Approximately 40 kilometres to the southwest along the piedmont, at Bandikhan, three sites, namely Gazimullatepa (Bandikhan III), Bektepa (Bandikhan II), and Kindyktepa, form another cluster. Of roughly similar distance further to the southwest in the Sherabad Oasis surrounding the main site of Jandavlattepa are a group of four small sites (Stančo 2018: 9–10). Jandavlattepa itself survived from the pre-Achaemenid period, but a number of new small settlements, including Pachmak Tepe, which is a small settlement with a platform presumably used for ritual purposes, were constructed around the main site. These sites, of similar sizes and situated at a similar distance from the mound, form a new network of settlements (Pidaev 1974: 34–38; Stančo 2018: 9–10; Stančo and Tušlova 2019: 361–362).

The organization of these site clusters – a series of small settlements surrounding a large central site – conforms to Henkelman's vision of an "institutional landscape". Within such a landscape, towns and other larger administrative sites formed the nuclei of a central economic network, surrounded by a series of administratively subordinate satellite settlements, like at Persepolis (Wu 2018: 208–209). The clusters of sites in Central Asia, and the newly constructed settlements, such as Talashkan I and Khaitabad, formed a linear settlement pattern. Scattered evenly across the landscape, the location of the sites clearly betrays a road system criss-crossing the Surkhandarya Valley (Rtveladze 2001: 298; Wu 2018: 211, Fig. 25). The travel texts from the Persepolis Fortification Archive and one of the Aramaic letters from Egypt belonging to Ashama, satrap of Egypt (Driver 1957), suggest that the distance between way stations on the royal road was roughly one day's travel. A distance of 18–20 kilometres can be covered in a day by a group travelling with animal packs and commodities (Whitfield 1999: 46; Kuzmina 2008: 38; Wu 2018: 210, note 69). Twice that distance, 36–40 kilometres, would be two days' travel. As many of the sites arranged in linear patterns in Central Asia, such as for example, in the Bandikhan region are roughly of this distance, as the crow flies, one can surmise then that two adjacent settlements along the same line were probably way stations along the Achaemenid road network. Such a particular distribution pattern is hardly natural. Rather, it reveals the meticulous and careful planning by an organized and centralized institution.

Kyzyltepa: A case study

The site of Kyzyltepa offers more detailed information about the transformation of the landscape in Central Asia during the Achaemenid period and on the impact of imperial policies in the East. The site, occupying an area of c. 20 hectares within its walls, is one of the largest Iron Age settlements in northern Bactria. The site forms, together with about a dozen small satellite settlements around it, a large and complicated settlement system. The recent excavations at the site reveal that Kyzyltepa was built *ex novo* in the Achaemenid period. It was initially built as a Zoroastrian fire temple (Sverchkov and Wu 2019). At some point during the Achaemenid period, a monumental citadel was constructed to surround the temple. The site flourished and prospered throughout the Achaemenid period and declined after a major destruction. Immediately after the destruction, a defensive system consisting of walls and towers was hastily erected to enclose the citadel and the flat area next to it. Hellenistic pottery from the lower city and the upper layers of the citadel suggests that the destruction of the site probably occurred at the end of the Achaemenid period or the very beginning of the Hellenistic period, perhaps around the time of Alexander the Great. In other words, during the Achaemenid period, Kyzyltepa was not a walled urban centre; the site was not fortified until the Early Hellenistic period (Wu, et. al., 2017). The Mirshade Oasis, rather than being dominated by a large urban centre in fact was occupied by a series of evenly distributed small sites. The temple and the citadel, despite their monumentality and central position, occupy an area less than one hectare.

The settlement pattern in the Mirshade Oasis resembles the arrangement of sites in the Marv Dasht Plain, in which Persepolis is situated (Wu 2018: 208–209). In Marv Dasht, large buildings in a vast, sparsely occupied landscape are connected to each other by roads, canals, and other infrastructure built by a central administration (Boucharlat et al. 2012: 253–256, 282). In the Mirshade Oasis, two small settlements (Kyzylcha 1 and 6) near Kyzyltepa were excavated in the 1970s, revealing the remains of what appear to be farmsteads with large manors (Rtveladze and Sagdullaev 1985; Sagdullaev 1987). The function of the other settlements is unknown, but the small sizes of these settlements, usually less than one hectare, suggest they would have depended on Kyzyltepa and/or the other settlements within the oasis. This arrangement – of about a dozen large structures scattered within a large, sparsely occupied area – is reminiscent of the settlement pattern around Persepolis. At Mirshade, Kyzyltepa and the surrounding manors were connected by roads, irrigation channels, and markets. Remains of canals have been detected in early archaeological work in the Mirshade Oasis (Sagdullaev 1987: 8; marked on Fig. 1). A recent study of the paleozoological and archaeobotanical remains from Kyzyltepa further confirms the extensive use of irrigation for agricultural production at the site. The study also alludes to the existence of a meat market at, or near, the site (Wu et al. 2015).

Several factors behind the rise and decline of Kyzyltepa and the complex settlement system at the Mirshade Oasis suggest that the expansion and growth in Central Asia may have been supported by the Achaemenid imperial economy. One main factor suggesting Kyzyltepa was reliant on the central Achaemenid government was the location of the site. Rather than building on the expansive alluvial plain of the Surkhandarya Valley, the Kyzyltepa inhabitants built the site on the edge of a small

peripheral alluvial plain – the alluvial fan of the Khodzha Ipak River at the foothills of the Bajsuntau Range. Water drains quickly because of the fragmentation of the alluvial fan and the drastic tapering of the land. The annual precipitation rate of the area is below 250 millimetres today and the temperature rises above 40 degrees Celsius in the summer. The site is, therefore, naturally unsuitable for rain-based agriculture because of the lack of water. The Mirshade Oasis, where Kyzyltepa is located, was traditionally used for mobile pastoralism. The oasis was not settled until the Bronze Age, during which seven small settlements were built, all within a radius of less than two kilometres along the Kyzylzharsaj River (Stride 2005: V. 1: 173). Just prior to the Achaemenid period, only one small settlement (Bujrachi Tepe I) still existed in the Oasis (Stride 2005: V. 1: 174). The Oasis experienced a sudden boom of settlements in the Achaemenid period, during which Kyzyltepa became the centre of the most complex settlement systems in northern Bactria. The prosperity of the sites in the oasis likely depended on the development of irrigation-based agriculture, as alluded to by the remains of the ancient canals and the study of the archaeobotanical remains from Kyzyltepa (Wu, et al. 2015), and also, presumably, on the flourishing of the fire cult at the site (more see below). Once the Achaemenid Empire fell, except for Kyzyltepa, which lasted until the Hellenistic period, all the sites with Achaemenid levels in the Mirshade Oasis were abandoned.

The abandonment of Kyzyltepa and its satellite sites after the collapse of the Achaemenid Empire is an event that also frequently occurred in other parts of Central Asia and the Empire. It should be noted that many of the abandoned sites were those founded *ex novo* during the Achaemenid period. For example, at Cheshme Shāfa, both the lower town and the fortresses were abandoned. The elaborate system of settlements and aqueducts in the northern Afghanistan desert, as well as the fortresses in the Merv Oasis were all abandoned at the end of the Achaemenid period or slightly afterwards. Dahan-e Gulaman, located in the Iranian desert of Seistan, is another typical example. The site was established during the Achaemenid period as a carefully planned urban settlement equipped with monumental public buildings resembling those at Persepolis and Pasargadae. It had an extensive residential area, large water canals and broad streets. The site was abandoned at the end of the Achaemenid period or even slightly before the collapse of the Empire, due to the instability of the environment resulting from strong winds, the shifting of sand dunes, and the drying up of the irrigation system (Scerrato 1962; Gnoli 1993). Many of the newly founded and soon abandoned Achaemenid sites were in fact built in places that were ecologically challenging or unsuitable for human habitation. They were only able to thrive because they had the support from the Achaemenid economic network.

After their abandonment, Kyzyltepa and the small settlements in the Mirshade Oasis were never resettled again until after the 1960s, following the Soviet Union's Virgin Lands Campaign, a project the Soviet Union embarked upon in the 1950–1960s to boost agricultural production by (re)settling people on unsettled or scarcely populated lands. The campaign, financed by the Soviet central state, entailed recruiting and transporting workers to newly settled land, as well as building new infrastructure, such as houses for workers, towns, irrigation canals, storage, and road systems. The growth of settlements in the Mirshade Oasis in the Achaemenid period and the resettling of workers in the region during the Soviet era can both be seen as a part of a process of institutionalizing the landscape on the frontier zone by a central

imperial state (Wu 2018: 210). Once imperial support was withdrawn, many of those sites, usually established to meet particular goals of the empire, fell into decay and were eventually abandoned – in the Achaemenid and Soviet periods alike.

RITUAL AND RELIGION IN CENTRAL ASIA

Recent research has drastically enriched our knowledge of ritual and religious life in Central Asia during the Achaemenid period; even so, the nature of the rituals and religious institutions are still not very well known. The Aramaic texts from Ancient Bactria provide some context for this information. A recent study of the Zoroastrian calendar and personal names – often bearing the name of deities – documented in the ADAB archive argues for the heterogeneous nature of the religious beliefs in ancient Bactria: Zoroastrianism was on the horizon, but was not central to the region's belief system (Tavernier 2017: 98–101, 115–116, 120); worship of the Oxus river god was particularly popular in Bactria (Tavernier 2017: 116–119); and other deities, including the Mesopotamian god Bēl, another local Central Asian deity, Margiana, and two Iranian gods, Mithra and Tīr, all had followers in Central Asia (Tavernier 2017: 119–120).

Ritual structures in Achaemenid Central Asia

Excavations at several sites in Sogdia and Bactria revealed structures intended for ritual purposes. These structures include platforms, temples, and a stone fire altar. Artificial mounds or platforms were the basic forms of ritual and religious architecture in both Iran and Central Asia. The Persians traditionally performed open-air rituals on top of terraces or low hills. In a continuation of that tradition, sometimes, artificial mounds and platforms were built as man-made replacements of hilltops. Platform such as these, made of mudbricks or *pakhsa*, has been identified at several sites in Central Asia: at Koktepe and Sangir-tepe in Sogdiana, Pachmak-tepe, Pshaktepe, and possibly also at Kyzyltepa in Bactria. Among these, the platform at Koktepa and Sangir-tepa are the best known. The platform at Koktepa was built on top of a pre-Achaemenid monumental gateway, which led to a fortified courtyard that may have had some sort of religious function (Rapin and Khasanov 2013: 49–50, ill. 2.1; Rapin 2017: 421–423; 455–456; Figs. 2–4). A fireplace and a series of pits containing sand, pebbles, a stone disk, and specially arranged stone plaques under the platform suggest that consecration rituals were performed immediately before the construction of the structure (Rapin 2017: 424–425; 456, fig. 3). A similar platform was recently discovered at Sangir-tepa, a site located near Shahri-Sabz in the Kashkadarya Valley of Uzbekistan (Rapin and Khasanov 2013: 50; Rapin 2017: 258, Fig. 7). The Sangir-tepe platform was erected on the ruins of an earlier temple building. On top of the platform, the excavators discovered an altar and numerous pits. The pits, of varying depths and containing various contents such as burnt stones, a human skull, and clay pots, may have been generated by ceremonies associated with the platform (Rapin 2017: 442–443; Rapin and Khasanov 2013: 51).

Additionally, three temple structures dating to the Achaemenid period have recently been discovered in Central Asia, at Sangir-tepa, Kindyktepa, and Kyzyltepa (Rapin and Khasanov 2013: 50; Mokroborodov 2018; Wu et al. 2017; Sverchkov

and Wu 2019). These structures all contain sanctuaries with fire altars. The temple at Sangir-tepa was built on the levelled ruins of an earlier building of unknown function (Rapin 2017: 438). It consists of a roughly square main sanctuary with four wooden columns and a conical-shaped fire altar inside, as well as two long flanking rectangular rooms (Rapin 2017: 441, 458; Fig. 7). Small pits dug into the ground and filled with pure ash, sand, and pebbles, suggest that foundation purification rituals were conducted before the construction of the fire chamber. A wide ramp paved with pebble stones in front of the sanctuary's main gate and a long-stepped passageway aligned along the temple's southeastern wing allude to ceremonial processions taking place before entering the temple. Small pits near the top and next to the passageway testify to the practice of performing purification or libation rituals in front of the sanctuary during the lifetime of the temple (Rapin 2017: 440–441). The temple was later razed and converted into an open-air platform (see above). Undoubtedly, the temple at Sangir-tepa was a closed sanctuary. Fire was involved in the rituals performed inside the sanctuary. Some scholars believe that the building may represent the earliest Zoroastrian fire temples (Rapin and Khasanov 2013:51; Rapin 2017: 441; Grenet 2008: 31), but this proposal has not been widely accepted. To date, the nature of the temple at Sangir-tepa is still not well known due to the state of preservation of the structure (Canepa 2013: 331–332).

Most scholars agree that the temple at Kindyktepe is one of the earliest examples of a Zoroastrian fire temple (Sverchkov and Boroffka 2007; Rapin 2017: 444; Canepa 2013: 332; Grenet 2008: 31; Mokroborodov 2018: 350). Located not far from the late Achaemenid fortress of Bektepa (Bandikhan II), the building is a small self-standing structure consisting of a rectangular main chamber with four irregularly placed rectangular mudbrick columns flanking a large circular hearth, a narrow corridor-like side room, and an antechamber (Sverchkov and Boroffka 2007: 111–128; Mokroborodov 2018: 346, figs. 6, 7; 349, fig. 11). A deposit of pure ashes in the main chamber suggests an intensive use of fire. Eight pits containing pure humus or soil mixed with sand in the side room are associated with a known Zoroastrian purification ritual (Rapin 2017: 444; Mokroborodov 2018: 349). At the end of its life in the early Hellenistic period, the temple was thoroughly destroyed and partially filled in. The central room was intentionally sealed with very dense *pakhsa* blocks (Mokroborodov 2018: 350).

In addition to these two better-known examples, a third temple was recently found at Kyzyltepa (Sverchkov and Wu 2019; Fig. 3). The structure stands high on an artificial platform built on top of a natural loess hill. Traces of fire in the foundations suggest ritual purifications before the building was erected. The building was originally a monumental free-standing structure. It consisted of a square sanctuary, within which was a large square mudbrick fire altar, a bathtub for ritual cleansing, two ritual pits, and another square structure whose function is not yet entirely clear (Sverchkov and Wu 2019:115, Fig. 15). The structure was later incorporated into a larger building. Inside the sanctuary, a smaller rectangular altar built of pure loess was added, to perhaps keep the lit fire, while the big fire altar was reserved for major ritual events (Sverchkov and Wu 2019:115, Fig. 16). Soundings under the floor of the sanctuary indicate that an earlier installation with traces of heavy fire use existed before the temple was established. The monumentality of the temple and the two fire altars make the ritual structures at Kyzyltepa unequivocally one of the earliest

and most impressive Zoroastrian fire temples known to date. At the end of its life, the temple – one half followed by another – was deliberately filled in and carefully sealed by mudbricks and *pakhsa*. The building was transformed into a massive platform. Strikingly, after the main doorway was blocked off, a piece of fine green sandstone was planted vertically in front of the doorway, perhaps to announce the ritual “death” of the space (Wu, forthcoming).

At Cheshme Shāfa, another series of cultic installations were found: a limestone fire altar and possibly a water shrine (Besenval and Marquis 2008: 987–988; Marquis 2018: 165; Wu, forthcoming). The altar, which is the earliest example of a free-standing fire altar in Central Asia, was situated on a rock spur at Kafir Qala, the hilltop fortress at Cheshme Shāfa. It is shaped like a table with three decorative steps descending to a rectangular stand. Several scholars have mentioned that the shape of the fire altar from Cheshme Shāfa resembles those depicted on the façade of the tombs of the Achaemenid kings at Naqsh-e Rostam and on a cylinder seal from the Persepolis treasury (Schmidt 1970: Pl. 63; Schmidt 1957: Pl. 7, Seal No. 20; Grenet 2008: 30–31; Canepa 2013: 332). It is possible that the fire altar at Cheshme Shāfa was a free-standing cultic installation that was used during festivals or on special occasions (Wu, forthcoming, contra. Grenet 2008: 30–31).

The French team excavating Cheshme Shāfa also discovered traces of what appears to be a shrine dedicated to water (Marquis 2018: 165). The structure is located near the settlement, on the right bank of the Balkh River, just in front of a small modern mosque. The remains consist of a flat area with small channels carved in the bedrock and a pediment for some sort of wooden frame. Opposite the shrine, on the other side of the river are warm springs that are known for their healing capacities. Such a location makes it possible that the structure was associated with a water cult.¹ If it were indeed a sanctuary, it is not clear which water god it was dedicated to: Anahita, the Iranian goddess of water and fertility, the god of the Oxus River, who was the most popular god in Bactria during the Achaemenid period, or the god of the Balkh River, on whose banks the shrine stood.

The cultic structures in Bactria and Sogdia, of various forms (i.e., closed temples, open-air platforms, and, perhaps, also open-air altars), co-existed in time and space and shared several common features. First, most of the ritual structures (except those at Koktepe) are located near – but outside the limits – of the settlements. Second, except for the possible water shrine at Cheshme Shāfa, all structures of ritual significance are associated with the use of fire. They may represent, as Rapin and Grenet have suggested, “the earliest indications in the eastern Iranian countries of a fire cult organised at a community level” (Grenet 2005, 49, note 25; Grenet 2008: 30; Rapin 2017: 425). Some of the structures, such as the temples at Kindyktepa and Kyzyltepa, were perhaps related to the Zoroastrian religion. Third, most of the ritual installations are associated with pits. These pits were either the remnants of purification ceremonies while laying foundations or the remains of later ritual activities associated with these structures, such as the pouring of libations during rituals. Fourth, as demonstrated by the evidence from Kindyktepa and Kyzyltepa (Mokroborodov 2018; Sverchkov and Wu 2019), when a sacred structure went out of use, it was often ritually buried, although it must be noted that ritual burial is not only limited to

sacred buildings. At Kyzyltepa, a metallurgical workshop was also buried and sealed by mudbricks and *pakhsa* at the end of its use life (Wu et. al. 2017: 309).

The evidence gathered from the Aramaic texts and the ritual structures in Central Asia demonstrates one aspect of the ritual landscape and religious life of Central Asia during the Achaemenid period. Within such a landscape, platforms, temples, shrine(s), and altar(s) occupy sacred locations. As in the Achaemenid heartland, a variety of deities, some local and others alien, were venerated. Zoroastrianism was practiced, but it was not the sole religion in Central Asia. The religious structures and ritual monuments were not uniform in this period, partially because of the variety of deities venerated in the region, and partially because Zoroastrianism (and as a consequence its rituals and temples) was still in its infancy. Nevertheless, the religious monuments and cultic installations, which formed a peculiar sacred ritual landscape, played significant roles among the local communities of Central Asia.

Sacred and political landscape

The sacred landscape of Central Asia – and the ritual and religious life unfolding within it – were not entirely independent of the central economic institutions of the Achaemenid Empire. In ancient Bactria, the ritual structures were usually located near major administrative centers. At several sites newly founded during the Achaemenid period, such as Kyzyltepa and Cheshme Shāfa, monumental ritual structures are an important part of the sites. At other sites, such as at Bandikhan and Sangir-tepa, where pre-Achaemenid occupation continued into the next period, structures of ritual significance, monumental in scale, were also constructed or rebuilt in the Achaemenid period. These ritual structures, once established, became important loci for building social cohesion. The high density of ritual structures in ancient Bactria thus corroborates Rapin and Grenet's proposition that religious or cultic activities were organized on a community level in Central Asia (Grenet 2005: 49). The construction of these new ritual structures at various sites during the Achaemenid period can hardly be coincidental. Rather, they reflect a well-planned policy espoused by the local, satrapal, and imperial governors of the Achaemenid Empire. Aramaic letters from ancient Bactria offer evidence for the imperial/satrapal support of local construction projects. In two letters, Akhvamazda ordered his subordinate Bagavant at Khumi to send troops to help build walls and moats at Nikhshapaya and Kish (nowadays Karshi and Shahr-I Sabz, respectively), cities in southern Sogdia (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 96–99, 104). Another letter documents provisions for Bayasa, a very high-ranked Achaemenid official or even the last Persian king Bessos, so that he may offer wine and white flour to the temple(s) or shrine(s) of the Mesopotamian god Bēl and possibly also other deities.² As the provisions were drawn from a storehouse belonging to the centralized Achaemenid economic network in Bactria, in this way, local religious institutions were supported by the economic network centered in Bactria and able to participate in the Achaemenid administrative distribution system. Bayasa's (or his representative) presence at the temple(s) was a political statement meant to foster a relationship between the Achaemenid administration and the local religious institutions.

Central Asia was an important constituency of the Achaemenid Empire. Even though the region posed challenges to the Achaemenid ruling class during at least

the first half of the Empire's existence, administratively, it appears that Central Asia was well integrated into the Persian imperial system and experienced significant economic development. Central Asia belonged to the Achaemenid imperial system until the Empire was finally conquered by Alexander the Great. Undoubtedly, the Achaemenid presence in Central Asia accelerated the region's growth in many ways. The introduction of writing, diplomacy, and centralized administrative and economic networks allowed Central Asia to adopt sophisticated state apparatuses and prepared it for the major political and social transformation, as well as institutional development necessary for state formation in the following era. The Achaemenid rule drastically altered Central Asia's physical landscape and reshaped the local inhabitants' socioeconomic life. According to imperial design, new roads, canals, settlements, fortresses, and farms formed a well-mapped institutional landscape. Within such a landscape, the construction of ritual and religious structures constituted an integral cog of the overarching design. The new road system, which was built and maintained by the Achaemenid imperial authorities to guarantee fast and steady communication between the empire's frontiers and its heartland, provided the infrastructure for improved trade and communication networks, enhancing Central Asia's interaction with its eastern neighbours, and consequently laying the foundation for the later so-called "Silk Road." Without the Achaemenid administrative system in Central Asia, the whole region would have taken on a very different trajectory.

NOTES

- 1 Grenet disputes the presence of a shrine and attributes a sanitary use to its installation by the river (personal communication). There is no evidence to prove either hypothesis.
- 2 For the debate about the identification of the god Bēl' see, for example, Naveh and Shaked 2012: 184, 261; Shenkar 2011: 129; and Tavernier 2017: 103–110.

REFERENCES

- Abdullaev, Kazim (2018) "Layers of Early Iron Age in Dzhandavlattepa (Sherabad District, Surkhandarya Region of Uzbekistan)." In Johanna Lhuillier and Nikolaus Boroffka (eds), *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC). Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014). Archäologie in Iran und Turan* (17); *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Volume XXXV* (35), 123–142. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Abdullaev, Kazim, and Ladislav Stančo (2011) *Jandavlattepa: The Excavation Report for Seasons 2002–2006. Vol. 1.* (Reports of the Czech-Uzbekistani Archaeological Mission in southern Uzbekistan 1.) Prague: Charles University in Prague, Karolinum Press.
- Augustinová, Anna (2018) "Settlement Changes in the Oases – Non-Destructive Survey in the Eastern Kugitang Piedmont (Uzbekistan)." In A. S. Sagdullaev (ed.), *The Problems of History, Archaeology and Ethnology of Central Asia*, 35–48. The Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of Uzbekistan, Tashkent.
- Bader, A., V. Gaibov, A. Gubaev and G. Koshelenko (1996) "Evolution of the Settlement Patterns in the Merv Oasis (Turkmenistan) from Alexander the Great to Arab Conquest." *Atti dei Convegni Lincei* 127: 305–317.
- Besenal, Roland, and Philippe Marquis (2008) "Les travaux de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA): résultats des campagnes de l'automne 2007–printemps

- 2008 en Bactriane et à Kaboul.” *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 152 (3): 973–995.
- Boardman, John (1970) *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Boroffka, Nikolaus (2006) “Excavations in Bandixon, Surchandar’ja Province, Uzbekistan,” in German Archaeological Institute, Eurasia Department (eds.), *Current Research Projects*, 54–55. Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- Boucharlat, Rémy (2010) “The ‘Daivā’ Inscription Revisited.” *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 6: 45–74.
- Boucharlat, Rémy, Henri-Paul Francfort, and Olivier Lecomte (2005) “The Citadel of Ulug depe and the Iron Age Archaeological Sequence in Southern Central Asia.” *Iranica Antiqua* 40: 479–514.
- Boucharlat, R., T. De Schacht, S. Gondet (2012) “Surface Reconnaissance in the Persepolis Plain (2005–2008): New Data on the City Organisation and Landscape Management.” In A. V. Rossi and G. P. Basello (eds.), *Dariosh Studies II Persepolis and Its Settlements: Territorial System and Ideology in the Achaemenid State*, 249–290. Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”.
- Bowman, Raymond A. (1970) *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis* (Oriental Institute Publications 91). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Briant, Pierre (2002) *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Briant, Pierre, Wouter Henkelman, and Matthew W. Stolper (2008) *L’Archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches*. (Persika 12.) Paris: De Boccard.
- Canepa, Matthew P. (2013) “Building a New Vision of the Past in the Sasanian Empire: The Sanctuaries of Kayānsih and the Great Fires of Iran.” *Journal of Persianate Studies* 6: 64–90.
- Cattenat, Annette, and Jean-Claude Gardin (1977) “Diffusion comparée de quelques genres de poterie caractéristique de l’époque achéménide sur le Plateau iranien et en Asie centrale.” In Jean Deshayes (ed.), *Le Plateau iranien et l’Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique: leurs relations à la lumière des documents archéologiques [actes du colloque]*, Paris, 22–24 mars 1976, 225–248. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Cerasetti, Barbara (2004) “Reasoning with GIS: Tracing the Silk Road and the Defensive Systems of the Murghab Delta (Turkmenistan).” *The Silk Road (The Silkroad Foundation Newsletter)* 2(2): 39–42.
- Cerasetti, Barbara, and Maurizio Tosi (2004) “Development of the “Open Frontier” between Iran and Central Asia: The Murghab Defensive Systems in the Antiquity and the Variants of the Silk Road across the Karakum.” *Parthica* 6: 1–6.
- Driver, Godfrey Rolles (1957) *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dusinberre, Elspeth R. M. (1999) “Satrapal Sardis: Achaemenid Bowls in an Achaemenid Capital.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 103: 73.
- Dusinberre, Elspeth R. M. (2003) *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fisher, Michael T., and Matthew W. Stolper (2015) “Achaemenid Elamite Administrative Tablets, 3 Fragments from Old Kandahar, Afghanistan.” *ARTA* 1: 1–26.
- Fouache, Eric, Roland Besenval, Claude Cosandey, Céline Coussot, Matthieu Ghilardi, Sébastien Huot, and Michel Lamothe (2012) “Palaeochannels of the Balkh River (Northern Afghanistan) and Human Occupation Since the Bronze Age Period.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39: 3415–3427.

- Gardin, Jean-Claude (1986) “Migrateurs et porteurs de pots en Bactriane de l’âge du bronze à nos jours.” In Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, Jean-Claude Gardin, and Alain Gallay (eds.), *A propos des interprétations archéologiques de la poterie: questions ouvertes* (‘mémoire’ no. 64), 79–94. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Genito, Bruno (1998) “Trial Trench at Site No. 215.” In Abdyrakhman G. Gubaev, Gennadij Andreevič Košelenko, and Maurizio Tosi (eds.), *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta: Preliminary Reports, 1990–95, 125–135*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente centro scavi e ricerche archeologiche.
- Gnoli, Gherardo (1993) “Dahan-e Golāmān.” *Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition*.
- Grenet, Frantz (2005) “An Archaeologist’s Approach to Avestan Geography.” In Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart (eds.), *Birth of the Persian Empire*, 29–51. London: I.B.Tauris.
- Grenet, Frantz. (2008 [2012]) “Mary Boyce’s Legacy for the Archaeologists.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 22: 29–46.
- Hallock, Richard T. (1969) *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Vol. XCII, *The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hallock, Richard T. (1978) “Selected Fortification Texts.” *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 8: 109–136.
- Henkelman, Wouter F. M. (2010) “‘Consumed Before the King.’ The Table of Darius, that of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and that of His Satrap, Karkiš.” In Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger (eds.), *Der Achämenidenhof. Akten des 2. internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema ‘Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen,’ Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 23–25. Mai 2007*, 667–775. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Henkelman, Wouter F. M. (2017) “Imperial Signature and Imperial Paradigm: Achaemenid Administrative Structure and System Across and Beyond the Iranian Plateau.” In Bruno Jacobs, Wouter F. M. Henkelman and M. W. Stolper (eds.), *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich – Imperiale Muster und Strukturen / Administration in the Achaemenid Empire – Tracing the Imperial Signature*, 45–256. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Henkelman, Wouter F. M. (2018) “Bactrians in Persepolis – Persians in Bactria.” In Johanna Lhuiller and Nikolaus Boroffka (eds.), *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC): Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014)*, 223–255. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Henkelman, Wouter F. M. and M. W. Stolper (2009) “Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Labelling at Persepolis: the Case of the Skudrians.” In Pierre Briant and Michel Chauveau (eds.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l’empire achéménide: actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la “Chaire d’histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l’empire d’Alexandre” et le “Réseau international d’études et de recherches achéménides”* (GDR 2538 CNRS), 9–10 novembre 2007, 271–329. Paris: de Boccard.
- Isamiddinov, M. (2002) *Istoki gorodskoj kul’tury samarkandskogo Sogga*. Tashkent: Iz. Narodnogo nasledija.
- Kaplan, Deniz (2002) *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire, Achaemenid History*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten.
- Kaplan, Deniz (2010) “Clay Tags from Seyitömer Höyük in Phrygia.” In John Curtis, and St John Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: The Diversity of Ancient Iran* 361–68. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Khasanov, Mutalib, and Muhammadjan H. Isamiddinov (2011) “Ceramic Imitations of Metalwork of the Early Hellenistic Period in Kurgancha (Southern Sogd).” *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 5: 41–52.
- Kuhrt, Amélie (2007) *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. London: Routledge.

- Kuzmina, Elena E. (2008) *The Prehistory of the Silk Road* (Victor H. Mair, ed.). Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lecomte, Olivier (2011) "Ulug-depe: 4000 Years of Evolution Between Plain and Desert." In: *Historical and Cultural Sites of Turkmenistan: Discoveries, Researches and restoration for 20 years of independence*, 221–237. Ashgabat: Türkmen döwlet nesirýat gullugy.
- Lecomte, Olivier (2013) "Recherches archéologiques anciennes à Ulug dépe." In Julio Bendezu-Sarmiento (ed.), *Cahier d'Asie centrale* 21/22, 168–190. Paris: De Boccard.
- Lhuillier, Johanna (2018a) "Central Asia during the Achaemenid Period in Archaeological Perspective." In Sébastien Gondet and Ernie Haerinck (eds.), *L'orient est son jardin, Hommage à Rémy Boucharlat*, 257–271. Paris: Peeters.
- Lhuillier, Johanna (2018b) "A Short Note on the Iron Age at Tillya-Tepe and Naibabad (Afghanistan). Some Unpublished Image Documents from the Excavations of Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi." In Johanna Lhuillier and Nikolaus Boroffka (eds.), *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC). Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014). Dedicated to the Memory of Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi*, 113–122. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Lhuillier, Johanna, Armance Dupont-Delaleuf, Olivier Lecomte, and Julio Bendezu-Sarmiento (2013) "The Middle Iron Age in Ulug-depe: A Preliminary Typo-Chronological and Technological Study of the Yaz II Ceramic Complex." In Marcin Wagner (eds.), *Pottery and Chronology of the Early Iron Age in Central Asia*, 9–28. Warsaw: Kazimierz Michałowski Foundation.
- Lhuillier, Johanna, and Claude Rapin (2013) "Handmade Painted Ware in Koktepe: Some Elements for the Chronology of the Early Iron Age in Northern Sogdiana." In Marcin Wagner (eds.), *Pottery and Chronology of the Early Iron Age in Central Asia*, 29–48. Warsaw: Kazimierz Michałowski Foundation.
- Lyonnet, Bertille (1990) "Les rapports entre l'Asie centrale et l'empire Achéménide d'après les données de l'archéologie." In A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Centre and Periphery: Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop*, 77–92. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.
- Lyonnet, Bertille (2009) "Un nouvel assemblage céramique pour l'âge du Fer au Chach et en Sogdiane." In D. Alimova and Shakir Pidaev (eds.), *Le rôle de Tachkent dans le développement de la civilisation mondiale, Actes du symposium international consacré aux 2200 ans de la ville de Tachkent, 9 avril 2009, Siège de l'UNESCO*, 19–22. Paris/Tashkent: FAN.
- MAFTUR, Mission Archéologique Franco-Turkmène (2014) *Ulug Depe: A Forgotten City in Central Asia*. Paris: Ginkgo.
- Magee, Peter, Cameron Petrie, Robert Knox, Farid Khan, and Ken Thomas (2005) "The Achaemenid Empire in South Asia and Recent Excavations in Akra in Northwest Pakistan." *American Journal of Archaeology* 109: 711–41.
- Marquis, Philippe (2018) "The Balkh Oasis. A Huge Potential." In Johanna Lhuillier and Boroffka, Nikolaus (eds.), *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC). Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014). Dedicated to the Memory of Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi*, 159–170. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Mokroborodov, Viktor (2018) "Kindyktepa: A temple of the mid-first millennium BC in Southern Uzbekistan." In Johanna Lhuillier and Boroffka, Nikolaus (eds.), *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC). Proceedings of the Conference held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014). Dedicated to the Memory of Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi*, 343–351. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Naveh, Joseph, and Shaul Shaked (2012) *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.) from the Khalili Collections*. (Studies in the Khalili Collection.) London: The Khalili Family Trust.

- Petrie, Cameron A., Magee, Peter, and Muhammad Nasim Khan (2008) "Emulation at the Edge of Empire: The Adoption of Non-local Vessel Forms in the NWFP, Pakistan During the Mid-Late 1st Millennium BC." *Gandhāran Studies* 2: 1–16.
- Pidaev, Chakir (2001) "Contribution à l'histoire ancienne de Termez." In P. Leriche, C. Pidaev, M. Gelin, and K. Abdoullaev (eds.), *La Bactriane au carrefour des routes et civilisations de l'Asie centrale. Actes du colloque de Termez 1997*, 47–57. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Pidaev, Sh. R. (1974) "Материалы к изучению древних памятников Северной Бактрии." In V. M. Masson (ed.), *Древняя Бактрия. Предварительные сообщения об археологических работах на юге Узбекистана*, 32–42. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Rapin, Claude (2007) "Коктепа в период железного века до прихода ахеменидов." In T. Shirinov and Sh. Pidaev (eds.), *Роль города Самарканда в истории мирового культурного развития. Материалы Международного научного симпозиума, посвященного 2750-летию юбилею города Самарканда – The Role of Samarkand in the History of World Civilization. Materials of the International Scientific Symposium Devoted to the 2750th Anniversary of the City of Samarkand*, 29–38. Tashkent/Samarkand: Fan.
- Rapin, Claude (2010) "От Коктепе до Киндикли-тепе: Новый подход к истории возникновения ирригации в северной части зеравшанской долины (From Koktepe to Kindikli-Tepe: New Observations on the Origins of Irrigation in the North of Zeravshan's Plain)." In D. Alimova, B. Amanbaeva, K. Baipakov, and S. Mustafayev (eds.), *Цивилизации и культуры Центральной Азии в единстве и многообразии. Материалы Международной конференции Самарканд, 7–8 сентября 2009 г. – Civilizations and Cultures of Central Asia in Unity and Diversity. Proceedings of the International Conference Samarkand, 7–8 September, 2009*, 139–150. Samarkand/Tashkent: Institute of History Academy of Science of the Republic of Uzbekistan.
- Rapin, Claude (2017) "Sanctuaires sogdiens et cultes avestiques de l'époque de Gava à l'époque hellénistique (Koktepe et Sangir-tepe)." In Wouter Henkelman and Céline Redard (eds.), *La religion des Achéménides: confrontation des sources*, 417–460, Paris: Persika.
- Rapin, Claude and Muhammadjon Isamiddinov (2013) "Entre sédentaires et nomades: les recherches de la Mission archéologique franco-ouzbèke (MAFOuz) de Sogdiane sur le site de Koktepe." *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 21/22, 113–133.
- Rapin, Claude and Mutalib Khasanov (2013) "Сакральная архитектура Центральной Азии ахеменидского периода по эллинистическую эпоху: между локальными традициями культурным трансфером / Central Asian Religious Architecture from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic Period: Between Local Traditions and Cultural Transfers." In Shahin Mustafaev, Michel Espagne, Svetlana Gorshenina, Claude Rapin, Amridin Berdimuradov, and Frantz Grenet (eds.), *Cultural Transfers in Central Asia: Before, During and After the Silk Road*, 42–58. Paris/Samarkand: International Institute for Central Asian Studies.
- Rtveladze, Édvard V. (1975) "К Характеристике Памятников Сурхандарьинской Области Ахеменидского Времени." *Советская Археология* 2: 262–266.
- Rtveladze, Édvard V. (2001) "Les Voies de communication et les villes de la Bactriane." In P. Leriche, C. Pidaev, M. Gelin, and K. Abdoullaev (eds.), *La Bactriane au carrefour des routes et civilisations de l'Asie centrale. Actes du colloque de Termez 1997*, 293–301. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Rtveladze, Édvard V. (2002) *Александр Македонский в Бактрии и Согдиане: историко-географические очерки*. Tashkent: Akademiyi khudozhestv Respubliki Uzbekistan.
- Rtveladze, Édvard V. and Anatolii S. Sagdullaev (1985) "Les particularités du peuplement du Surkhandar'ja à l'Age du Bronze et au début de l'Age du Fer." In M. S. Asimov et al. (eds.), *L'archéologie de la Bactriane ancienne. Actes du Colloque franco-soviétique, Dushanbe (U.R.S.S.), 27 octobre – 3 novembre 1982*, 187–193. Paris: CNRS.
- Sagdullaev, A. S. (1987) *Усадьбы Древней Бактрии*. Tashkent: Izd-vo "FAN" Uzbekskoi SSR.
- Sarianidi, V. I. (1989) *Храм и некрополь Тулятепе*. Moscow: Nauka.

- Sevinç, N., R. Körpe, M. Tombul, C. B. Rose, D. Strahan, H. Kiesewetter, and J. Wallrodt (2001) "A New Painted Graeco-Persian Sarcophagus from Çan." *Studia Troica* 11: 383–420.
- Scerrato, Umberto (1962) "A Probable Achaemenid Zone in Persian Sîstân." *East and West* 13, 186–197.
- Schmidt, Erich F. (1957) *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, (Oriental Institute Publications 69.) Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Schmidt, Erich F. (1970) *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*. (Oriental Institute Publications 70.) Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Shajdullaev, S. B. (2000) *Северная Бактрия В Эпоху Раннего Железного Века*. Tashkent: Izd. Narodnogo Nasledija im. Abdully Kodyri.
- Shaked, Shaul (2003) "De Khulmi à Nikhšapaya: les données des nouveaux documents araméens de Bactres sur la toponymie de la région (IVe siècle av. n. è.)." *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 147(4): 1517–1535.
- Simpson, St John, and Pankova, Svetlana (2017) *Scythians: Warriors of Ancient Siberia*. New York: Thames & Hudson Inc.
- Stančo, Ladislav (2018) "New Data on the Iron Age in the Sherabad District, South Uzbekistan." In Johanna Lhuillier and Boroffka Nicklaus (eds.), *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC). Proceedings of the Conference Held in Berlin (June 23–25, 2014). Archäologie in Iran und Turan* (17); *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Volume XXXVAIT* (35), 1–18. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Stančo, Ladislav, and Petra Tušlov (ed.) (2019) *Sherabad Oasis: Tracing Historical Landscape in Southern Uzbekistan Charles University (Reports of Czech-Uzbekistani Archaeological Mission in Southern Uzbekistan Vol. 2)*. Prague: Karolinum Press.
- Stride, Sebastian (2005) "Géographie archéologique de la province de Surkhan Darya (Ouzbékistan du Sud / Bactriane du Nord)." Doctoral thesis Archaeology, Université Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Stride, Sebastian, Bernardo Rondelli, and Simone Mantellini (2009) "Canals versus Horses: Political Power in the Oasis of Samarkand." *World Archaeology* 41(1): 73–87.
- Summerer, Lâtife (2007) "Picturing Persian Victory: The Painted Battle Scene on the Munich Wood." *Ancient Civilization from Scythia to Siberia* 13(1–2): 3–30.
- Sverchkov, Leonid, and Xin Wu (2019) "Храм Огня V–IV Вв. До Н.Э. Кизылтепа" (The Temple of Fire V–IV B.C. Kyzyltepa). *Scripta Antiqua (Moscow)* 8: 97–128.
- Sverchkov, Leonid M. and N. Boroffka (2007) "Археологические исследования в Бандихане в 2005 г." *Труды Байсунской Научной Экспедиции* 3: 97–141.
- Tavernier, Jan (2017) "Religious Aspects in the Aramaic Texts from Bactria." In Wouter Henkelman and Céline Redard (eds.), *Persian Religion in the Achaemenid Period = La religion perse à l'époque achéménide*, 97–123. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Whitfield, Susan (1999) *Life Along the Silk Road*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Wu, Xin (2005) "Central Asia in the Context of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (6th to 4th century BC)." Department of the History of Art, University of Pennsylvania.
- Wu, Xin (2010) "Enemies of Empire: A Historical Reconstruction of Political Conflicts between Central Asians and the Persian Empire." In John Curtis, and St John Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: The Diversity of Ancient Iran*, 545–563. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Wu, Xin (2014) "'O Young Man ... Make Known of What Kind You Are': Warfare, History, And Elite Ideology of the Achaemenid Persian Empire." *Iranica Antiqua* 49: 209–299.
- Wu, Xin (2017) "Land of the Unrule-ables: Bactria in the Achaemenid Period." In Kathryn O. Weber, Emma Hite, Lori Khatchadourian and Adam T. Smith (eds.), *Fitful Histories and Unruly Publics: Rethinking Temporality and Community in Eurasian Archaeology*, 258–288. Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill.

- Wu, Xin (2018) “Exploiting the Virgin Land: Kyzyltepa and the Effects of the Achaemenid Persian Empire on Its Central Asian Frontier.” In Johanna Lhuillier and Boroffka Nicklaus (eds.), *A Millennium of History. The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*, 189–214. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Wu, Xin, forthcoming. “Ritual and Religious Landscapes in Achaemenid Bactria.” In Gunvor Lindström (ed.), *Archäologie in Iran und Turan* 18.
- Wu, Xin, Naomi Miller and Pam Crabtree (2015) “Agro-Pastoral Strategies and Food Production on the Achaemenid Frontier in Central Asia: A Case Study of Kyzyltepa in Southern Uzbekistan.” *Iran* 53: 93–117.
- Wu, Xin, and Olivier Lecomte (2012) “Clay Sealings from the Iron Age Citadel at Ulug Depe.” *Archäologische Mitteilungen Aus Iran Und Turan* 44: 313–328.
- Wu, Xin, Leonid M. Sverchkov, and Nikolaus Boroffka (2017) “The 2010–2011 Seasons of Excavations at Kyzyltepa (VI–IVth Centuries BCE), Souther Uzbekistan.” *Iranica Antiqua* 52: 283–362.
- Wu, Xin, Naomi Miller, and Pam Crabtree (2015) “Agro-pastoral Strategies and Food Production on the Achaemenid Frontier in Central Asia: A Case Study of Kyzyltepa in Southern Uzbekistan.” *Iran* 53: 93–117.

CHAPTER 30

ACHAEMENID NORTH-WEST SOUTH ASIA



Cameron A. Petrie

INTRODUCTION

The northwest edge of the South Asian subcontinent is marked by piedmont zones comprised of alluvial floodplains, alluvial fans and basins that are adjacent to the Sulaiman Mountains and to the west of the Indus River (Fig. 30.1). These are borderland areas that are susceptible to military campaigns, and in the late first millennium BC they were incorporated into substantial kingdoms and empires, including those of Alexander, the Graeco-Bactrians and Indo-Greeks coming from the west, and the Mauryans coming from the east. Each of these dynasties built upon the political infrastructure established in the mid-first millennium BC by the Achaemenid Empire, whose eastern reaches were comprised of these same regions. The Achaemenids also appear to have appropriated extant local political structures that had existed in these regions from at least the early first millennium BC (Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

Archaeological research in these borderland areas has focussed on three specific regions, each of which is adjacent to important passes that link the alluvial floodplains, alluvial fans and basins to the east, with the upland and highland areas to the west. From north to south, these are the Peshawar and Swat Valleys, which lie to the north and are adjacent to the Khyber Pass; the Bannu Basin to its south, which is adjacent to the Kurram and Tochi Passes; and the Kacchi Plain further to the south, which is adjacent to the Bolan Pass (Figure 30.1; Petrie 2007; after Markham 1879).

To outline the pre-existing context for the expansion of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek control over these borderland regions during the third and second centuries BC, this contribution will provide an overview of the archaeological evidence dating from the early up to the mid- to late first millennium BC. To achieve this aim, it recapitulates evidence and arguments about several interconnected themes published in a number of co- and multi-authored papers (e.g. Magee et al. 2005; Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013; Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010). These include the regional economies of north-west South Asia before the Achaemenid expansion, and the historical and archaeological evidence for the Achaemenid period at the eastern edge of the empire and Alexander's seizure of those areas. The annexation of these same areas as the westernmost parts of the Mauryan Empire is also worthy of consideration, but that is a rich and substantial topic in and of itself, and is beyond the scope of this paper (see Jansari and Olivier, this volume).

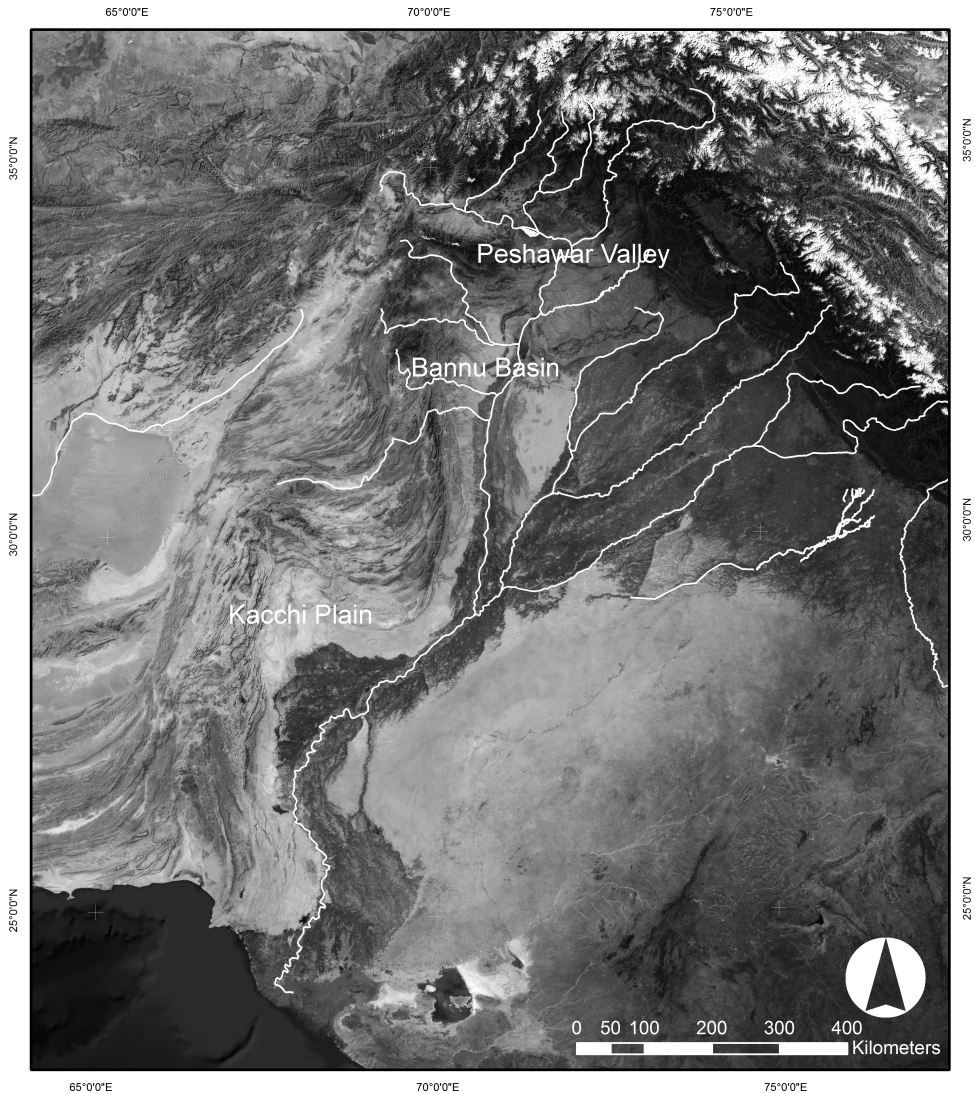


Figure 30.1 Map showing the location of the Peshawar Valley, the Bannu Basin and the Kacchi Plain.

REGIONALLY DISTINCT CULTURAL ASSEMBLAGES IN THE INDO-IRANIAN BORDERLANDS IN THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM BC

The earliest phase of urbanism in the subcontinent ended in the early to mid-second millennium BC with the abandonment of the urban centres of the Indus Civilisation and the concomitant increase of the rural village-based population in various parts of western South Asia (Petrie 2013b, 2017, 2019). However, the early to mid-second millennium BC also saw the appearance of sizable new settlements in the borderland areas, though knowledge of each area comes primarily from one excavated site.

The site of Pirak, which is situated on the Kacchi plain in Baluchistan, was established around 1800 BC and occupied up until 800 BC (Jarrige and Santoni 1979; Ahuja 2018). The Bala Hissar at Charsadda in the central Peshawar Valley was established as early as 1400 BC, and apparently occupied more or less continuously up until around 150 BC (Coningham and Ali 2007; Petrie 2013a). Akra in the Bannu Basin has occupation dated from c. 900 BC onwards, though artefacts dating to c. 1800–1700 BC have been recovered from the surface (Khan et al. 2000a, 2000b; Magee et al. 2005; Petrie 2020). In addition, the Hathial mound at Taxila appears to have been established in the early first millennium BC (Allchin 1982; Khan, G.M. 1983; Dani 1986; Petrie 2013c).

Each of these major settlements, and the known sites in their surrounding regions, were characterised by the use of a distinctive assemblage of ceramic vessels, which suggests region-specific cultural developments (Magee et al. 2005; Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; also Jarrige and Santoni 1979; Enault 1979; Coningham and Ali 2007). This cultural dynamic was part of a broader pattern in the late second and early first millennia BC, where distinct painted pottery traditions were found in various regions at the eastern end of the Iranian Plateau and the plains of Central Asia (Lhuillier 2013a, 2013b, 2016, 2017; Francfort et al. 2019; Petrie and Shaffer 2019). The existence of these regionally distinct cultural assemblages is particularly significant for understanding the nature of the annexation of many of these regions by the Achaemenid Empire.

Peshawar, Swat and Taxila

Wheeler's (1962) excavations at the Bala Hissar at Charsadda established the archaeological sequence in the Peshawar valley, and reanalysis of this sequence (Dittmann 1984; also Vogelsang 1988) and renewed excavations at the site (Ali et al. 1998: 6–14; Young 2003: 37–40; Coningham and Ali 2007) have shown that the earliest levels date to the mid- to late second millennium BC (Petrie 2013a). Radiocarbon dates suggest that the site was first occupied c.1420–1160 BC, and iron use is evident from c.1200 BC (Coningham and Batt 2007), and the Bala Hissar is the only site in the Peshawar Valley with an unbroken sequence of occupation spanning from c.1400–50 BC (Dittmann 1984: 159, 193; see Petrie 2013a).

The earliest ceramic vessels from the Bala Hissar have a distinctive red burnished surface and registers of low ridges, grooves or wavy lines, and have been referred to as “soapy red ware” (Wheeler 1962: 39) and “red burnished ware” (Allchin 1982; Coningham et al. 2007a: 100; see Petrie 2013a). Similar red burnished ware has been recovered in the Taxila Valley from Hathial, where it is called “ridged red burnished ware” (Allchin 1982, 1995: 127; Khan, G.M. 1983; Dani 1986: 37–38, Figs. 13, 52), and on the Bhīr mound, where the grooved “red burnished ware” variety appears (Bahadur Khan et al. 2002: 29–31, 74–5, Plate 1; see Petrie 2013c). These wares have also been found at settlements (e.g. Aligrama and Ghaligai) and cemeteries (e.g. Kherai, Loebanr, Katelai, Butkara and Timargarha) in and around the Swāt Valley (Period V) where it is regarded as an element of the so-called “Gandhāran Grave Culture” (e.g. Stacul 1966: 261–74; Stacul 1967; Stacul 1993; Dani 1967; Salvatori 1975; Stacul and Tusa 1977; Tusa 1979; Müller-Karpe 1983; Vinogradova 2001; Ali, I. et al. 2002; Ali, I. and Zahir 2005; Petrie 2013a). It is notable that only

two fragments of the red burnished ware with ridges were recovered from the site of Akra in the Bannu Basin (see below; Khan et al. 2000b; Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie 2013a).

These distinctive red burnished ceramic wares were in use from the mid- to late second to the mid-first millennium BC across a large but restricted area stretching from Swat and the surrounding valleys, across the Peshawar Valley and to the east across the Indus into the Taxila Valley. Their distribution suggests the existence of some form of economic interaction sphere, and it is notable that this region was subsequently referred to as Gandhāra. Magee and Petrie (2010; Petrie 2013a, 2013c) have suggested that geographical considerations played a role in the operation of this economic zone, as the primary distribution of the red ware lies along east–west communication routes from Taxila to the Peshawar region and into the highland valleys to the north.

The Bannu Basin

A different regionally distinct cultural assemblage was in use in the early first millennium BC in the Bannu basin, which lies in the borderlands to the south of the Peshawar Valley. The Bannu basin is separated from the Peshawar Valley to the north by the ridges of the Salt Range and from Gomal Plain to the south and the Indus River and plain to the east by a series of substantial ranges. A regionally distinct ceramic assemblage known as Bannu black on red ware has been recovered from the sites of Ter Kala Dheri and Akra, where it has been dated to the early- to mid-first millennium BC (c.900–600 BC; Khan et al. 2000c: 81–100; Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie et al. 2010). The assemblage includes hand-made hemispherical bowls and globular spouted vessels, which are best paralleled in the early Iron Age (Yaz Depe I) cultures of south-west Central Asia (Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013; Lhuillier 2016).

As with the ceramics found in the Peshawar Valley and the neighbouring areas, the Bannu black on red ware has a restricted distribution to Akra and its hinterland, and it is not known outside of the Bannu Basin (Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). It is notable, however, that the parallels to the early Iron Age/Jaz Depe I represent the strongest link to any Bactrian Iron Age assemblage either inside or outside of Central Asia (Lhuillier 2016). The implications of this close association are hard to fathom, as the two regions are separated by the Hindu Kush, but the closeness of the parallels suggests that there was some form of interaction between the two areas.

The Kachi Plain and the Makran

In the southern parts of the western borderlands, the clearest evidence for occupation in the second and early first millennia BC comes from the Pirak on the Kachi Plain. Hand-made ceramics with geometric bichrome decoration first appeared in Period I, become diagnostic of Period II, and continued in use into Period III, which began sometime after 1500 BC, probably between c.1460 and 1150 BC (Jarrige and Santoni 1979; Enault 1979; Magee and Petrie 2010). This style of decoration has few parallels at other sites and is distinct from Bannu black on red ware (Magee et al. 2005;

Magee and Petrie 2010). In contrast to the situation in the borderland areas to the north, Pirak was abandoned before the mid-first millennium BC, and occupation in the region does not appear to have continued through the early to mid-first millennium BC and into the Achaemenid period (Magee and Petrie 2010; see below).

ACHAEMENID CONTROL AT THE EASTERN EDGE OF THE EMPIRE: THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The Achaemenid Empire was the largest political entity to develop in ancient western Asia and amalgamated regions and populations across an enormous area, including the borderland regions to the west of the Indus (Figure 30.2; Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). Formally, the different parts of the empire were controlled through an overarching political system based on the emplacement of royally vetted satraps to control individual provinces (e.g. Kuhrt 1995: 689–692, 2001: 114–116, 2007: 672–3; Briant 2002: 63ff.). It is likely,

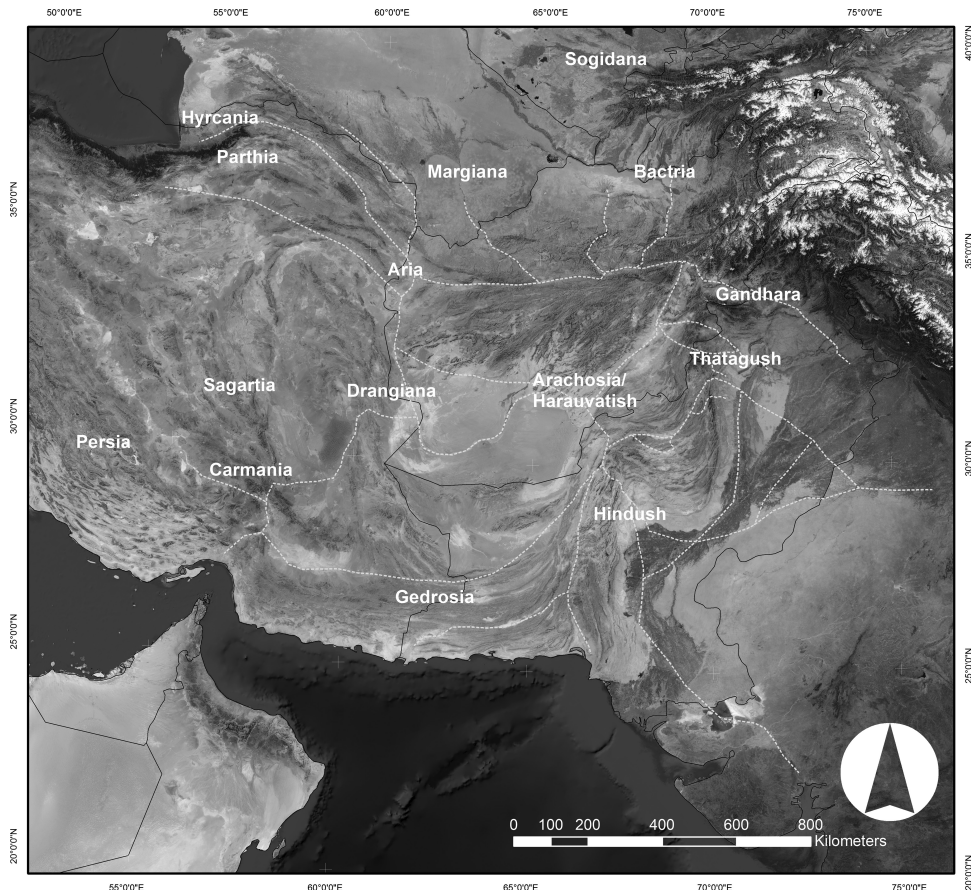


Figure 30.2 Map showing the location of the eastern Achaemenid satrapies (Petrie and Magee 2012).

however, that there was variation in the nature of control in the easternmost areas (Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

Much of what is known about the east of the Achaemenid Empire comes from inscriptions and texts from palaces and tombs in Susiana and Fars in Iran, and Classical Greek and Roman historical sources that relate to the Achaemenid period and the conquests of Alexander the Great of Macedon (cf. Vogelsang 1992; Kuhrt 2007). The latter accounts in particular provide insight into the political situation within the easternmost parts of the Achaemenid Empire after the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC, and beyond the borders of the empire to the east. There is archaeological evidence from sites in the borderlands that dates to the period of Achaemenid control, but the degree to which it informs consideration of imperial authority and its impact is open to interpretation (Magee et al. 2005: 717; Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

Reliefs, inscriptions and texts from Behistun and Persepolis

Several sources indicate that there were three major provinces or satrapies at the easternmost edge of the Achaemenid Empire: Gandhāra, Thatagush and Hindush (Vogelsang 1992: 94–179; also Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). These names, variants, and the names for the peoples from these regions appear in a range of texts, including: royal inscriptions of various Achaemenid kings; several *Persepolis Fortification Texts*; major Sanskrit texts including the *Rigveda*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*; and classical sources including Herodotos' *Histories*, and the accounts of Arrian and Quintus Curtius (Vogelsang 1990: 97–102, 1992: 94–244; Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

It has long been accepted that Gandhāra was centred on the Peshawar Valley, and might also have included the upper reaches of the Kabul River valley (Vogelsang 1985: 80–81, 1992: 129). The name Hindush is cognate with the Indus River, which appears as the Sindhu in the *Rig Veda*, and is generally supposed to be analogous with modern Sindh (Bivar 1988: 202–204; Vogelsang 1990: 101–102). The precise limits of the province have not been defined and it is possible that it included parts of Baluchistan (Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). There is, however, no unambiguous correlate for the Achaemenid province of Thatagush (or Sattagydia), and various suggestions have been put forward about its location, which are best considered in light of a combination of inscription and archaeological evidence.

Achaemenid royal inscriptions and Greek and Roman historical records indicate that Achaemenid rulers claimed to have controlled these easternmost borderland regions by the late sixth century BC (Vogelsang 1992; Magee et al. 2005: 711–714; Petrie and Magee 2007: 4–8; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). However, there are no clear indications of an Achaemenid presence in South Asian literature (Petrie and Magee 2007: 8; after Raychaudhuri 1953; Witzel 1980).

The inscriptions and documents that claim the Achaemenids controlled areas in South Asia were found in various locations across the empire and include references to each of the three far eastern provinces, which appear singly, in pairs, and occasionally together in one inscription. Sometime between 539 and 530 BC Cyrus II (the

Great) is said to have marched through Arachosia (probably Kandahar in southern Afghanistan), then north to destroy the city of Kapisa (Begram), before being killed on campaign in Bactria, though it is not possible to determine either the manner or location of his death (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1985: 471; Dandamayev 1993; Kuhrt 2007: 49). The Greek sources claim that he either died somewhere in the northeast of his newly expanded empire (e.g. Herodotos, 1.201–214), or at home surrounded by his family and officials (e.g. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 8.7; see Kuhrt 2007: 99–102). None of these accounts refers to the annexation of any of the easternmost borderland regions specifically, so the process is inferred (Bivar 1988: 198–199; Francfort 1988: 170; Vogelsang 1992: 187–189).

The names of these easternmost provinces appear in different combinations in various Achaemenid royal inscriptions. For instance, on the trilingual Behistun inscription (carved between 520 and 518 BC), the Old Persian text lists Gandhāra and Thatagush amongst the provinces that Darius I claimed to control when he seized the Achaemenid throne in 522 BC (DB: §6.1.12–17, Kent 1953: 117–119; also Lecoq 1997: 187–214; Schmidt, R. 1990: 299–30; Vogelsang 2000; Errington and Curtis 2007: 30; Kuhrt 2007: 49). The Babylonian and Elamite versions substitute the name Parapomisadae for Gandhāra (Vogelsang 2000: 269). Thatagush is also listed in the inscription as one of the provinces that rebelled against the new king (DB: §20. 2.5–8, Kent 1953: 121–123) and it appears to have been the location of one of the three battles in the ensuing campaign against the rebellious forces (Fleming 1982; Bivar 1988: 200; Vogelsang 1990: 100, 1992: 127–129; Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). Hindush is absent from the Behistun inscription, but does appear on all but one of Darius’ other surviving inscriptions, most notably on two of the Foundation Charters from Susa, which do not mention either Gandhāra or Thatagush (Magee et al. 2005: 713, n.16; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). *Yaka* wood from Gandhāra is, however, mentioned as a building material in the foundation inscription from Susa (DSf: §3 g–i, Kent 1953: 143–144). Hindush appears with Thatagush (but not Gandhāra) among the twenty-four “fortress cartouches” inscribed on either side of the base of a statue of Darius from Susa (Figure 30.3), and both are also represented on the Canal Stelae from Egypt (Stronach 1972; Roaf 1974; Vogelsang 1992; Magee et al. 2005; Kuhrt 2007: 477–482; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

Whether the differences in the appearance and combinations of the names of the easternmost provinces is significant is not readily apparent. Vogelsang (1990: 99–100; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013) has proposed that the arrangement of the eastern provinces in Darius’ royal inscriptions indicates the existence of close relationships between Baxtrish (Bactria) and Gandhāra, and between Harauvatish (Arachosia) and Thatagush. It is possible that these perceived relationships indicate that Gandhāra and Thatagush were annexed when Cyrus secured Arachosia and Bactria between 539–530 BC, and Darius certainly considered these regions to be part of his empire when he seized control in 522 BC (Magee et al. 2005: n.10; Kuhrt 2007: 449; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). Bivar (1988: 201–203; citing Herodotos 4.44; also Vogelsang 1990: 101–104; Magee et al. 2005: 713, n.16; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013) suggested that Hindush was annexed around 515 BC, after Scylax of Caryanda carried out a reconnaissance of the Indus River in 517 BC. As for its location, Bivar (1988:

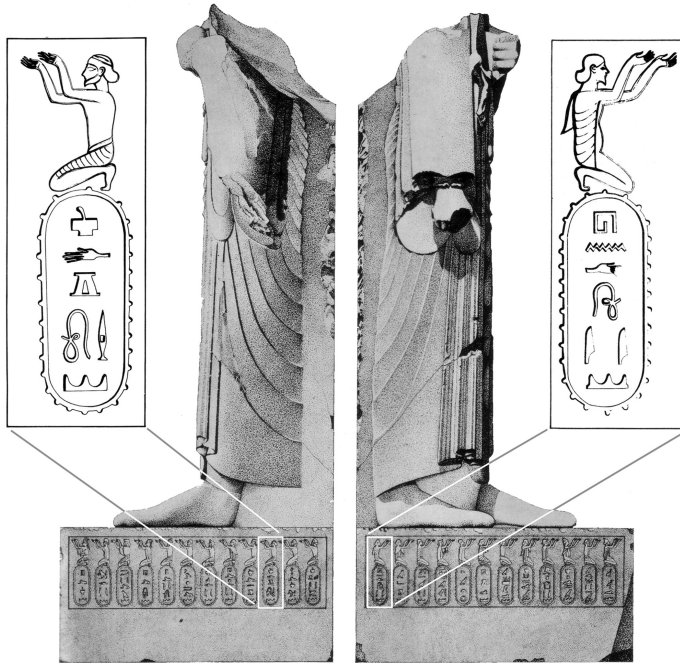


Figure 30.3 Depictions of representatives of eastern provinces on the Darius statue (Petrie and Magee 2012).

202–204) and others have argued that Hindush is analogous with modern Sindh, although there are still no excavated remains dating to the mid-first millennium BC in the region that might support this assertion (see below; Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). Herodotus' *Histories* lists the three easternmost provinces and their tribute payments and provides a precise though fantastical description of India/Hindush (3.89–95; 98–105). Indians as a collective group are also clearly numbered amongst the armies of Xerxes and Mardonius (7.67; 7.71; 7.86; 8.113; 9.29).

By the mid-fourth century BC, coins were minted locally in Bactria and the Kabul region (Errington and Curtis 2007: 34). The coins issued in Kabul included silver nuggets akin to Achaemenid *sigloi*, bore symbols and animal designs on the obverse and reverse, and occurred alongside bent bars, or small billets of silver with a curve, created by punching designs on either end of one side (Curiel and Schlumberger 1953; Errington and Curtis 2007: 34). Bent bars also appear in Gandhāra, but the silver billets used there were wider and flatter (Errington and Curtis 2007: 34), perhaps suggesting that there was local production there as well. The presence of coins in both Bactria and Gandhāra, but not elsewhere in these borderlands, fits with the proposed connection between the two regions. In contrast, no bent bars or any other type of Achaemenid coins have been recovered or reported from Shahr-i Kohna at Kandahar (MacDowall 1996; Helms 1997: 95–99), and one local bent-bar type has, however, been reported from Akra (Cribb 2002: 65, No. 1; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

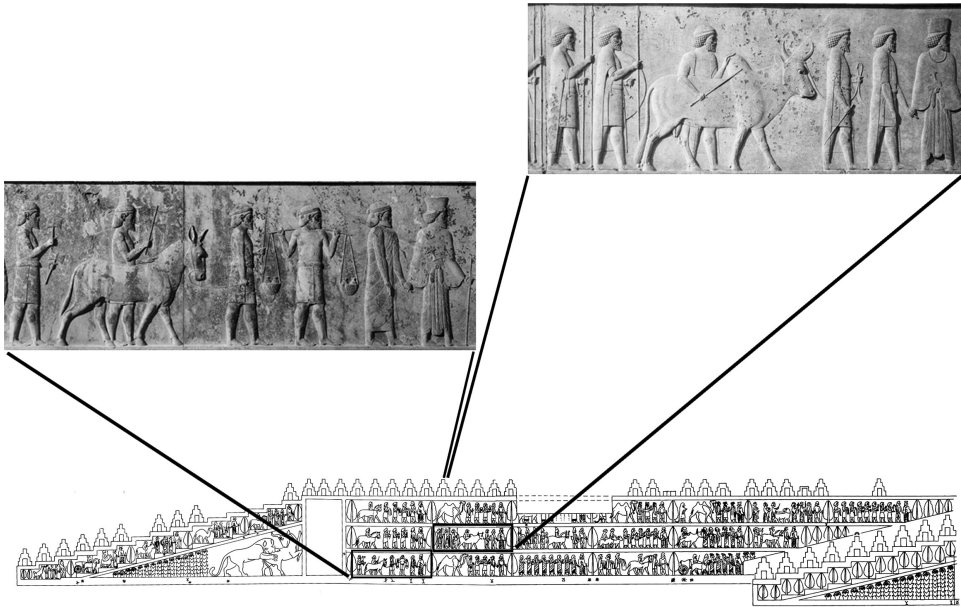


Figure 30.4 Depictions of representatives of eastern provinces on the Apadana (Petrie and Magee 2012).

Representatives of each of these provinces are depicted in the reliefs at the Achaemenid capital of Persepolis. Dignitaries from two of the three South Asian provinces are depicted bringing gifts to the Achaemenid king on the Apadana staircases, and representatives of all three appear as throne/dais-bearers on the door frames of the Tripylon and the Hall of One Hundred Columns (Figures 30.4–30.5; Schmidt, E.F. 1953: 82–90, 116–120, 134–137; Roaf 1974: 84–92; 1983: 1–164; Vogelsang 1992: 147–151; Kuhrt 2007: 483–4, 519–529; cf. Herodotos, 7.61–80; 7.83–87; 7.89–95). With the exception of the unfinished tomb of Darius III, similar figures also appear on the reliefs decorating the tomb facades of all of the Achaemenid kings at Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis (Bivar 1988: 208–10; Hachmann 1997: 195–224; Schmidt, E.F. 1970: 77–118, pl. 39–52; Vogelsang 1992: 135–143; Kuhrt 2007: 502–3). In each instance, the representatives of Gandhāra, Thatagush and Hindush wear loincloths, sandals and have an exposed upper body, which distinguishes them from the representatives from Bactria and Arachosia (Vogelsang 1990: 98, 1992: 140–143; Magee et al. 2005; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

These eastern provinces and people from them are referred to in a number of ration disbursement documents in the *Persepolis Fortification Text* (PFT) corpus (509–496 BC) (Hallock 1969: 6; Bivar 1988: 206–207; Vogelsang 1990: 101). In the published PFT corpus Harauvatish (Arachosia) and Hindush are the most regularly appearing of the eastern toponyms, while Gandhāra is only listed twice, and Thatagush is not mentioned at all (Vogelsang 1990: 101; also Henkelman 2008; Henkelman and Stolper 2009: 300–304). However, only a small proportion of the entire PFT archive is actually published (Henkelman 2013) and more references to these eastern regions may exist.

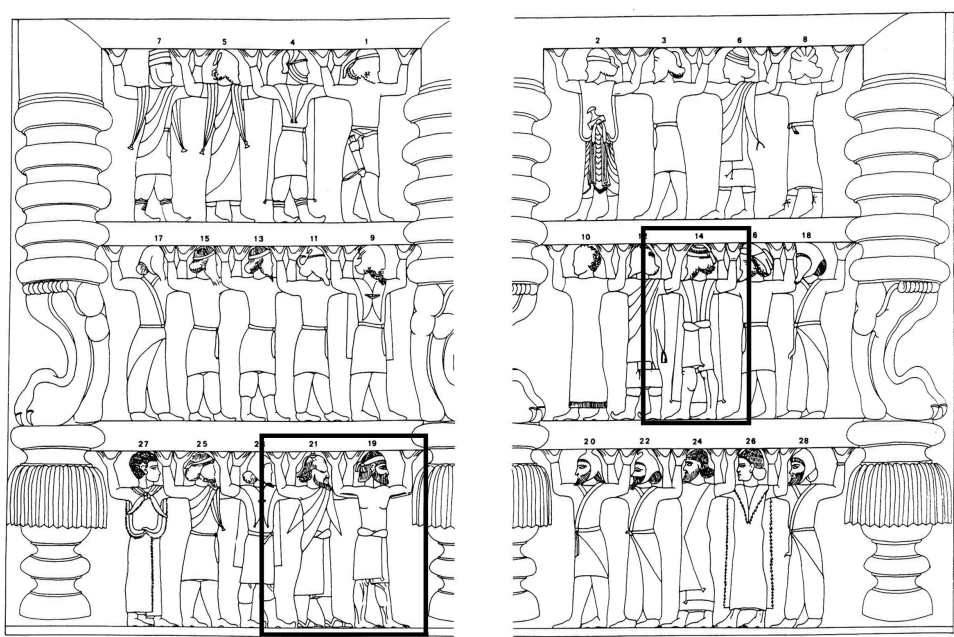


Figure 30.5 Depictions of representatives of eastern provinces as throne/dais-bearers on the doorframes of the Tripylon and Hall of One Hundred Columns (Petrie and Magee 2012).

The differential appearance of eastern toponyms and movement to or from those regions in the *PFT* archive seems to match the variable presentation of these provinces on the Darius statue and the Canal Stelae. It is notable that the one documented journey from Gandhāra to Susa (PF1358) in Hallock's published corpus was made via Harauvatish under the authority of an official there (Bivar 1988: 205; Vogelsang 1990: 101), which doesn't accord neatly to the proposed connection between Gandhāra and Bactria. It may indicate, however, that to travel to Fars, there was a route from Gandhāra via Arachosia, which was likely centred on ancient Kandahar (Vogelsang 1985: 82–87, 1990: 101; Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). There are numerous routes from the borderlands to the area of Kandahar (Petrie 2007; after Markham 1879), but how the route proceeded west from there is unclear. It potentially went via Dahan-i Ghulaman in Seistan (Drangiana), where major Achaemenid-style buildings have been exposed (Scerrato 1966; Genito 1986, 1990; Gnoli 1993; Maresca 2010), though other routes crossing the plateau to the west also existed (Figure 30.2). Notably, the journeys to or from Hindush documented in the *PFT* archive were not authorized in Harauvatish, which suggests that those journeys might have been made via yet another route, possibly due east through Baluchistan and Carmania (Kerman) (Vogelsang 1990: 102; Magee et al. 2005: 713; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). It is unclear whether the paucity of documents related to Gandhāra and Thatagush is significant, and it may simply be a product of differential document survival, the incomplete publication of the corpus, and/or limited movement to and from these

two eastern provinces during the period of the archive (Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

The appearance of representatives of Gandhāra, Thatagush and Hindush on each of the royal tomb reliefs from Darius I up to Artaxerxes III indicates that these provinces continued to be a part of the royal conception of the empire up to at least 338 BC (Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). This was less than ten years before Alexander's victory at Gaugamela, and the likelihood that fealty with the Achaemenid king was maintained during Darius III's reign is suggested by Arrian's description (*Anabasis* 3.8.3) of Darius' army at Gaugamela. Arrian does not use all of the more specific ethnic determiners listed by Herodotos, but the king is said to have "obtained the help of those Indians who bordered on the Bactrians, together with the Bactrians and Sogdians themselves, all under the command of Bessus, the satrap of Bactria" (Arrian *Anabasis* 3.8.3; also Vogelsang 1992: 221–223; Briant 2002: 756). Arrian also noted that "Barsentes, satrap of the Arachotians, led both the Arachotians and the Indian hill-men, as they were called" (Arrian *Anabasis* 3.8.4; also Vogelsang 1992, 221–223; Briant 2002: 756). If the evidence for the existence of a relationship between Bactria and Gandhāra is taken into account then it is possible that the "Indians bordering on the Bactrians" at Gaugamela were troops from Gandhāra and Parapomisadae (Vogelsang 1992: 222–223). Following similar logic, it might be presumed that the "Indian hill-men" were either from Thatagush or Hindush, depending on the perceived boundaries of those provinces (Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

The east of the Achaemenid Empire as documented by the Alexander historians

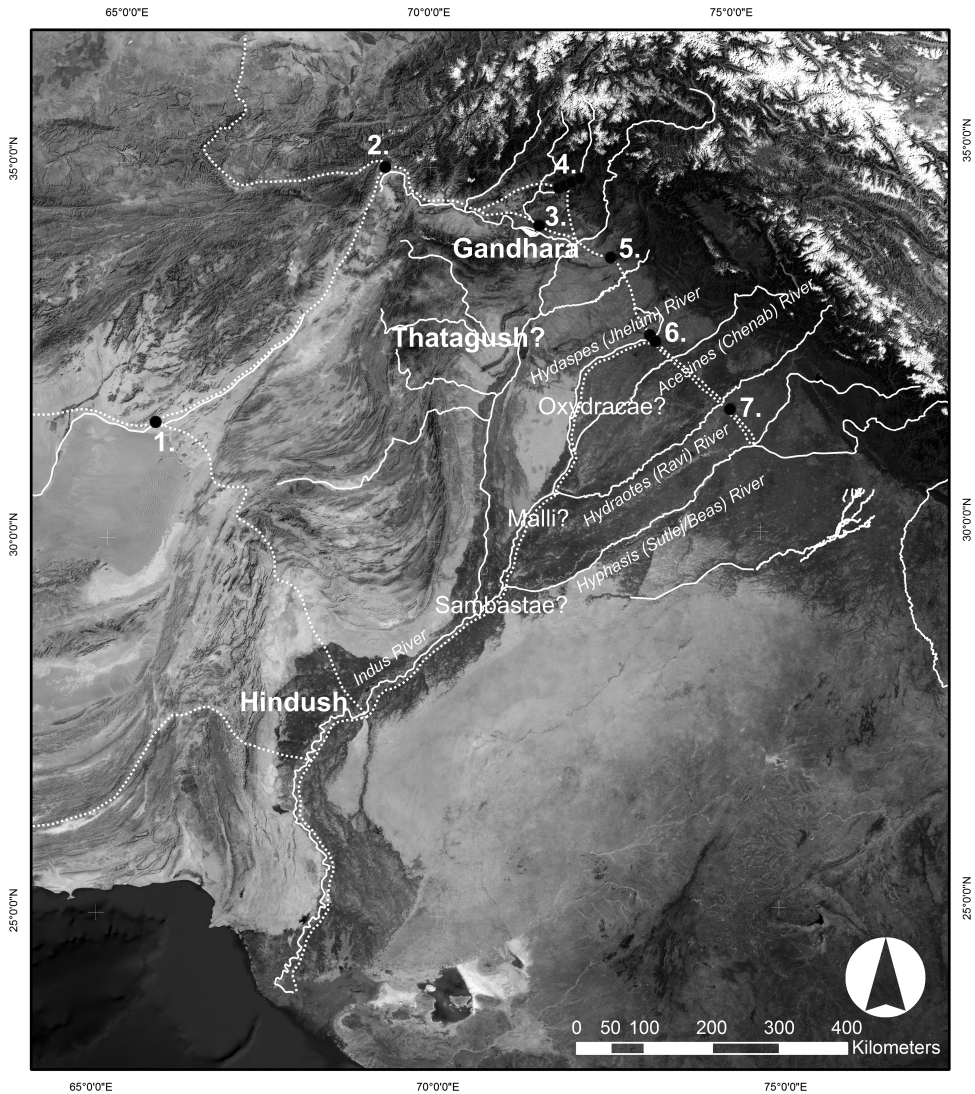
The arrival of the army of Alexander in the subcontinent in 327 BC is described in compelling fashion by the Classical Greek and Roman historians whose accounts have survived (reviewed in Petrie and Magee 2007; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013; see also Bosworth 1995, 1996). In addition to outlining an overarching narrative that is laced with metaphorical undertones (Vasunia 2013), these texts contain information about cities, toponyms and routes, and the identification of these features on the ground was the focus of much of the early archaeological research in South Asia (e.g. Cunningham 1871; Stein 1929). In addition to the route of Alexander's advance and the political geography of ancient South Asia, these texts also contain indications of the nature of Achaemenid control over its far eastern provinces in the Late Achaemenid period and also the nature of indigenous control structures at this time (reviewed in Petrie and Magee 2007; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

It was only after completing his campaigns in Central Asia in 327 BC that Alexander was able to march into the eastern provinces of his newly won empire. In addition to the references to the groups of Indians serving under the command of Bessus, and Barsentes (Arrian *Anabasis* 3.8.3–4; also Vogelsang 1992: 221–223; Briant 2002: 756), there is additional evidence of at least one small district that lay in the areas to the west of the Indus. In describing Alexander's march toward Drangiana in late 330 BC, Arrian notes that Barsentes, satrap of the Drangians and Arachosians, had fled to "the Indians on this side of the Indus" (*Anabasis* 3.25.8; Vogelsang 1992: 227; also Quintus Curtius 6.6.36; Briant 2002: 757; Magee et al. 2005; Petrie and Magee

2007; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). Following the conquest of Arachosia (Kandahar) and while on his way north to Parapomisadae, Alexander is said to have approached the “the Indians who lived nearest to the Arachosians” (Arrian *Anabasis* 3.28.1; Vogelsang 1992: 227; see Magee et al. 2005). Precisely who these “Indians on this side of the Indus” and “Indians who lived nearest to the Arachosians” were and where they lived is unclear, as is whether they were the same or distinct groups. Geographically they must (both) have been situated somewhere to the east and north of Kandahar and to the south and southeast of Kabul (Petrie and Magee 2007) (Figure 30.6).

Arrian (*Anabasis* 4.22.3–6) noted that on his return across the Hindu Kush, Alexander travelled to the recently founded *Alexandria ad Caucasum* (ancient Kapisa, modern Begram), before advancing towards the Kophen (Kabul) River (Figure 30.6; Petrie and Magee 2007). There Alexander met with Taxilas (ruler of Taxila, which lies east of the Indus) and the leaders of the Indians on this side (i.e. the west) of the Indus, who are all called ὑπάρχου (hyparchs; i.e. subordinate leaders), having “sent a herald in advance...with orders to meet him, each at their earliest convenience” (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.22.6). The identities of this group of summoned hyparchs is not stated, but in addition to Taxilas, it potentially included Astis (the ruler of Peucelaotis), and Kophaioi, and Assagetae (rulers of regions close to the Indus), who were all named and listed later in the narrative as the hyparchs of regions (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.22.8, 28.6). Although no specific references are made to Achaemenid control in the Alexander histories (Olivieri 1996: 66), Arrian’s text implies that these rulers of regions within or near the former Achaemenid province of Gandhāra were all expected to offer obeisance and submission to the new king. Bosworth (1995: 146, 1996: 155) and Brunt (2000: IV.22, n.7) both noted that Taxilas had earlier been encouraged by his son Omphis (who subsequently became Taxilas) to send envoys to submit to Alexander while the new king was in Sogdiana (cf. Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca historica* 17.86.4, Quintus Curtius 8.12.5). Petrie and Magee (2007) have suggested that this may have been a politically motivated ‘pre-emptive strike’ by Taxilas and Omphis (Taxilas) aimed at consolidating and legitimising their position in the eyes of the conqueror.

After this meeting and presumably somewhere to the west of Jalalabad (Bosworth 1995: 149), Alexander divided his forces and sent Hephaestion and Perdikkas forward with Taxilas and the other hyparchs to the territory of Peucelaotis (Πευκελαώτις, Sanskrit Puṣkalāvātī) and on to the Indus (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.22.7; also Bosworth 1995: 149). They had instructions to seize, either by force or agreement, all places on their march, and on reaching the Indus they discovered that after their passing, Astis, the hyparch of Peucelaotis, had either revolted, or was attempting to do so (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.22.7–8). The brief descriptive paragraph in Arrian’s *Anabasis* (4.22.8) presents an interesting example of the nature of the local power politics in play at the time of Alexander’s arrival. Having attempted revolt, Astis is said to have fled to a city for refuge, and though its name is not specified, it is assumed to be Peucelaotis (Bosworth 1995: 153; Petrie and Magee 2007). Hephaestion subsequently besieged and after thirty days captured that city, and following his capture, Astis was put to death and replaced as governor by Sangaios, who had previously “escaped from Astis and gone over to Taxilas” (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.22.8). Petrie and Magee (2007) have drawn attention to the fact that this act is said to have guaranteed Sangaios’ loyalty



Legend

1. Kandahar (possible the capital of Arachosia)
2. Begram (possibly Alexandria in Caucaso)
3. Bala Hisar at Charsadda (Peucelaotis/Pushkalavati)
4. Massaga, Baziar, Ora, Embolina and Aornos
5. Taxila
6. Nicaea and Bucephala (locations unknown)
7. Sangala (location unknown)

Figure 30.6 Route of Alexander's march through to the east (Petrie and Magee 2007).

to Alexander (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.22.8). Bosworth (1995: 153) and Brunt (2000: IV.22.n.7) have both pointed out that in effect, Taxilas was supporting someone who had rebelled against Astis, and that Astis may well have rebelled against Alexander through fear of Taxilas' growing power, resulting from his recent alliance to the conqueror. This entire episode highlights the existence of rivalries and indigenous power politics in the borderlands at this time (Petrie and Magee 2007).

Relying on the vulgate tradition, Bosworth (1995: 146) has pointed out that Taxilas was a name apparently adopted by successive rulers (Quintus Curtius 8.12.14). He has also suggested that Taxilas the father met Alexander near the Kophen, though there is no specific reference to submission at this time (Bosworth 1995: 147). After his father died some months later, Omphis allegedly refused to take the throne until offered it in person by Alexander (Quintus Curtius 8.12.14; Bosworth 1995: 147; Petrie and Magee 2007).

Arrian (*Anabasis* 5.4.3) notes that when Alexander crossed the Indus river he entered the land of the Indians, and if this is true, then Taxila potentially lay outside the empire *per se*, and may have been outside what the Achaemenids viewed as Gandhāra (Petrie and Magee 2007; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013) (Fig. 30.6). In sending envoys to the new king while he was in Sogdiana, and then meeting him in Parapomisadae, Taxilas and Omphis/Taxilas may have been using Alexander's troops to dispose of their rival Astis of Peucelaotis (Petrie and Magee 2007). They thus potentially manipulated the situation to expand the influence of Taxila into the parts of Gandhāra that were formerly part of the Achaemenid domain (Petrie and Magee 2007).

While Hephaestion was busy in the Peshawar Valley, Alexander brutally reduced the Aspasians, Guraeans and Assacenians in the Bajaur, Chitral and Swat valleys to the north (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.22.1ff.; also Quintus Curtius 8.10; Bosworth 1995: 158ff., 1996; Petrie and Magee 2007). According to Quintus Curtius (8.10.22–23), Alexander did not meet Assacenus, the ruler of the Assacenians, at his capital Massaga, as he had recently died and been succeeded by his mother (Bosworth 1995: 169). However, this suggests that there was an independent ruler controlling an area immediately to the north of the Peshawar Valley, which might indicate that these regions may not have been part of Achaemenid Gandhāra either (Petrie and Magee 2007; also Olivieri 1996). After this brief but violent sojourn, Alexander travelled down the Indus and joined Hephaestion and Perdiccas at their crossing point (Arrian *Anabasis* 4.30.9).

While on the banks of the Indus, Alexander received gifts of cattle, sheep and soldiers from the king of Taxila, who had sent word that he was willing to surrender his kingdom (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.3.5–6; Bosworth 1995: 220–221). This second offer of submission from a king of Taxila is taken as confirmation of the vulgate story that there had been a change of regime, and that the son Omphis had succeeded his father (Bosworth 1995: 220; after Quintus Curtius 8.12.4–5). Alexander then travelled to Taxila where he was received by Taxilas (Omphis) himself and the “Indians of this district” (*Anabasis* 5.8.2; Quintus Curtius 8.12.7–10; Bosworth 1995: 260). Bosworth (1995: 260) has pointed out that Taxilas' submission to Alexander was overtly enthusiastic, and served to highlight when others were less enthusiastic, and Petrie and Magee (2007, 2012, 2013) have suggested that this was potentially another shrewd step towards legitimising his rule in the eyes of the new king.

Quintus Curtius (8.12.7ff.; Bosworth 1995: 260) provides the clearest information about Alexander's visit to Taxila, including a reference to Omphis being given permission to assume the royal diadem and adopt the regnal name of Taxilas, as well as additional details about the "new" ruler telling Alexander that he was at war with two kings: Abisares and Porus (Quintus Curtius 8.12.13–14). Arrian (*Anabasis* 5.8.3) and Quintus Curtius (8.13.1) both mention that Alexander subsequently met with envoys of Abisares, the king of the "Indians of the hills", for the first time at Taxila. Alexander also despatched an envoy to Porus, king of the lands between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and the Acesines (Chenab), assuming that he would surrender due to the fame of Alexander's name, and received the reply that Porus would meet Alexander, but would be waiting in arms (Quintus Curtius 8.13.2; also Arrian *Anabasis* 5.8.5; Bosworth 1995: 263).

After Alexander had decided to campaign to the Hydaspes and while still at Taxila, Quintus Curtius (8.13.3–5) notes Barsentes the former satrap of Arachosia was handed over in chains, along with Samaxus (or Damaraxus), who was "the king of a small district of India who had allied himself with Barsentes" (Vogelsang 1992: 227; Bosworth 1995: 260; Briant 2002: 757; Magee et al. 2005; also Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013; Magee and Petrie 2010). It is not possible to identify the precise location of this territory. However, it was presumably south of the Peshawar region and the areas near the Indus that were traversed by Alexander and his men on their route to Taxila, as these regions had different rulers named elsewhere in the text, and the regions further to the north had already been subdued (i.e. Astis, Kophaiois and Assagetes; Arrian *Anabasis* 4.22.8; 4.28.49). Magee et al. (2005; also Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013; Magee and Petrie 2010; see also Eggermont 1975: 19–21) have suggested that this region was presumably not a great distance from Taxila, and suggested that in fleeing to the land of the Indians on this side of the Indus, Barsentes fled to Thatagush (Sattagydia) and its local ruler (in this case Samaxus/Damaraxus), who had been his subordinate under the Achaemenid king.

Despite conferring the kingship of Taxilas before departing for the Hydaspes, Alexander also appointed his own satrap, Philip son of Machatas, and left behind a garrison (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.8.3). The campaign against Porus and most of Alexander's subsequent campaigns in India took place beyond the boundaries of what was the Achaemenid Empire, and beyond the borderlands that are our specific concern here, but it is worth reviewing aspects that relate to administration and politics.

Although Alexander ultimately defeated Porus in battle (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.8.4–5.18.3), he spared his life and granted him the right to rule his Indians, and ultimately territory far greater than the extent of his old realm (*Anabasis* 5.18.4–19.3; Quintus Curtius 8.14.45; Bosworth 1995: 310). After his victory against Porus, Alexander apparently founded two cities (Nicaea and Bucephala; Arrian *Anabasis* 5.19.4–6) (Figure 30.6), and then moved against Porus' neighbours the Glauganicae, subsequently handing the government of this region to his recent foe (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.20.3–4). Following this action, Abisares again offered his surrender via envoys, while further envoys came from the so-called "self-governing Indians" and from another Porus (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.18.5–6). Alexander was also informed of a revolt by the Assacenians in the Swat area, who had killed their local hyparch, and he despatched an army to deal with them (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.20.7; Bosworth 1995: 322) (Figure 30.6). Petrie and Magee (2007, 2012, 2013) have suggested that this evidence all clearly

indicates that Alexander had become embroiled in a maelstrom of local political intrigue, marked by the independent actions of a range of rulers and kings.

Alexander ultimately reached the Hyphasis (Beas), and made ready to cross before being faced with the rebellion of his army (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.24.8–25.1ff.). Effectively forced to turn back from his intended course, Alexander handed over the annexed territories as far as the Hyphasis to Porus as well (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.29.2), thereby massively expanding Porus' former realms (Figure 30.6). Further east Alexander would have encountered the nascent Nanda state, whose power was growing in the Ganges valley (Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013). Plutarch (*Alexander* 62.3) noted that Alexander's troops had heard that further to the east "the kings of the Ganderites and Praesii were awaiting them with eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants".

Alexander recrossed the Hydraotes and the Acesines, and on meeting the brother of Abisares (yet another envoy) and a certain Arsaces, decided to make Abisares satrap of his own lands and the adjacent lands that belonged to Arsaces, and fixed their tribute (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.29.2–5; Bosworth 1995: 359). Alexander then recrossed the Hydaspes and prepared to sail downriver to the "Great Sea" (Arrian *Anabasis* 5.29.5–6.1.1). Porus and Abisares were former local rulers that were both made satraps of Alexander's kingdom, which no doubt rankled his initial ally Taxilas, who was only a king under a satrap (Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013).

Bosworth (1996) has argued that although Alexander proceeded down the Hydaspes intent on subduing populations, he appears to have deliberately set out to crush the Oxydracae (Sudracae) and the self-governing Malli (Arrian *Anabasis* 6.3.3; 6.6.1; Quintus Curtius 9.4.15; Bosworth 1996: 134) (Figure 30.6). Alexander's treatment of the Malli was both extreme and brutally efficient (e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* 6.6.3), carrying out what Bosworth (1996: 133–142, 147, 152) has described as a campaign of "calculated terror" that led to the surrender of the surviving Malli and all of the Oxydracae (Arrian *Anabasis* 6.14.1). As Alexander continued downstream, further envoys came from other independent tribes offering submission (*Anabasis* 6.15.1), and his subsequent annexation of the Musicanus, Oxicanus, Sambus and Patala (*Anabasis* 6.15.6–18.2; Quintus Curtius 9.8ff.), indicates that a number of seemingly independent rulers controlled the regions lying in modern Sindh. It is notable that the Alexander histories give little indication as to whether any of these kingdoms had any relationship to Alexander's Achaemenid predecessors. The only ruler named was Sambus, who had been appointed satrap of the Indian hillmen by Alexander (Arrian *Anabasis* 6.16.3). It is unclear whether these Indian hillmen were the group who fought alongside the Arachosians at Gaugamela (Arrian *Anabasis* 3.8.4), though Eggermont (1975: 19) suggested that they were, and also that Sambus was likely the same person as Samaxus/Damaraxus, though there is a problem with the logic of this claim.

In contrast to his actions in the easternmost regions that he conquered, it is perhaps significant that Alexander returned to appointing satraps from amongst his own men in the regions closer to the border of the former Achaemenid Empire. Before leaving the subcontinent, Alexander extended the lands given to Philip son of Machatas south to the meeting of the Acesines and the Indus (i.e. west Punjab); and Pithon was made satrap of the lands from the Acesines/Indus to the sea (i.e. Sindh; Arrian *Anabasis* 6.14.3; 6.15.2; 6.15.4; see Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013) (Figure 30.6).

ACHAEMENID CONTROL AT THE EASTERN EDGE OF THE EMPIRE: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Although complicated, the textual evidence provides a richness of information, and the archaeological research relevant to the timeframe of these “events” has more often than not, focused on attempting to correlate the historical and archaeological records. However, many of these events and/or personages are likely to be archaeologically invisible, and it is perhaps unsurprising that there is relatively little unequivocal evidence for the Achaemenid period in the western borderlands of the subcontinent. Attempts to identify evidence for an actual Achaemenid presence or even influence have tended to focus on the presence or absence of evidence such as coinage (Allchin 1995: 131), Aramaic (Allchin 1995: 132–133) and/or architectural influence (reviewed by Chakrabati 1997: 190–191). However, such data is not a direct proxy for influence, and provides little insight into indigenous responses to imperial control strategies (Magee et al. 2005: 717; Petrie et al. 2008; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

At present, there are no well-dated archaeological contexts that can be correlated specifically with the Achaemenid annexation of the easternmost provinces (Magee et al. 2005: 711–718; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). There are, however, contexts at a number of sites that appear to date to the Achaemenid period, which contain fragments of distinctive ceramic vessel forms that are likely to be indicative of Achaemenid period occupation. Such vessels have been found at a number of sites in the borderlands, and it has been argued that these vessels provide insight into processes of acculturation and emulation resulting from this episode of imperial dominance (Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

There is even less archaeological evidence that can be tied to Alexander’s passing through South Asia, despite the richness of the historical resources. Some of the earliest scholarship on the archaeology of South Asia involved attempts to locate specific settlements and battlefields recorded in the Alexander narrative (e.g. Court 1836, 1839; Masson 1837, 1842; Cunningham 1871; Stein 1929). Most of the proposed attributions, however, cannot be confirmed due to a lack of excavation at the relevant sites, or a lack of stratigraphy and/or cultural material such as coins associated with the right time period (Errington and Curtis 2007: 37). While both Charsadda and Taxila are likely to have occupation contemporaneous with Alexander, it has not been possible to make connections to specific levels at either site (Petrie 2013a, 2013c). Thinking pragmatically, it would be quite exceptional to find direct archaeological evidence for such a short-lived campaign. An “Alexander horizon” is thus effectively a lacuna in the archaeological record of the borderlands and South Asia generally.

The valleys of Gandhāra

The precise geographical boundaries of Gandhāra changed over time. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the primary cities of Gandhāra were Taxila and Puṣkalāvātī (Charsadda), but evidence from the Alexander historians suggest that Taxila may have lain outside of the imperial province of Gandhāra (see above). Strabo (15.1.10) pointed out that

according to Eratosthenes the Indus River was the boundary between greater India and the Achaemenid Empire in Alexander's time (Brunt 2000: 546; Petrie and Magee 2007). This contrasts to the early to mid-first millennium BC archaeological evidence that suggests that similar material culture was being used throughout the Peshawar Valley, the Swat region and at Taxila (see above).

The most recent excavations at the Bala Hissar have provided new insights into the timing of the site's foundation (Ali, T. et al. 1998: 6–14; Coningham and Ali 2007; Young 2003: 37–40), but they have produced little direct evidence for the Achaemenid period occupation at the site. As such, our knowledge of the Achaemenid period in the Peshawar Valley primarily comes from Wheeler's excavations, which can now be contextualised more coherently (Petrie 2013a). Reanalysis of the sequence exposed in Wheeler Ch. I trench has shown that there is a change in the ceramic assemblage from Layer 32, with red burnished ware disappearing, and the appearance of bowls with an s-shaped rim. This is a vessel form that has widespread parallels in the Indo-Iranian region during the mid-first millennium BC, including at Dahan-i Ghulaman and Tepe Yahya and (Genito 1990; Maresca 2010; Khan et al. 2000b; Magee 2004: 65–7; Magee and Petrie 2010; Magee et al. 2005; Petrie 2013a). Furthermore, from Ch. I Layer 28, the distinctive tulip bowl appears, and continues up to Layer 22, and also appears in other areas at the site (Figure 30.7). Dittmann (1984: 189) has suggested that this vessel form was Late Achaemenid (and later) in date, but this has been contested (e.g. Vogelsang 1988: 104). However, parallels for this form can be found throughout Iran, western Turkey, Afghanistan and also elsewhere in Pakistan, and suggest that these levels should probably date from the fourth centuries BC onwards (Magee and Petrie 2010; Magee et al. 2005; Petrie and Magee 2007; Petrie et al. 2008; Petrie 2013a; see below).

Sir M. Aurel Stein (1929: 40, 47) suggested that the site of Bir-kot-ghwandai in the Swat Valley was Bazira, a city, which, according to Arrian (*Anabasis* 4.27–8) was captured and fortified by the Macedonians during Alexander's conquest (see Olivieri this volume). Excavations at the site aimed to establish the validity of Stein's identification (Filigenzi and Stacul 1985: 436), and they revealed a fortification wall (Callieri 1990: 676; Callieri et al. 1990: 164; see also Callieri et al. 1992), but numismatic finds show that it was constructed in the Indo-Greek period in the second to first centuries BC (Olivieri 1996: 50). Tulip bowls have, however, been reported from there (Filigenzi and Stacul 1985: 436; Iori et al. 2015: 78). Mid to late first millennium BC occupation has been found at Aligrama, Balambat and Ghaligai, but no bowls with an s-shaped rim or tulip bowls had been recovered (Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

Tulip bowls were recovered from Marshall Stratum II and Sharif Period III (see Petrie 2013c) on the Bhir mound at Taxila (e.g. Sharif 1969: 14, 31–32, pl. X. a, Fig. 19.1; Vogelsang 1988: 107). There are, however, no absolute dates from Taxila that would help provide clarity for the dating of the various chronological phases, and there is no agreement as to the best parallels to use to date this particular stratum. However, there is broad consensus that Marshall Stratum II and Sharif Period III is post-Achaemenid in date, suggesting that tulip bowls were not used at Taxila until after the period of Achaemenid dominance (Petrie 2013c; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013).

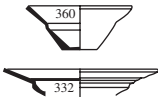
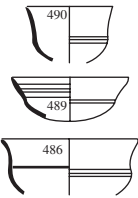
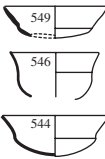
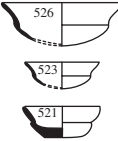
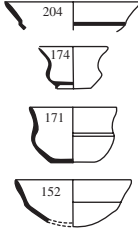
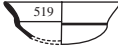
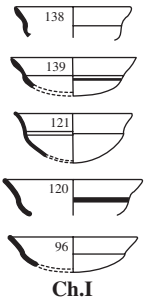
IV			
IIIA			
IID/IIIA			
IID			
IID/IIC			
IIC		 Ch.V	 Ch.IV Well E
IIB			

Figure 30.7 Tulip bowls and their relative stratigraphic placement at the Bala Hisar (Petrie et al. 2008).

It appears that there was variation in the types of ceramic vessels used in the mid to late first millennium BC within the bounds of greater Gandhāra. Part of the problem of dating the Taxila sequence comes from differences in the ceramic assemblages found at Charsadda and the mounds at Taxila once the red burnished ware ceased being used. It is interesting to speculate about how the existence of a pre-Achaemenid economic zone resonates with the establishment of the Achaemenid satrapy of Gandhāra. The differences in ceramics being used at Charsadda and Taxila may reflect influence from the degree and type of interaction the populations of each city had with the Achaemenid Empire.

The historical evidence leaves little doubt that the ancient city of Pushkalavati at the Bala Hissar was one of the primary satrapal capitals of Gandhāra (Wheeler 1962: 3; Ali, T. et al. 1998: 2–3; Coningham and Ali, I. 2007; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). It is also clear that the Bala Hissar was occupied throughout the early to mid-first millennium BC, and it appears that the Achaemenids encouraged, or acquiesced, to existing political structures in the Peshawar Valley rather than reorganize them, as they claim in the Behistun inscription. However, it is unclear how the city of Taxila fits into this system, in either its first manifestation on the Hathial ridge, or its second manifestation as the Bhir mound (Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie 2013c). Magee and Petrie (2010, 2012, 2013) have suggested that the pre-Achaemenid Gandhāran economic zone was split at the end of the sixth century BC into a western sphere under Achaemenid control (the satrapy of Gandhāra), and an area east of the Indus, which was able to develop into a separate entity free of Achaemenid control.

Akra and the Bannu Basin

As noted above, Vogelsang (1990: 100, 1992: 110–114, 129) has argued that Thatagush was administratively associated with Arachosia, which is likely to have been centred on ancient Kandahar. Several neighbouring areas are likely candidates. Proposals have ranged from suggestions that Thatagush lay in the area to the south or southeast of Kabul (Vogelsang 1992: 129), to more precise suggestions that it was the region around the Gomal River in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Bivar 1988, 200; Dani 1970/71: 1), or the area of Multan in Punjab (Vogelsang 1985: 80–81, 1990: 100, 1992: 227–228). Thus far, however, no convincing archaeological evidence has been found that supports any of these suggestions (Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). Although the evidence is largely circumstantial, research in the Bannu basin has indicated that Thatagush may have been centred on the site of Akra (see below; Khan et al. 2000a; Magee et al. 2005: 732ff.; Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013; Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010; also Fleming 1982; Callieri 2004). If this assertion is correct, then inhabitants from the Bannu region were mentioned in inscriptions, shown in reliefs, and also participated in the battle at Gaugamela.

In contrast to the robust evidence for occupation in the early to mid-first millennium BC, there is considerably less evidence for mid to late first millennium BC occupation in the Bannu region, but what exists is telling. Excavations in Area B at Akra have revealed evidence for a ceramic assemblage (labelled Assemblage 1) that post-dated the Bannu black on red ware (labelled Assemblage 2). Assemblage

1 includes examples of bowls with offset vertical rims, banded beakers, bowls with an s-shaped rim and tulip bowls, and typological comparisons with material from Iran and Afghanistan suggest a date between 600 and 300 BC (Magee et al. 2005: 724–25; Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013). The presence of this material provides some archaeological confirmation for the argument, hitherto based on epigraphic and historical data (e.g. Fleming 1982), that Akra might be the capital of the Achaemenid satrapy of Thatagush (Magee et al. 2005: 732–737; Magee and Petrie 2010). There are, however, no substantial architectural remains dating to this phase, so the nature of the local socioeconomics is unclear.

Baluchistan and Sindh

Unequivocal archaeological evidence dating to the mid- to late first millennium BC in Baluchistan is even sparser. It is unclear how far into the first millennium BC the occupation at Pirak continues, but recalibration of the published radiocarbon dates suggest that Pirak Period III ended between c. 1300/1200 BC and 760 BC (Magee and Petrie 2010). Santoni (1980) has argued that there was Achaemenid period occupation at the nearby site of Dur Khan, but many of the parallels cited have since been redated there is no stratigraphic control to provide any confirmation (Magee and Petrie 2010; also Magee 2005: 43; after Verardi 2002).

Magee and Petrie (2010) have noted that elsewhere in Baluchistan there are several archaeological assemblages that potentially date to the first millennium BC, particularly the so-called Durrah-i Bust assemblage, which is characterized by a coarse grog-tempered ware with distinctive appliqué decoration (Besenval and Sanlaville 1990: 89, Fig. T). Franke-Vogt (2001: 268–270) has convincingly drawn parallels between this material and the appliqué ware from her surveys in south-eastern Baluchistan, and Magee (2004: 52, fig. 15–16) has identified several sherds that have comparable decoration and paste in Period II at Tepe Yahya, which has been dated from 500 to 250 BC by radiocarbon dates and ceramic comparanda (Magee 2004: 73–75). It is therefore possible that many of the sites that Stein, Fairservis, Besenval and Franke-Vogt have surveyed where the Durrah-i Bust and related assemblages were found might date to the Achaemenid period, but this will only be confirmed through excavations and independent dating (Magee and Petrie 2010).

Although the arrival of Alexander in South Asia looms large in the historical record, there is very little archaeological evidence that can be tied to his passing. Various scholars have attempted to locate specific settlements and battlefields recorded in the narrative (e.g. Cunningham 1871; Stein 1929), but most of their proposals cannot be confirmed due to a lack of excavation. It is only really Charsadda and Taxila that provide evidence of contemporaneous occupation.

The archaeology of Alexander in India

While the evidence for occupation dating to the Achaemenid period is not particularly rich, there are inevitably difficulties when it comes to finding precise archaeological correlates for historical events, as the two types of evidence are in many ways fundamentally different. To complicate matters, evidence for the passing of Alexander is virtually non-existent, and much of what can be said is based on inference.

At the Bala Hisar Wheeler (1962: 33–36) excavated a ditch, which he believed dated to a siege by Alexander’s general Hephaesteion. However, the most recent excavations have shown that it was filled at some point between c.790–380 BC (Coningham and Batt 2007: 93–98; Young 2003: 39), at least 55 years before the arrival of the Macedonians, and potentially also before the Achaemenid expansion into the area (Petrie 2013a; Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013). Nonetheless, it is almost certain that the Bala Hisar was occupied during the Achaemenid period.

Trying to identify the arrival of Alexander is equivalent to trying to identify the end of Achaemenid control, and neither process is likely to have resulted in an instantaneous change in material culture. As noted above, Ch. I Layers 28–25 are marked by the presence of the tulip bowl. In Ch. I Layers 24–20 the distinctive lotus bowl form appears together with a distinctive female figure type, which Wheeler referred to as baroque ladies, and it is probable that these deposits are post-Achaemenid in date, spanning from the late fourth to the second centuries BC. If this dating is correct, then it is likely that Alexander’s invasion coincides with some point within Ch. I Layers 28–25.

Stein (1929) attempted to reconstruct Alexander’s route through Swat and amongst other locations he proposed identifications for, he suggested that Bazira corresponded to Bir-kot-ghwandai. Research at the site by the Italian Mission has, however, shown that the fortifications visible at the site are Indo-Greek and later in date (Olivieri 1996; Iori et al. 2015).

It is likely that the Bhir mound at Taxila was the city visited by Alexander, but there is no consensus about which stratum at the site was contemporaneous with that event. Marshall (1951, 1960) believed that his Stratum III was the relevant phase, which is equivalent to Sharif’s Stratum II (1969: 13–14) and Bahadur Khan et al’s Stratum III (2002; see Petrie 2013c). Unfortunately, no unequivocal evidence from any of the excavations has revealed evidence for Alexander’s passing.

The lacuna in archaeological evidence for Alexander also applies to the Bannu basin. Magee et al. (2005, Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013; Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010) have suggested that Bannu might be the home of the “land of the Indians on this side of the Indus”, the place to where Barsentes fled, and that it also might have had a local ruler called Samaxus/Damaraxus. However, the historical record does not allow a definitive identification of any of these proposals, and it is only the presence of Assemblage 1 ceramics at Akra that provides evidence of occupation in the Late Achaemenid period.

We know little about the archaeology of the regions that Alexander campaigned through after he left Taxila, which is largely because we know virtually nothing about the late first millennium BC occupation in the Punjab and Sindh. With the exception of the stratigraphic excavations at Tulamba (Mughal 1967), there is no published Early Historic sequence for eastern Pakistan, and this is emphasised by the fact that Tulamba is the only sequence used to date Early Historic period surface collections made in the Punjab-wide surveys undertaken from 1992–1996 (Mughal et al. 1994–1996: 4). Although various suggestions have been made about the location of Alexandria Boukephalous and Nikaia, with particular attention being given to Jhelum, Jalalpur, and Mong in Pakistani Punjab (Coningham 1871: 182–205; Huntingford 1980; Eggermont 1993), none of these identifications has been confirmed by excavation.

Our understanding of the regions immediately west of modern Pakistan is similarly restricted, with relevant occupation identified at Nad-i Ali, Mundigak and Kandahar (Casal 1961; MacDowall and Taddei 1978; McNicoll and Ball 1996; Helms 1997; Ball et al. 2019). Both Mundigak and Old Kandahar (Shahr-i Kohna) have been proposed as the possible location of the capital of the Achaemenid province of Arachosia (Casal 1961; McNicoll and Ball 1996; Helms 1997), which is an interpretation that is bolstered by the discovery of two fragments of tablets that resemble *PFTs* in form and content, and are likely to have been part of an administrative archive (Fisher and Stolper 2015; also Helms 1997: 101). Tulip bowls were not recorded at Mundigak, but various types were attested at Kandahar (McNicoll and Ball 1996: Fig. 193; Fleming 1996: Fig. 269; Helms 1997: Fig. 55–56). However, even at the relatively well published Kandahar, there are conflicting interpretations of the chronology of the Iron Age and Achaemenid period deposits. McNicoll and Ball (1996: 394–395) suggested that the Hellenistic arrival saw a takeover of the existing settlement, while Helms (1997: 91–92) suggested that the site may have been abandoned by c.400 BC, prior to Alexander's arrival. Neither claim is supported by radiocarbon dates, and with the exception of one coin, minted in 334 BC (Helms 1997: 92, 96), there is a lack of clear evidence for Alexander.

DUAL TYPES OF AUTHORITY AND EMULATION AT THE EASTERN EDGE OF THE EMPIRE

The nature of the textual and archaeological evidence means that there is a degree of ambiguity in our understanding of Achaemenid control in the eastern reaches of the empire. Nonetheless, it is possible to engage in a speculative consideration of the way in which authority and imperial control were manifested in these borderland regions.

Authority over conquered or annexed groups is often established through the materialisation of power and ideology through ceremony and monument construction (DeMarrais et al. 1996: 27). With the creation of the raised platform at Persepolis, the carving of the Behistun inscription, and its issuance as a text in both Babylonia and Egypt the Achaemenid's made a clear statement of control. The Achaemenid administrative system saw the creation and maintenance of imperial order and this, along with the redistribution of wealth, served to legitimise the position of the Achaemenid rulers (after Baines and Yoffee 1998; also Van Buren 2000). However, these actions only relate to the core and the western part the empire, and we are far from understanding the nature and impact of Achaemenid control of certain areas. As there is an absence of clearly defined archaeological contexts in the borderlands (and beyond) that relate to the historical narrative, interpretations of the effects of Achaemenid annexation have, relied on generalizations about the beneficial impacts of imperial activity in South Asia or the identification of artefacts that might confirm a physical Persian presence (Magee et al. 2005: 717). There is a notable lack of monumental imperial structures in the far eastern provinces. The easternmost occurrence of distinctive Achaemenid imperial architecture is at Dahan-i Ghulaman in Seistan (Drangiana) (Scerrato 1966; Gnoli 1993). There is relatively minimal evidence for an imperial Achaemenid presence at Kandahar, though two fragments of documents in the style of the *PFTs* were found there (Helms 1997: 101), which suggests the existence of a local administrative archive, which in turn indicates some form of direct

contact between the imperial core and this key eastern satrapy (Petrie and Magee 2012, 2013; Fisher and Stolper 2015). Only s-carinated rim and tulip bowls have been found further east, however (see below).

Without substantial evidence of an actual Achaemenid military or bureaucratic presence east of Old Kandahar, scholars have looked at other categories of evidence for influence from the Achaemenids. These include the appearance of punch-marked coins at Taxila (e.g. Allchin 1995: 131), the recognition of Aramaic as a known language in post-Achaemenid Mauryan inscriptions (Allchin 1995: 132–133) and the influence of Achaemenid monumental sculpture on Mauryan palatial architecture (Chakrabati 1997: 190–191). However, such evidence provides little perspective of the on-the-ground realities of imperial control. In fact, given that there is minimal evidence for direct Achaemenid control, and good evidence for the maintenance of local authority, it is feasible that there might have been minimal impact on material culture.

One of the clearest insights to come out of the excavations at Akra and Charsadda is that the Achaemenids appear to have annexed polities at the easternmost edge of their empire, which may already have existed at the western borderlands of the subcontinent. These polities appear to have been in place from at least the beginning of the first millennium BC, and they became the easternmost Achaemenid provinces (Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010; also Ali, T. et al. 1998; Young 2003; Coningham et al. 2007b). It is not clear whether the Achaemenids encouraged or acquiesced to such an arrangement, or whether being a vassal was also important in terms of maintaining one's authority in relation to other regional kingdoms that existed further to the east, beyond the boundaries of the empire (Petrie et al. 2008).

Studies of imperialism have emphasised that empires are often very adaptable to circumstances, and various strategies might be used simultaneously. Both Achaemenid and classical sources are harmonious in their references to the existence of satraps in Bactria and Arachosia, whereas at no point do either refer specifically to satraps in Gandhāra, Thatagush and Hindush (e.g. DB: §38.3.10–19, §45.3.54–64, Kent 1953; Arrian *Anabasis* 3.8.3–4; 3.25.8; see Vogelsang 1992: 169–173). The chroniclers of Alexander do, however, make it abundantly clear that there were rulers and/or official personages in the far eastern provinces in the late fourth century BC (see above).

In terms of authority from the Achaemenid 'centre', Vogelsang (1985: 87–91, 1992: 227, 313–315) has argued that the sources indicate the existence of a stepped administration, with four levels of control (king/provincial governor/local potentate/local masses). Arachosia appears to have been an important administrative centre governed by a satrap, who had influence over the neighbouring provinces to the east, particularly Thatagush (Vogelsang 1985: 87–91, 1990: 100, 1992: 172–173, 227, 313–315), and a similar situation appears to have existed between Bactria and Gandhāra (Vogelsang 1985: 87–91, 1990: 99–100, 1992: 178–179, 313–315; also Briant 2002, 746). Satraps in Bactria and Arachosia are mentioned in the Behistun inscription, suggesting that this system operated at least from 520–518 BC, and the description of the army of Darius III suggests that it was maintained until the empire was subsumed by Alexander in 331 BC (e.g. DB: §38.3.10–19, §45.3.54–64, Kent 1953; Arrian *Anabasis*, 3.8.3–4; Vogelsang 1992, 314; Magee et al. 2005; Petrie and Magee 2007; Magee and Petrie 2010).

The rulers of the easternmost provinces would have found themselves in a complex situation in such a stepped administration, and it is possible that Vogelsang's local potentates were both empowered local rulers *and* satraps, and thus had dual types of authority (Petrie and Magee 2007). While the Achaemenid imperial ideology may have been an inherent part of their strategy in some areas, it was seemingly far more contingent to adopt a more hegemonic approach in the easternmost areas (cf. Earle and D'Altroy 1989: 187; D'Altroy 1992: 19–23). Existing political structures may well have been adopted in annexed regions rather than reorganizing them to an Achaemenid formulae (Petrie and Magee 2007, 2012, 2013).

The use of the title hyparchs by Arrian to refer to several of the local Indian kings has the connotation of subordination, and could emphasise both Alexander's perceived self-justification, and provide an indication of the nature of their relationship to the Achaemenid King (Bosworth 1995: 147–148, 1996: 156). Bosworth (1995: 147–148, 1996: 164) has suggested that when Alexander seized control of the Achaemenid Empire, he may have considered the Indian rulers to be, by right, his subjects; and in his invasion, he was effectively reaffirming control over his proper vassals. It is not precisely clear how significant the terminology might be, but in this context, it is notable that Taxilas is mentioned as a ὑπαρχος, while Abisares is entitled βασιλεὺς (Bosworth 1995: 148, 177), implying that Abisares had more independence.

Despite Arrian's references to hyparchs, Bosworth (1995: 147–148) and Brunt (2000: 544–546) have both observed that several sources make it clear that all rulers that Alexander encountered in India were kings in their own right. As it appears likely that control over the eastern frontier from the Achaemenid centre was indirect, it is interesting to speculate as to how (and why) the local rulers maintained their fealty to an empire centred thousands of kilometres to the west for up to 180 years. There is certainly evidence in the Behistun inscription of an army campaigning in the east on behalf of the king in order to quash rebellion in Thatagush soon after Darius seized power (Magee et al. 2005). There is, however, no historical evidence to suggest that any of the provinces formally revolted against the Achaemenid's after this date, nor that there was any imperial retribution. Irrespective of whether the Achaemenid's ever lost their hold on any of their eastern possessions, it was certainly never acknowledged in the royal reliefs and inscriptions (Bosworth 1995: 148; Magee et al. 2005; Magee and Petrie 2010).

Magee et al. (2005) have noted that the fact that Indian troops were sent to fight at Gaugamela suggests that some of the key principles of fealty were still in operation in the Late Achaemenid period, but the precise arrangements for providing troops are not outlined. Although some of the local rulers in the eastern provinces may have been Achaemenid vassals at the same time, particularly those to the west of the Indus, it is entirely feasible that they behaved independently, while retaining the official titles conferred by the Achaemenid king (Bosworth 1995: 148; Brunt 2000: 546). This duality of authority has particular ramifications for the types of evidence that we might expect to see in the archaeological record (Petrie and Magee 2007).

That there was a series of complex local political rivalries in play within and beyond the borderlands of the sub-continent is brought out by the detail of the Alexander narratives, particularly the vulgate of Quintus Curtius (reviewed by Petrie and Magee 2007). Although he had initially found favour from Alexander, the realms of Taxilas were only enlarged to a relatively small extent, and remained part of a greater satrapy,

under the leadership of Philip son of Machatas (Bosworth 1995: 261). The lands given to Porus during the conquest of Punjab, however, shows that there was a shift in Alexander's favour, which Taxilas seems to have resented (Bosworth 1995: 319, 325, 357–358). Bosworth (1995: 357–358) has also noted that although both Porus and Abisares were named satraps under Alexander, they remained kings of their subjects. A careful reading of the sources thus indicates that the east of the Achaemenid Empire was not just annexed by Alexander, but also reconfigured to incorporate new lands that were not previously part of the Achaemenid Empire. It is not stated explicitly, but it is possible that Alexander was fully aware that his empire was exceedingly stretched, and he could see the value of (re-)empowering local rulers as satraps at the far eastern edge of his kingdom, while using Macedonians in the satrapies that lay closer (Petrie and Magee 2007).

A notable exception to the lack of evidence for Achaemenid influence appears to be the adoption of the tulip bowl at Charsadda, Taxila, Akra and Bir-Kot-Ghwandai, which has the potential to illuminate some of the effects of the Achaemenid annexation of the borderlands areas (Petrie et al. 2008). The tulip bowl form is Iranian in origin and its appearance in the easternmost borderland areas at a time of political engagement with the Achaemenid Empire suggests that they are a concrete manifestation of the impact of the empire in northwest South Asia. The ceramic tulip bowls documented at Charsadda, Taxila, Akra and Bir-Kot-Ghwandai were skeuomorphs of metal vessels that were made of gold, silver and even glass used by royalty within the ancient Achaemenid heartland (Simpson 2005). It is notable that in Fars, ceramic tulip bowls have also been found at both royal (e.g. Qaleh Kali; Potts et al. 2009) and village sites (e.g. Tol-e Spid; Petrie et al. 2009: 4.93, TS 439, 495; Tol-e Nurabad; Weeks et al. 2006: Fig. 3.188). Discussing the situation at Sardis, in the far west of the empire, Dusinberre (1999: 101, 2003: 172–193) has suggested that the adoption of clay versions of the tulip bowl may be indicative of the emulation of elite banqueting habits by non-elite individuals. The clearest evidence for the emulation of elite behaviour by non-elites thus comes from either the Achaemenid heartland or the region around the westernmost royal capital at Sardis (Petrie et al. 2008). Both are contexts where non-elites would have come into contact with elites using such vessels, so Dusinberre's model is certainly appropriate for both cases. Magee (2004: 80) has proposed that the presence of the tulip bowl form may be one of the few indicators of a legitimising strategy critical to the emergence and maintenance of empire.

The situation in the easternmost borderlands was almost certainly different to that in the Achaemenid heartland or the far west, as there is no overt evidence for imperial architecture or even formal administration to the east of Dahan-i Ghulaman and Kandahar respectively. The appearance of Iranian-inspired standardised vessel forms such as the tulip bowl at some sites is interesting in terms of what it might suggest in terms of Achaemenid influence on ritual banqueting, feasting and drinking behaviour (Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010). These tulip bowls also appear at Akra and Charsadda with other 'western' forms, predominantly bowls (Magee et al. 2005; Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010). But what does the adoption of such ritual behaviour and the influence of 'western' thinking indicate when it is taking place in an area that appears to all intents and purposes to be governed by more or less independent local rulers who act as vassals when necessary? (Petrie et al. 2008). Petrie et al. (2008) have suggested that elites from the eastern provinces who interacted with

the Achaemenid heartland might have been the first to emulate Achaemenid culinary and drinking practices. The chronological placement of the tulip bowl in particular has been of some dispute (Dittmann 1984; Vogelsang 1988), but it appears likely that these vessels came into common usage during the Late Achaemenid period, most notably at Charsadda and Akra (Magee et al. 2005; Petrie et al. 2008; Magee and Petrie 2010). Rather than witnessing a legitimising strategy being imposed from the centre, might the deliberate emulation of elite, or perhaps more correctly “Western”, banqueting habits not be a step by the local elite towards legitimising and maintaining their own local authority? Given the evidence for regional rivalries, the desire for legitimisation need not have been limited to the individual kingdoms under nominal Achaemenid control but may also have been useful in relations with surrounding kingdoms.

CONCLUSIONS

There are many unresolved questions in our understanding of imperial and indigenous authority during the period of Achaemenid control of parts of Pakistan. None of the available evidence provides an unambiguous picture for the early and mid-Achaemenid period, and it will only be through future investigations that we are able to clarify this further. The documentation of the arrival of Alexander provides clear evidence for the local political landscape in the easternmost borderlands for the first time. Although the Indus River seems to have been viewed as the eastern edge of the Achaemenid Empire, it also flowed directly through a region that was simultaneously the western edge of the subcontinent. The textual evidence makes it apparent that the rulers of the provinces under Achaemenid control operated in a context of local intrigue. One of the reasons why this border was not a “hard” line may have been because there were no obvious rivals to imperial control in the east, however indirect it actually was. No organised resistance to the empire appears to have developed during the period of Achaemenid rule, and the lack of rivalry and rebellion may well have been a contributing factor to the persistence and success of the indirect stepped administration in the east. However, it is not at all clear how those along its eastern edge and those beyond that boundary perceived the empire. Did it provide legitimisation to the rulers in the easternmost provinces in the face of their rivals or was it viewed as a distant entity, without much obvious impact? The potential emulation of ritual feasting and banqueting suggested by the presence of Achaemenid ceramic vessel forms indicates that many types of influence may have been taking place that were not immediately obvious.

REFERENCES

- Ahuja, N. 2018. *Art and Archaeology of Ancient India: Earliest Times to the Sixth Century*, Ashmolean, Oxford.
- Ali, I., Batt, C., Coningham, R.A.E. and Young, R. 2002. New exploration in the Chitral Valley, Pakistan: an extension of the Gandharan Grave culture, *Antiquity* 76: 647–653.
- Ali, T., Coningham, R., Ali-Durrani, M. and Khan, G.R. 1998. Preliminary report of two seasons of archaeological investigations at the Bala Hissar of Charsadda, NWFP, Pakistan, *Ancient Pakistan* 12: 1–34.

- Ali, I. and Zahir, M. 2005. Excavation of Gandhāran graves at Parwak, Chitral, 2003–2004, *Frontier Archaeology* 3: 135–182.
- Allchin, F.R. 1982. How old is the city of Taxila? *Antiquity* 56.214: 8–14.
- Allchin, F.R. 1995. Early cities and states beyond the Ganges Valley, in Allchin, F.R. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 123–151.
- Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, Loeb Classical Library editions, *Anabasis Alexandri* Books I–IV, Brunt, P.A. (trans.), 2004. Harvard University Press, Ann Arbor, and *Anabasis Alexandri* Books V–VII and *Indica*, Brunt, P.A. (trans.), 2000. Harvard University Press, Bury St Edmunds.
- Bahadar Khan, M., Hassan, M., Khan, H., Khattak, M., Rehman, F. and Aqleem Khan, M. 2002. *Bhir Mound: The First City of Taxila (Excavations Report 1998–2002)*, Government of Pakistan Department of Archaeology and Museums and National Fund for Cultural Heritage, Islamabad.
- Baines, J. and Yoffee, N. 1998. Order, legitimacy, and wealth in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, in Feinman, G.M. and Marcus, J. (eds), *Archaic States*, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe: 199–260.
- Ball, W., Glenn, S., Lyonnet, B., MacDowell, D.W. and Taddei, M. 2019. Iron age, Achaemenid, and Hellenistic periods, in Ball, W. and Hammond, N. (eds), *The Archaeology of Afghanistan: From Earliest Times to the Timurid Period*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh: 260–343.
- Besenval, R. and Sanlaville, P. 1990. Cartography of ancient settlements in central southern Pakistani Makran: new data, *Mesopotamia* 25: 79–146.
- Bivar, A.D.H. 1988. The Indus lands, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol IV. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bosworth, A.B. 1995. *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander, Volume II, Commentary on Books IV–V*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Bosworth, A.B. 1996. *Alexander and the East*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Briant, P. 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, Daniels, P.T., (trans.), Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN.
- Brunt, P.A. 2000. *Translation and Notes for Arrian, Anabasis Alexandri, Loeb Classical Library Editions, Anabasis Alexandri Books V–VII and Indica*, Harvard University Press, Bury St Edmunds.
- Callieri, P. 1990. Archaeological activities at Bir-Kot-ghwandai, Swat: a contribution of the study of the pottery of early historic age from the NWFP, *South Asian Archaeology* 1987: 675–692.
- Callieri, P. 2004. India ii. Historical geography: the ancient frontier with Iran, *EI* XIII.1: 8–10.
- Callieri, P., Brocato, P., Filigenzi, A., Nascari, M. and Olivieri, L.M. 1992. Bir-kot-ghwanfai 1990–1992. *A Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission, IsMEO*, Supplemento n. 73 agli Annali-IUO, 52, 4, Napoli.
- Callieri, P., Filigenzi, A. and Stacul, G. 1990. Excavation at Bir-kot-ghwandat, Swat: 1987, *Pakistan Archaeology* 25: 163–192.
- Casal, J.M. 1961. *Fouilles de Mundigak Volume I: Texte, Volume II: Figures et Planches*, Memoires de la Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan, Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris.
- Chakrabati, D.K. 1997. *Colonial Indology. Sociopolitics of the Ancient Indian Past*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi.
- Coningham, R. and Ali, I. (eds). 2007. *Chārsadda: The British-Pakistan Excavations at the Bala Hisar*, Society for South Asian Studies Monograph No. 5, BAR International Series 1709, Archaeopress, Oxford.

- Coningham, R.A.E., Ali, I. and Naeem, M. 2007a. The unglazed ceramic objects, in Coningham, R.A.E. and Ali, I. (eds), *Chārsadda: The British-Pakistan Excavations at the Bala Hisar*, Society for South Asian Studies Monograph No. 5, BAR International Series 1709, Archaeopress, Oxford: 99–149.
- Coningham, R.A.E., Young, R. and Ali, I. 2007b. The regional synthesis: a conclusion, in Coningham, R.A.E. and Ali, I. (eds), *Chārsadda: The British-Pakistan Excavations at the Bala Hisar*, Society for South Asian Studies Monograph No. 5, BAR International Series 1709, Archaeopress, Oxford: 259–270.
- Coningham, R.A.E. and Batt, C. 2007. Dating the sequence, in Coningham, R.A.E. and Ali, I. (eds), *Chārsadda: The British-Pakistan Excavations at the Bala Hisar*, Society for South Asian Studies Monograph No. 5, BAR International Series 1709, Archaeopress, Oxford: 93–98.
- Court, A. 1836. Conjectures on the march of Alexander, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* V: 387–395.
- Court, A. 1839. Collection of facts which may be useful for the comprehension of Alexander the Great's exploits on the western banks of the Indus, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* VIII: 304–313.
- Cribb, J. 2002. The coins from Akra, *Ancient Pakistan* XV: 65–84.
- Cunningham, Sir A. 1871. *The Ancient Geography of India*, Chuckervertty, Chatterjee and Co, Calcutta, reprinted (2002).
- Curiel, R. and Schlumberger, D. 1953. *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan XIV, Paris.
- D'Altroy, T.N. 1992. *Provincial Power in the Inca Empire*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Dandamayev, M.A. 1993. Cyrus iii. Cyrus II the Great, *EIr* VI.5: 516–521.
- Dani, A.H. 1967. Timargarha and the Gandhāran Grave Culture, *Ancient Pakistan* 3: 22–90.
- Dani, A.H. 1970/1. Excavations in the Gomāl Valley, *Ancient Pakistan* 5: 1–77.
- Dani, A.H. 1986. *The Historical City of Taxila*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore.
- DeMarrais, E., Castillo, L.J. and Earle, T. 1996. Ideology, materialisation, and power strategies, *Current Anthropology* 37.1: 15–31.
- Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, Loeb Classical Library editions, Welles, C.B. (trans.), 2000. Harvard University Press, Bury St Edmunds.
- Dittmann, R. 1984. Problems in the identification of an Achaemenid and Mauryan horizon, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 17: 155–193.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 1999. Satrapal Sardis: Achaemenid bowls in an Achaemenid capital, *AJA* 103: 73–102.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2003. *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Earle, T.K. and D'Altroy, T.N. 1989. The political economy of the Inca Empire: the archaeology of power and finance, in Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C. (ed.), *Archaeological Thought in America*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 183–204.
- Eggermont, P.H.L. 1975. *Alexander's Campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the Siege of the Brahmin Town of Harmatelia* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta), Leuven University Press, Leuven.
- Eggermont, P.H.L. 1993. *Alexander's Campaign in Southern Punjab*, Peeters, Leiden.
- Enault, J.-F. 1979. *Fouilles de Pirak Volume II: Étude Architecturale et Figures*, Fouilles de Pakistan No.2, Diffusion de Boccard, Paris.
- Errington, E. and Curtis, V.S. 2007. *From Persepolis to Punjab: Exploring Ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan*, British Museum Press, London.
- Filigenzi, A. and Stacul, G. 1985. Excavations at Bir-kot Ghwandai, *East and West* 35.4: 430–439.

- Fisher, M.T. and Stolper, M.W. 2015. Achaemenid Elamite Administrative tablets, 3: fragments from Old Kandahar, Afghanistan, *Arta* 2015.001: 1–26.
- Fleming, D. 1982. Achaemenid Sattagydia and the geography of Vivana's campaign (DB III, 54–75), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2: 102–122.
- Fleming, D. 1996. The Achaemenid pottery, in McNicoll, A. and Ball, W. (eds), *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975: The First Two Seasons at Shahr-i Kohna (Old Kandahar) Conducted by the British Institute of Afghan Studies*, BAR International Series 641, Tempus Reparatum, Oxford: 365–389.
- Francfort, H.P. 1988. *Central Asia and Eastern Iran, The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol IV. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Francfort, H.P., Lyonnet, B., Petrie, C.A. and Shaffer, J.G. 2019. The development of the Oxus Civilisation north of the Hindu Kush, in Ball, W. and Hammond, N. (eds), *The Archaeology of Afghanistan: From the Earliest Times to the Timurid Period*, second edition, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh: 99–160.
- Franke-Vogt, U. 2001. The Southern Indus Valley during the later 2nd and 1st millennia BC, in Eichmann, R. and Parzinger, H. (eds.), *Migrations und Kulturtransfer. Der Wandel vorder- und zentralasiatischer Kulturen im Umbruch vom. 2. zum 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Dr Rodolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn: 247–290.
- Genito, B. 1986. Dahan-i Ghulaman. Una città achemenide tra centro e periferia dell'impero, *Oriens Antiquus* 25: 287–317.
- Genito, B. 1990. The most frequent pottery types at Dahan-i Ghulāmān (Sīstān) and their spatial variability,” in Taddei, M. (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, ISMEO, Rome: 587–604.
- Gnoli, G. 1993. Dahan e Ġolāmān, *EIr* VI.6: 582–585.
- Hachmann, R. 1997. Die Völkerschaften auf den Bildwerken von Persepolis, in U Finkbeiner, R Dittmann and U Hauptmann (eds), *Beiträge zur Kultutgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, Phillip van Zabern, Mainz: 195–224.
- Hallock, R.T. 1969. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications Volume XCII, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Helms, S.W. 1997. *Excavations at Old Kandahar in Afghanistan 1976–1978: Conducted on Behalf of the Society for South Asian Studies (Society for Afghan Studies), Stratigraphy, Pottery and Other Finds*, BAR 686, Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. 2008. *The Other Gods Who Are. Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Achaemenid History XIV), Peeters, Leiden.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. 2013. Administrative realities: the Persepolis archives and the archaeology of the Achaemenid heartland, in Potts, D.T. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Iranian Archaeology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 528–546.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. and Stolper, M. 2009. Ethnic identity and ethnic labelling at Persepolis: the case of the Skudrians, in P. Briant ed. *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, Persica 14, de Boccard, Paris: 271–329.
- Herodotos. 1972. *Histories*, de Selincourt, A. (transl.), Penguin, London.
- Huntingford, G.W.B. 1980. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Hackluyt Society, London.
- Iori, E., Olivieri, L.M. and Afridi, A. 2015. Urban defences at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat (Pakistan). The Saka-Parthian Phases: data from the 2015 Excavation Campaign, *Pakistan Heritage* 7: 73–94.
- Jarrige, J.F. and Santoni, M. 1979. *Fouilles de Pirak Volume I: Texte*, Fouilles de Pakistan No. 2, Diffusion de Boccard, Paris.
- Kent, R.G. 1953. *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, American Oriental Society, New Haven.
- Khan, F., Knox, J.R., Magee, P.G. and Thomas, K.D., with a contribution by Petrie, C.A. 2000a. *Akra: The Ancient Capital of Bannu, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan*, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilisations, Islamabad.

- Khan, F., Knox, J.R., Magee, P., Petrie C.A. and Thomas, K.D. 2000b. Preliminary report on the fourth season of excavation at Akra, North-West Frontier Province, Pakistan, *Journal of Asian Civilizations*, vol. XXIII.2: 105–136.
- Khan, F., Knox, J.R. and Thomas, K.D. 2000c. Ter Kala Dheri: the site, excavations, artifacts and chronology, in Khan, F., Knox, J.R., Magee, P.G. and Thomas, K.D., with a contribution by Petrie, C.A. 2000. *Akra: The Ancient Capital of Bannu, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan*, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilisations, Islamabad: 81–100.
- Khan, G.M. 1983. Hathial excavation: a preliminary account, *Journal of Central Asia* 6.2: 35–44.
- Kuhrt, A. 1995. *The Ancient Near East c.3000–330 BC*, Volume II, Routledge, London.
- Kuhrt, A. 2001. The Achaemenid Persian empire (c. 550–c. 330 BCE): continuities, adaptations, transformation, in Alcock, S.E., D’Altroy, T.N., Morrison, K.D. and Sinopoli, C.M. (eds), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 93–123.
- Kuhrt, A. 2007. *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*, Vols 1–2, Routledge, Abingdon.
- Lecoq, P. 1997. *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, Gallimard, Paris.
- Lhuillier, J. 2013a. *Les culture à céramique modelée peinte en Asia centrale méridionale. Dynamiques socio-culturelles à l’âge du Fer ancien (1500–1000 av. n.è.)*, Memoires de la Mission Archéologique Française en Asia Centrale XIII, De Boccard, Paris.
- Lhuillier, J. 2013b. Les culture à céramique modelée peinte en Asia centrale méridionale: un aperçu de l’assemblage céramique de la deuxième moitié du IIe millénaire ac. J.C., *Iranica Antiqua* 48: 103–146.
- Lhuillier, J. 2016. What about the relationships between the sites with painted pottery north and south of the Hindu Kush during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age? Reassessment of the data and new perspectives, in Lefèvre, V., Didier, A. and Mutin, B. (eds), *South Asian Archaeology 2012: Man and Environment in Prehistoric and Protohistoric South Asia: New Perspectives*, Indocopleustoi, Brepols/Turnhout: 156–165.
- MacDowall, D.W. 1996. A note on the pre-Islamic coins from the 1975 season, in McNicoll, A.W. and Ball, W. (eds), *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975: The First Two Seasons at Shahr-i Kohna (Old Kandahar) Conducted by the British Institute of Afghan Studies*, BAR 641, Tempvs Reparatum, Oxford: 305–311.
- MacDowall, D.W. and Taddei, M. 1978. *The Early Historic Period: Achaemenids and Greeks, The Archaeology of Afghanistan: From Earliest Times to the Timurid Period*, Academic Press, London: 187–232.
- Magee, P. 2004. *The Iron Age Settlement at Tepe Yahya*, American School of Prehistoric Research Bulletin, Cambridge.
- Magee, P. 2005. Mind the gap: the chronology of painted grey ware and the prelude to early historic urbanism in northern south Asia, *South Asian Studies* 20: 37–44.
- Magee, P. and Petrie, C.A. 2010. West of the Indus – east of the empire: the archaeology of the pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid periods in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province, Pakistan, in J. Curtis, and S. J. Simpson (eds), *The World of Achaemenid Persia*, I.B. Tauris, London: 503–522.
- Magee, P., Petrie, C.A., Knox, R., Khan, F. and Thomas, K.D. 2005. The Achaemenid Empire in South Asia and Recent Excavations at Akra in Northwest Pakistan, *American Journal of Archaeology* 109: 711–741.
- Maresca, G. 2010. Reconsidering the pottery from Dahan-I Hulan (Iran, Sistan-6th century BC): some preliminary production-related typological observations,” in Matthiae, P. and Romano, L. (eds), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 5 May–10 May 2009, Sapienza, Università di Roma*, Vol. 1, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden: 424–442.

- Markham, C.R. 1879. The mountain passes on the Afghan frontier of British India, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1: 38–62.
- Marshall, Sir J. 1951. *Taxila*, Volumes I–III, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Marshall, Sir J. 1960. *A Guide to Taxila*, 4th edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Masson, C. 1837. Suggestions on the sites of Sangala and the altars of Alexander, being an extract from notes on a journey from Lahore to Karychee, made in 1830, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* VI: 57–61.
- Masson, C. 1842. *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and Punjab*, 3 volumes, Richard Bentley, London.
- McNicoll, A.W. and Ball, W. 1996. *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975: The first two seasons at Shahr-I Kohna (Old Kandahar) conducted by the British Institute of Afghan Studies*, BAR 641, Tempvs Reparatum, Oxford.
- Mughal, M.R. 1967. Excavations at Tulamba. *Pakistan Archaeology* 4: 11–152.
- Mughal, M.R., Iqbal, F., Khan, M.A. and Hassan, M. 1994–1996. Archaeological sites and monuments in Punjab: preliminary results of explorations: 1992–96, *Pakistan Archaeology* 29, Special No.: 1–474.
- Müller-Karpe, H. 1983. *Jungbronzeitlich-früheisenzeitliche Gräberfelder der Swar-Kultur in Nord-Pakistan*, C.H. Beck Verlag, München.
- Olivieri, L.M. 1996. Notes on the problematical sequence of Alexander's itinerary in swat: a geo-historical approach, *East and West* 46.1–2: 45–78.
- Petrie, C.A. 2007. Remote sensing in inaccessible lands: plains and preservation along old routes between Pakistan and Afghanistan, *ArchAtlas*, <http://www.archatlas.org/workshop/Petrie07.php>
- Petrie, C.A. 2013a. Chārsadda, in Chakrabarti, D.K. and Lal, M. (eds), *History of Ancient India III: The Texts, and Political History and Administration till c.200 BC*, Vivekananda International Foundation and Aryan Books International, Delhi: 512–522.
- Petrie, C.A. 2013b. South Asia, in Clark, P. (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Cities in History*, OUP, Oxford: 83–104.
- Petrie, C.A. 2013c. Taxila, in Chakrabarti, D.K. and Lal, M. (eds), *History of Ancient India III: The Texts, and Political History and Administration till c.200 BC*, Vivekananda International Foundation and Aryan Books International, Delhi: 652–663.
- Petrie, C.A. 2017. Crisis, what crisis? Adaptation, resilience and transformation in the Indus Civilisation, in Cunningham, T. and Driessen, J. (eds), *Crisis to Collapse: The Archaeology of Social Breakdown*, Aegis Publications, UC Leuven: 43–64.
- Petrie, C.A. 2019. Diversity, variability, adaptation and 'fragility' in the Indus Civilisation, in Yoffee, N. (ed.), *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, McDonald Institute Monographs: Conversations, Cambridge: 109–133.
- Petrie, C.A., Asgari Chaverdi, A. and Seyedin, M. 2009. Excavations at Tol-e Spid, in Potts, D.T., Roustaie K., Petrie, C.A. and Weeks, L. (eds), *The Mamasani Archaeological Project Stage One: A Report on the First Two Seasons of the ICAR–University of Sydney Joint Expedition to the Mamasani District, Fars Province, Iran*, BAR International Series S2044, Archaeopress, Oxford: 89–134.
- Petrie, C.A., Khan, F., Knox, J.R., Magee, P., Morris, J.C. and Thomas, K.D. 2008 (published 2010). Prehistoric and historic ceramic production in the Bannu Basin, N.W.F.P., Pakistan: a review, *Ancient Pakistan* XIX: 1–14.
- Petrie, C.A. and Magee, P. 2007. Histories, epigraphy and authority: Achaemenid and indigenous control in Pakistan in the 1st millennium BC, *Gandhāran Studies* 1: 3–22.
- Petrie, C.A. and Magee, P. 2012. The Achaemenid expansion to the Indus and Alexander's invasion of north-west South Asia, *Iranian Journal of Archaeological Studies* 2.1: 1–25.
- Petrie, C.A. and Magee, P. 2013. The Achaemenid expansion to the Indus and Alexander's invasion of north-west South Asia, in Chakrabarti, D.K. and Lal, M. (eds), *A History*

- of *Ancient India, Volume III: The Texts, and Political History and Administration till c.200 BC*, Vivekananda International Foundation and Aryan Books International, Delhi: 205–230.
- Petrie, C.A. 2020. *Resistance at the Edge of Empires: The Archaeology and History of the Bannu Basin from 1000 BC to AD 1200*, Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Petrie C.A., Magee, P. and Khan, M.N. 2008. Emulation at the edge of empire: the adoption of non-local vessel forms in the NWFP, Pakistan during the mid- to late 1st mill BC, *Gandhāran Studies* 2: 1–16.
- Petrie, C.A. and Shaffer, J.G. 2019. The development of a ‘Helmand Civilisation’ south of the Hindu Kush, in Ball, W. and Hammond, N. (eds), *The Archaeology of Afghanistan: From the Earliest Times to the Timurid Period*, second edition, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh: 161–259.
- Plutarch, *Lives*, Volume VII, Loeb Classical Library edition, Perrin, B. (trans.), 1919. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Potts, D.T., Askari Chaverdi, A., McRae, I.K., Alamdari, K., Dusting, A., Jaffari, J., Ellicott, T.M., Setoudeh, A., Lashkari, A., Ameli Rad, Sh. and Yazdani, A. 2009. Further excavations at Qaleh Kali (MS 46) by the joint ICAR-University of Sydney Mamasani expedition; results of the 2008 season, *Iranica Antiqua* 44: 207–282.
- Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, Loeb Classical Library edition, Rolfe, J.C., (trans.), 1976. Harvard University Press, Bury St Edmunds.
- Raychaudhuri, H. 1953. *Political History of Ancient India, from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.
- Roaf, M. 1974. The subject peoples on the base of the statue of Darius, *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologie Française en Iran* 4: 73–160.
- Roaf, M. 1983. Sculptures and sculptors at Persepolis, *Iran* 21: 1–164.
- Salvatori G. 1975. Analysis of the association of types in the protohistoric graveyards of the Swat Valley (Loebanr I, Katelai I, Butkara II), *East and West* 25: 333–351.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1985. The death of Cyrus: Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* as a source for Iranian history, in A. D. H. Bivar (ed.), *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce II*, *Acta Iranica* 25, Brill, Leiden: 459–72.
- Santoni, M. 1980. Un site de l’âge du Fer dans la plaine de Kachi, Baluchistan, Pakistan, *Paléorient* 6: 297–302.
- Scerrato, U. 1966. Excavations at Dahan-I Ghulaman (Seistan-Iran): first preliminary report. *East and West* 16: 9–30.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1953. *Persepolis I. Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, Oriental Institute Publications No. 68, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1970. *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*, Oriental Institute Publications No.70, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Schmidt, R. 1990. iii. Darius’ inscriptions, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. IV Routledge, London/New York: 299–305.
- Sharif, M. 1969. Excavations at Bhir mound, Taxila, *Pakistan Archaeology* 6: 6–99.
- Simpson, S.J. 2005. The royal table, in Curtis, J. and Tallis, N. (eds), *Forgotten Empire: The World of Achaemenid Persia*, British Museum Press, London: 105–131.
- Stacul, G. 1966. Notes on the discovery of a Necropolis near Kherai in the Gorbant Valley (Swat, Pakistan), *East and West* 16: 261–274.
- Stacul, G. 1967. Excavations in a rock shelter near Ghaligai (Swat, Pakistan), *East and West* 17: 185–219.
- Stacul, G. 1993. Kalako-deray, Swat. 1989–1991 excavation report, *East and West* 43: 69–94.
- Stacul, G. and Tusa, S. 1977. Report on the excavations at Aligrama (Swat, Pakistan), *East and West* 27: 151–205.

- Stein, M.A. 1929. *On Alexander's Track to the Indus: personal narrative of explorations on the North-west Frontier of India*, reprinted by Phoenix Press, London.
- Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, Loeb Classical Library edition, Jones, H.J., (trans.), 1976. Harvard University Press, Bury St Edmunds.
- Stronach, D. 1972. Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse – Description and comment, *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCLX: 235–266.
- Tusa, S. 1979. The Swat Valley in the 2nd and 1st millennium BC: a question of marginality, *South Asian Archaeology 4*. Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, v.II: 675–690.
- Van Buren, M. 2000. Political fragmentation and ideological continuity in the Andean highlands, in Richards, J. and Van Buren, M. (eds), *Order, Legitimacy and Wealth in Ancient States*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 77–87.
- Vasunia, P. 2013. *The Classics and Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Verardi, G. 2002. *Excavations at Gotihawa and a Territorial Survey in Kapilvastu District of Nepal: A Preliminary Report*, Occasional Papers 2, Lumbini International Research Institute, Lumbini.
- Vinogradova, N. 2001. Towards the question of the relative chronology for protohistoric Swāt sequence (on the basis of the Swāt graveyards), *East and West* 51.1–2: 9–36.
- Vogelsang, W. 1985. Early historical Arochasia in southeast Afghanistan. Meeting-Place between East and West, *Iranica Antiqua* 20: 55–99.
- Vogelsang, W. 1988. A Period of Acculturation in Ancient Gandhāra, *South Asian Studies* 4: 103–113.
- Vogelsang, W. 1990. The Achaemenids and India, in Sancisi-Weerdenberg, H. and Kuhrt, A. (eds), *Achaemenid History IV, Centre and Periphery. Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop*: 93–110.
- Vogelsang, W. 1992. *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenid Empire: The Eastern Iranian Evidence*, E.J. Brill, Leiden.
- Vogelsang, W. 2000. Gandhāra, *Elr* X.3: 269–270.
- Weeks, L.R., Alizadeh, K., Niakan, L., Alamdari, K. (Trench A), Khosrowzadeh, A. and Zeidi, M. (Trench B). 2006. Excavations at Tol-e Nurabad, in Potts, D.T., Roustaei K., Petrie, C.A. and Weeks, L. (eds), *The Mamasani Archaeological Project Stage One: A Report on the First Two Seasons of the ICAR–University of Sydney Joint Expedition to the Mamasani District, Fars Province, Iran*, BAR International Series S2044, Archaeopress, Oxford: 31–88.
- Wheeler, R.E.M. 1962. *Charsada: A Metropolis of the North-West Frontier: Being a Report on the Excavations of 1958*, Oxford University Press, London.
- Witzel, M. 1980. Early Eastern Iran and the Atharva Veda, *Persica* 9: 86–128.
- Xenophon. 1914. *Cyropaedia, Volume II: Books 5–8*, Translated by Walter Miller. Loeb Classical Library 52, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Young, R. 2003. *Agriculture and Pastoralism in the Late Bronze and Iron Age, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan*, BAR 1124, Archaeopress, Oxford.

CHAPTER 31

GREEKNESS AFTER THE END OF THE BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK KINGDOMS



Joe Cribb

After they had crossed the river they were conducted ... direct to Taxila ... they saw a temple ... bronze tablets were nailed into each of its walls on which were engraved the exploits of Porus and Alexander ... And they rode out of Taxila, and after a journey of two days reached the plain, in which Porus is said to have engaged Alexander ... there was set up ... a statue of Alexander

Philostratus *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 2. 20, 25 and 42
(F.C Conybeare translation, London 1912)

In the mind of the early third century AD Greek biographer of the philosopher Apollonius of Tyana, Greek culture was alive and well in northwestern India in the first century AD. He described Apollonius' visits to sites where Alexander the Great was still commemorated with statues and temples. When he met Phraōtēs the king of Taxila, Apollonius was amazed to discover that he spoke Greek: 'And he asked the question of him in the Greek tongue. But Apollonius was surprised, and remarked: "Why did you not converse with me thus, from the beginning?" "I was afraid," said the king, "of seeming presumptuous ... But that I am quite competent in the Greek speech I will show you amply"' (Philostratus 2.27).

Whether this story is based on any factual information or not remains unknown, certainly no statues of Alexander have been found in the region by modern archaeology. What is certain, however, is the record of the continuity of the Greek language and aspects of Greek religion on the coins of the non-Greek kingdoms which succeeded to the former eastern Greek kingdoms. Other traces of Hellenic culture survived in inscriptions, seals and sculpture. The public use of the Greek language disappeared by the mid second century AD, but Greek script continued to be used in writing a local language until at least the eighth century.

SUCCESSOR STATES

Greek rule in the East lasted for about three centuries, and numismatic evidence shows it progressively moving its centre of power further eastwards as it lost territory to invaders from Inner Asia and Iran. Bactria, north of the Hindu Kush was

gradually lost to the Greeks from the mid-second century BC. The last kings Heliokles I, Demetrios II, Eukratides II and Plato appear to have ruled a diminishing rump of the Bactrian kingdom down into the first century BC. South of the Hindu Kush a separate kingdom, initially based at Begram, had been established during the early second century BC and this spread as far as Taxila in the northern Punjab. The accounts of Menander I's kingdom reaching as far as Sialkot (ancient Sāgala) in the eastern Punjab are hard to believe as there is no numismatic evidence of him to the east of Taxila. Even more impossible to believe are the suggestions that references to the Greek kingdom extending its control even further east (Tarn 1951, p. 132; Narain 1957, pp. 82–88), attacking Mathura, Madhyamika and Pāṭaliputra. This must surely refer to the Kushan campaigns across northern India as recorded in the Rabatak inscription (Sims-Williams 2004: 56), as the terms *yona* and *yavana* used in the Indian texts for Greeks continued to be used for foreigners entering India from the West down from the first century (Ghosh 2017, pp. 104–105) until at least the fourteenth century (Karttunen 2015, pp. 398–401; Ghosh 2017, p. 113). A further push from invaders drove the centre of the Greek kingdom further east as Begram was abandoned to Scythians during the early first century BC. Later in the century Taxila also succumbed to the Scythians and the centre of Greek power moved further east and was centred on Sāgala. This was the latest region to have rulers with Greek names. The last of these was overthrown by a further Scythian push towards the east under a satrap called Rajavula, c. AD 30–50, who followed the last Greek king with issues of coins there before losing his kingdom to the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares (c. AD 32–50) (Cribb 1985).

Throughout this period, from the end of Greek rule in Bactria, there are no significant Greek inscriptions, apart from those on coins, surviving in the area to indicate the impact of the loss of Greek rule on the use of the Greek language. Although the inscriptions on coins are brief and formulaic, they do show that there were Greek speakers still available to the coin issuing administrations, but that the correct use of Greek was very much on the decline and was being executed by die engravers who were largely illiterate, so many mistakes begin to appear.

In Bactria the first evidence of the use of the Greek language after the fall of the Bactrian kingdom is over a century later when a Da Yuezhi ruler issued a new series of coins with a novel Greek inscription in the eastern part of Bactria. His monetary system used Greek denominations, silver tetradrachms and obols as imitations of the Bactrian silver coinage had continued to be made after the end of official issues under the last Bactrian kings. Although written in Greek, the inscriptions already showed non-Greek features. The obols of this ruler replaced the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (of king Eukratides), as found on the most commonly copied Bactrian coins, with a matching statement ΗΙΑ[Ι]ΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ (of the yabgu Kushan). The word ΗΙΑ[Ι]ΟΥ is not Greek, but a transcription into Greek of the ruler's title *yabgu* (Chinese *xihou*; Cribb 1993, 2018), the following name ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ is also not Greek, but a transcription. The consonant cluster ΡΣ was intended to represent the sound *ṣ* (ṣ) in the Bactrian language of the people ruled by the *yabgu* Kushan. On the tetradrachm this title was extended by the addition of an epithet. On the Greek prototype the inscription was ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, so the epithet ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ was added to the inscription: ΗΙΑΟΥ ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ (the ruling yabgu Kushan).

The form ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ, which is clear on one variety of the obol, could be read ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ on the other type of obol and on the tetradrachm as the forms of the letters are unclear. The choice of the epithet ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ probably reflects the status of Kushan as the hegemon of the Da Yuezhi people, having conquered the other four yabgu of this people. The designs of the *yabgu* Kushan's coins show his contacts with Scythian and Parthian rulers (conventionally referred to as Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians) south of the Hindu Kush, as he copied features from their coins. It is not clear whether the Greek inscriptions represented a survival of the use of Greek locally or these Greek inscriptions were also influenced from the territories south of the Hindu Kush. This ruler calling himself *yabgu* Kushan also appears below with the name Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 50–90), the founder of the Kushan empire. His use of the verbal epithet ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ shows an exceptional grasp of the Greek language by someone available to the ruler's administration. The use of the word in classical Greek sources is unusual (e.g. Diodorus Siculus 10.4.3 and 12.7.6).

The kingdom immediately south of the Hindu Kush, focused on Begram, also issued coins inspired by Greek prototypes, but without the same kind of innovation. The Scythian people who captured this territory from the Greeks, c. 80 BC, simply continued to issue copies of the current coins of the city. Their silver coins were based on the issues of Hermaios, the last Greek king to rule there, gradually debasing the quality of their original Greek design and inscriptions and their silver content. Their copper coins also copied issues of earlier Greek kings, Apollodotos I and Eukratides I. In general they retained the original designs and inscriptions and their coins were only distinguishable from their prototypes through their diminished quality. The only innovations were in the copper imitations of Eukratides I's coins, where some examples replaced the Dioscuri on their reverse with either a goddess of victory, using the iconography of Greek Nike, or a city goddess, with the iconography of Greek Tyche, but accompanied by an elephant. They also modified the royal title from king to king of kings (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ), adopting a style already used in Iran by the Parthians.

The Greek kingdom, based in Gandhāra, the region of Taxila and in northern Kashmir, flourished later than that of Begram, but also succumbed to a Scythian takeover. The initial Scythian (Indo-Scythian) coinage was in the name of King Maues, c. 70–50 BC, who introduced novel coin designs, retaining Greek inscriptions and designs based on those of his Greek predecessors, but abandoning the use of royal portraits. Most of his issues featured Greek gods such as Zeus, Poseidon, Helios, Selene, Nike, Tyche, Apollo, Herakles, etc. but a few new designs featuring non-Greek deities were introduced, such as the Indian god Balarama (Senior 2001, vol. 2, pp. 1–6, for Balarama see type 20). A few of his coins introduced a new style of royal imagery, featuring a mounted king in armour (Senior type 16, 21 and 22) or a seated king on a cushion (Senior type 15). A brief resurgence of Greek rule followed the reign of Maues, with one Greek-named king, Artemidoros, claiming on some coins to be Maues' son (Senior 1999). Further Scythian coinage soon followed with many featuring the royal horseman design and no Greek-style portraits.

The rump Greek kingdom based further east at Sāgala continued to issue Greek-style coins, becoming increasingly crude in style, until the kingdom was overthrown

by a later Scythian ruler, the satrap Rajavula, who issued his own coins with the same crude Greek designs, and inscribed with his titles in badly written Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ PAZY [*sic*].

In each of the regions south of the Hindu Kush the Scythian rulers continued through into the early first century AD until they were replaced by an Iranian kingdom, founded c. AD 32 by a Parthian (Indo-Parthian) king called Gondophares, c. AD 32–50, who both copied Scythian coins and introduced elements of Parthian coin design.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE GREEK COINAGE TRADITION

Although the Scythian, Iranian and Kushan kingdoms which gradually took over in former Greek territory made changes to the coinages which circulated in their territory, many elements of Greek coinage persisted. There was a need to make sure that their new coins still looked like the coinages of previous times and that any modifications made were limited, so that their coins continued to be accepted in payments in place of the Greek coins (Cribb 2007a). In the Begram area this necessity prompted the decision to directly imitate the earlier Greek coins. In the Taxila region the most significant change was the loss of the Greek-style royal bust, gradually replaced by a royal horseman, Greek inscriptions were retained by giving the names and titles of the new rulers. In Sāgala, the Greek designs were retained, but inscriptions changed to reflect the new Scythian regime. Over time more and more minor changes were made so that the designs gradually moved away from the Greek prototypes, but the basic formula of Hellenistic coinage was preserved. Since the period of the successors of Alexander, Greek royal coinage generally featured royal portraits and religious imagery. On silver and gold coins the designs normally featured an image of the king or his founding ancestor on the obverse and on the reverse a religious image, often of a patron deity of the king or his dynasty. These were accompanied by a Greek inscription giving the king's name and title(s), normally on the reverse. Copper coinage sometimes had similar designs, but often showed only religious designs, both images of gods and of their attributes. In the Indo-Greek kingdoms a modification to the basic design had been made by replicating the Greek inscription in the local language Gandhāri written in the local script Kharoṣṭhī. The Greek inscription was moved to the obverse of the coin and the Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī inscription was on the reverse. The same broad formula with royal and religious imagery and bilingual inscriptions was continued by all the succeeding non-Greek coinages. It seems likely that all the successor states were ruled by elites who used other languages than Greek and Gandhāri, but the conventions established under the Indo-Greek kingdoms persisted.

Under both Scythian and Parthian rule the modifications made to the coins were of two main kinds, the introduction of design elements which were not strictly Greek and the non-Greek names and changing titulature of the new rulers. The Scythian and Parthian rulers adopted from Iran the title 'king of kings', elevating themselves to imperial status above that of their simply royal Greek predecessors, but they continued to use Greek epithets, such as ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ (of the great) and ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (of the saviour). The use of Greek was conventional, but some issues with exceptional

inscriptions show that the administration issuing the coins still had access to scribes who knew Greek.

Indo-Scythian coins

The early Scythian coinage of Gandhāra issued with various royal names included issues which articulated the family relationships of their issuers. One issue (Senior type 67) inscribed in Greek in the name a king called Vonones ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ (of the great king of kings Vonones) has a Gandhāri reverse which names the relationship between two other rulers, Śpalagadama, son of Śpalahores the just (*śpalahoraputrasa dhramiasa śpalagadamasa*). A copper issue (Senior type 69) with the same Gandhāri inscription extends the family relationships in Greek ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of [the son of] Śpalahores the just, the brother of the king). Another brother of the king Śpalariśes also issues coins (Senior type 71) in his own name, expressing his relationship with the king in both Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ (of Śpalariśes brother of the king) and Gandhāri *maharajabhṛatasā dhramiasa śpalariśasa* (of Śpalariśes the just, brother of the king). On another coinage (Senior type 72) he abandoned the necessity to mention his relationship with the king and adopted the royal title in his own right: Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ (of king Śpalahores the great), and Gandhāri *maharajasa mahatakasā śpalariśasa*. He even expands his title to imperial rank on another issue (Senior type 73) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ (of Śpalariśes king of kings, the great). These last issues show both a slight misconstruction of the Greek, reversing the order of the imperial title and introducing a letter not previously used in Greek, a *rho* to spell an initial *ś* sound, a similar solution to the rendition of this consonant as ΠΣ on the yabgu Kushan coins discussed above. These innovations and inventions indicate the availability of Greek scribes, but also show the beginnings of deviation from the accepted norms of the language.

After the issues of the Śpalahores and Śpalariśes, the inscriptions used by the Scythian kings settle into a routine pattern reflecting the usage on the last coin mentioned above, but as Scythian central authority collapsed, local Scythian rulers again introduced some innovations which showed competent use of the Greek language and script. Rulers at the level of satrap issued coins with this Iranian title rendered in a correct Greek version ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ on the coins of Jihonika (Senior type 133), with a Greek version of his name ΖΕΙΩΝΙΣΟΥ, rendering the Gandhāri *j* with Greek zeta and avoiding the use of an aspirated sound between the first two syllables. These coins also give his relationship with his father ΜΑΝΝΙΟΛΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ (of the son of Manigula), again skilfully rendering his name from the Gāndhārī *manigula*. The correct use of inflections and of titles again suggests the availability of a knowledge of Greek. There are however in his other coins (Senior types 131, 132, 134 and 135) evidence of a complete lack of understanding of the inscriptions by the workmen cutting the dies, as letters are malformed and omitted. Another satrap Kharahostes (Senior type 143) shows less familiarity with good Greek. His inscription used non-Greek inflections (similar to those used in Bactrian, see below) ΧΑΡΑΗΩΣΤΕΙ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ ΑΡΤΑ[.]Σ ΥΙΟΥ (of Kharahostes satrap son of Arta) a rendition of the Gandhāri *khara'ostasa artasaputrasa kṣatrapasa*. On some coins instead of the Greek ΥΙΟΥ (of the son) the coins have a Hellenised transcription of the Gāndhārī word: ΠΟΤΡΟΣ.

The rendition of the satrap's name also introduces a non-Greek sound the use of *eta* to render an aspiration between the second and third syllables, an aspiration not present in the Gāndhārī, but apparently introduced to show that the *ao* is not a diphthong. Like the coins of Zeionises there are many blundered versions of the Greek inscription (Cribb 2015, p. 32). The other late Scythian rulers, such as the Apracarajas and Kharahostes' son Mujatria continued to use the inscriptions of the last Scythian king Azes II ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ, but in an increasingly blundered form. The Apracarajas, however, made use of a Greek title Στρατηγός (general), rendered in Gandhāri/Kharoṣṭhī as *strategasa* (of the general) (Senior types 182–185).

To the south of the Scythian kingdom and its successors coins inscribed in Greek were also issued, showing a similar degree of creativity. Most of these coins were issued by Satraps who identified themselves as members of the Kshaharata family. Their dies are often ill-made, so often only fragmentary inscriptions have been recorded (Table 31.1). Initially these satraps copied Indo-Greek coins issued by Apollodotos II, changing the inscriptions, then introduced their own designs. Recorded so far are Greek script inscriptions on the coins of the Kshaharata satraps Higata, Higaka, Hastadatta, Hospises, Abhiraka, Nahapana and Hormizd and the Kardamaka satraps Chastana, Jayadaman and Rudradaman. On some coins Greek inflections indicate an attempt at preserving Greek, even if mistaken in form, but others have inflections which are based on Epigraphic Hybrid Sanskrit. The coins of Nahapana represent the two trends, with most of his coins inscribed in Hellenised Indian, giving him the title Indian king *rāñō*, but using Latin H for the aspirated sound in his family and personal name, transliterated as ΠΑΝΝΙΩ ΞΑΗΑΡΑΤΑΣ ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑΣ, and a single coin written in Greek, but with the mistaken form ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The same Hellenised version of king ΠΑΝΝΙΩ is used on the coins of Chastana, his son Jayadaman and grandson Rudradaman, but increasingly blundered (Fishman 2013, pp. viii, 70–71). Some Rudradaman coins also reuse the blundered ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ of Nahapana. The abbreviated title ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (monarch). Most of the coins of these rulers are blundered so that the original inscription becomes unintelligible and their successors, normally known as the Western Satraps (Kshatrapas), further corrupt these inscriptions.

The Greek inscription of Nahapana (Bhandare 2007) is very interesting as it is clearly influenced by Latin, probably from the Roman coins which were also being imported into Nahapana's kingdom according to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Casson 1989, pp. 80–81, §49). The spelling Nabanos conforms closely to the version of his name in the *Periplus* (Casson 1989, pp. 76–77, §41), ΜανβάνοϚ. The Ξ in Kshaharata is replaced by a Latin X and the Latin H is used as an aspirate as on his other coins. Fishman and Severin (personal correspondence, and at press) propose a different reading of Nahapana's Greek inscription: ΒΑΓΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΝΑ[Η]Α[Π]Α[Ν]ΟΥΗ (Chief king Nahapana, with ΒΑΓΟΥ representing Indian *bhaga*).

Indo-Parthian coins

Similar creative Greek inscriptions to those used on Indo-Scythian coins also appear on Parthian coins issued by the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares and his successors. The title ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ (of the emperor) appears on a silver issue of

Table 31.1 Greek and mixed Greek/Indian inscriptions of late Indo-Scythian satraps.

	<i>Kshaharata</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Additional words</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Higata and Higaka	ΣΑ?ΑΡΑΤΗΣ	ΣΑΤΡΑΦΩ		BAPTAPA (adapted from India <i>bhrata</i> , brother)	Senior 2006, p. 23, S66; & Falk 2016, fig 1
Hastadatta Hospises	ΣΑΤΑΡΑΤΟΥ ...ΑΡΑΤ...	ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ ...ΤΡΑΠΟΥ	ΟΣΤΟΔΑΤΟΥ ΟΣΠΙΟΣ	ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟ (Greek ἀνίκητου)	Falk 2016, fig 2 Senior 2002
Abhiraka	ΣΑΓΑΡΑΤΟΥ	ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ	ΑΥΒΙΡΑΚΟΥ		Senior 2001, type 300; Senior 2006, p. 25
Nahapana c. 40–78	ΞΑΗΑΡΑΤΑΣ	ΡΑΝΝΙΩ (adapted from Indian <i>rāṇo</i> king)	ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑΣ		Senior 2001, type 303
Hormizd c. 78	ΧΑΗ... ΑΟΥ ΞΑΗΑ...	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΡΑΝΝΙΩ	ΝΑΒΑΝΟΥ ...		Bhandare 2007 Fishman 2016, corrected by A. Fishman & M. Severin correspondence
Chastana c. 78–120		ΡΑΝΝΙΩ ΞΑΤΡΑΠΑΣ	ΤΑΣΤΑΝΣΑΣ		Senior 2001, type 313 Fishman 2013, type 4.9, 10 and 11
Jayadaman c. 120		ΡΑΝΝΙΩ ΞΑΤΡΑΠΑΣ	ΖΑΙΑΔΑΜΑΣ		Fishman 2013, type 6.1 & 6.3

Gondophares (Senior type 210). A verbal participle replaces the noun for king on several issues: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (Senior 228, 243, 255, 257 and 261). On an issue of a later king the correct participle ΕΠΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΠΙΟΣ (surnamed) is used to distinguish Gondophares from one of his successors who uses the name Gondophares Sasan. The variations in the transcription of Gondophares' name also show a hesitation in the relationship between the Iranian and Greek versions of the king's name:

ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΗΣ (Senior type 210), ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ (types 212, 213, 216, 219.5), ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ (types 218, 220) ΟΝΔΑΦΑΡΡΟ[Υ] (type 215), ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ (type 217) and ΥΝΔΟΘΕΡΟΥ (type 219.1). Gondophares' brother Abdagases indicates his relationship on an issue (Senior type 227) in Greek: ΥΝΔΙΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΩΣ or in Gāndhārī mistranscribed into a Greek form ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΑ ΒΡΑΙ. The knowledge of Greek is still apparent, but it is flawed, as there is a general indication of the misunderstanding of Greek inflections. By the time of Gondophares there is a growing tendency under the influence of Latin coin inscription practices to move from the use of genitive inflections in Greek coin inscriptions to the use of the nominative (Burnett 2011, pp. 13–14). This first manifests itself in the east on coins of Vonones I, the Parthian emperor in Iran, c. AD 8–12. Some of Gondophares coins mix genitive and nominative inflections: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ (Senior types 210 and 212), but from the time of his successors Sarpedanes (c. AD 60–70), Sasan (c. 70–100), Orthagnes (c. 70–80) and Pakores (c. 90–120) the correct nominative forms ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ were used (Senior, Sarpedanes type 255, Orthagnes type 257, Sasan type 240, and Pakores type 269). But in all cases the legends were occasionally misspelt or blundered.

Kushan coins

When the first Kushan emperor, Kujula Kadphises, began to issue coins south of the Hindu Kush, his administration drew on the coinages of his Scythian and Parthian contemporaries, continuing the use of Greek inscriptions, but with the same access to an increasingly faulty understanding of the niceties of the language. His first coins in Begram copied their Greek inscriptions from the Scythian copies of the Greek king Hermaios's coins, but introduced into them a mistake, changing the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ preserved on all the Scythian copies into ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. On later issues novel inscriptions featuring the Kushan emperor's name appeared. The intended language was Greek on most of these, but the names and titles were not (Cribb 2018, pp. 12–16). The script was Greek and the Greekness of the intended language was indicated by the use of the genitive inflection: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ (or ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ or ΚΟΡΣΝΟΥ). On some examples the Greek script was used, but the language appears from its inflections to be written in a different language, probably the language used by later Kushan emperors, known to scholars as Bactrian (an east Iranian dialect): ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΕΙ or ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΔΟΒΙΚΕΙ ΚΟΡΣΑΝ. The inflection is the same -EI as seen on coins of Kharahostes discussed above. The end of the word ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟΥ appears to be a Greek inflection, but is not as this part of the king's name is rendered without inflection in its Gandhārī/ Kharoṣṭhī forms *kujula* or *kuyula*. On one coin issued late in Kujula Kadphises' reign a hybrid nominative/genitive inscription appears: ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ ΧΟΡΑΝΣΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ, with the last word being an alternative rendition of his title yabgu. On his coins from Bactria, as above, it was spelt ΗΙΑ[Ι]ΟΥ, both are attempts to render this Chinese title (翕侯 *xihou*, = Old Chinese *həp-gô*, Later Han Chinese *hīp-go*, Schuessler 2009, 37–19, 10–6a), which had no Greek translation and was rendered in Gandhārī/Kharoṣṭhī with similar uncertainty as *yavuga*, *yaüa* or *yaü* (Cribb 2018, p. 12).

The only inscriptions, specifically from the reign of Kujula Kadphises to survive are in the Gandhāri language and written using the Kharoṣṭhī script (https://gandhari.org/a_inscription.php?catid=CKI0059; https://gandhari.org/a_inscription.php?catid=CKI0331; https://gandhari.org/a_inscription.php?catid=CKI0060; consulted 24 February 2019), but in the reign of his son Wima Takto (c. AD 90–113) there is an inscription written in Greek letters found at Dasht-e Nawar in Afghanistan (Sims-Williams & Cribb 1996, p. 95, Sims-Williams 2004, pp. 58–59). Although written using Greek letters it is not in the Greek language, but in a version of Greek script adapted for writing Bactrian. The script for Bactrian introduces a new letter ϐ which represents the *sh* sound, as the *ṣ* in Kushan, rendered *kuṣaṇa*, *guṣaṇa* or *khuṣaṇa* in Gandhāri and *kuṣāṇa* in Epigraphic Hybrid Sanskrit.

The coins attributable to Wima Takto continue the use of Greek as on Kujula Kadphises' coins, but using the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ in the nominative as on contemporary Indo-Parthian coins. This usage appeared on Kushan coins at the end of Kujula Kadphises' reign, together with the Greek titles ΣΩΤΗΡ and ΜΕΓΑΣ (Cribb 2014), and Wima Takto's coins continued to use the same titles. The inscriptions on the 'Sōtēr Megas' coins were often abbreviated and missing letters, so that the inscription was regularly written ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ. The Gandhāri/Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on part of this series show that this misspelling is intended to represent 'king of kings', and that the form ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ, is not intended to be a participle. The king's name does not appear on most of this series of coins, but its initials ΟΟ, to render the initial *w*, appear on some examples (Cribb 2014, pp. 96 and 101), as in the Dasht-e Nawar inscription, where his name is spelt ΟΟΗΜΟ ΤΑΚ[ΤΟΟ]. Part of his name ΟΟΗΜ in Greek letters also appears on a series of coins from Kashmir which are largely illegible, but a corrupt version of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, written ΒΑΠΝΕΙ ΒΑΠΝΕΙΝ (Cribb 2014, pp. 104, 120), suggests that the intention was to write his titles and name in Greek. The only coins to have his full name in Greek letters are two rare examples of a type inscribed in Bactrian: ΟΟΗΜΟ ΤΑΚΤΟΟ [ΡΑΟ] (Cribb 2014, pp. 104–105; the [ΡΑΟ] can be inferred from the length of the space in the inscription and the foot of the first letter touching the royal tamga in the expected place, Cribb and Bracey, at press).

The coins of the third Kushan emperor, Wima Kadphises (c. AD 113–127), continue to use Greek inscriptions and are initially well spelt. On most of his issues a longer inscription in Gandhāri/Kharoṣṭhī gave him additional Indian titles (Jongeward & Cribb 2015, p. 54). He continued to use the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ in the nominative followed by his name ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΣ, giving it a Greek inflection, different to the final O or E in the only Bactrian version of his name ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣ[Ο] or ΚΑΔΦΙΣ[Ε] to survive in the Rabatak inscription from the next reign. On many of his gold coins the inscription is abbreviated to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΣ. On his gold coins and first copper issues the inscriptions are well written and correct, but on later copper coins letters are missed out and many coins have the inscription ΒΑΣΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΣ.

The last Kushan coins with Greek inscriptions were made in the first year of the following reign of Kanishka I, Wima Kadphises' son. They continued the use of the imperial title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ in the nominative, but bizarrely followed by

his name ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ with a Greek genitive inflection and using the recently introduced Β. Both gold and copper coins with this inscription were issued and on their reverses the gods depicted were given Greek names. These gods were part of the Kushan pantheon and were not the Greek gods named (Cribb 2008; see below). The divine names featured are ΗΛΙΟΣ, ΣΑΛΕΝΕ, ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ, ΝΑΝΑΙΑ, ΑΝΕΜΟΣ and ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ. The gods referred to are Miirō, Mao, Athsho, Nana, Oado and Oesho (Cribb 1998).

Kanishka I's Rabatak inscription (Sims-Williams 2004) contains an explicit reference to the transition from the use of Greek to the Bactrian language, which is called Aryan: 'And he issued a Greek edict [and] then he put it into Aryan' (line 3). That this statement had a wider meaning is to be seen in the coins, where the dies for his gold coins had their Greek inscriptions rubbed down and replaced by Bactrian inscriptions. On the obverse dies the king's name and titles, still written in Greek letters, became ΒΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΒΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΒΑΝΟ (king of kings Kanishka Kushan). Two of the reverse dies were recut ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ recut to ΑΘΡΟ and ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ became ΟΗΡΟ, but the others were replaced, ΗΛΙΟΣ became ΜΙΡΟ (Miirō), ΣΑΛΕΝΕ became ΜΑΟ (Mao), ΝΑΝΑΙΑ became ΝΑΝΑ (Nana) and ΑΝΕΜΟΣ was dropped from the gold coins but appeared as ΟΑΔΟ (Oado) on the copper coins. The god Mao is male in both his Greek and Bactrian names, so the feminine ΣΑΛΕΝΕ is a translation into Greek rather than identifying the depicted deity as the Greek goddess. Neither Nana nor Oesho have Greek equivalents, so in one case the name Nana is Hellenised, in the other Oesho is given the name of a Greek god seen to have similar attributes.

After this transition from Greek to Bactrian, there are no further instances of Greek inscriptions on Kushan coins, but the Greek script persists as the means for writing Bactrian until late in the Kushan period when Bactrian inscriptions became blundered and gradually disappeared once the Kushan empire lost its Bactrian territory. The use of Bactrian, however, persisted in the lost territory and was used on coins by the Kushano-Sasanian, Kidarite and Alchon Huns and Turks who succeeded the Kushans (Cribb and Bracey *at press*; Vondrovec 2014; Pfisterer 2013). The last coins to be inscribed in Bactrian using Greek script were issued by the Turkish Kabul Shahi kings in the eighth century, with the legend ΣΠΙ ΣΠΑΛΑΒΙΔΟ (lord commander of the army).

The use of Greek script to write Bactrian is also known from a collection of documents from northern Afghanistan (Sims-Williams 2001, 2007 and 2012), running from the fourth to the eighth century and from inscriptions down to the ninth century (Sims-Williams & de Blois 2018, pp. 117–130).

GREEK NAMES AND TERMINOLOGY KNOWN FROM POST-INDO-GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

Although there are no significant Greek inscriptions of the period of the successors of the Indo-Greeks, there are also numerous traces of Greek culture in non-coin inscriptions from the post-Greek period, sometimes datable through the local eras, but often in contexts lacking a date, but in a context suggestive of a post-Greek date. These traces include Greek names, Greek titles, two Greek eras, Greek months and a Greek weight system.

Greek names

A number of local inscriptions include some names of Greek origin (Table 31.2), but it is not clear from them whether the owners of these names were Greeks themselves or merely adopters of Greek names (Baums 2018). The style and context of the inscriptions positions them in the post-Indo-Greek period, even though only a few of them can be dated (for example the Apracaraja general Indravarma, who also called himself Alexander, is known from the Buddhist inscription CKIo257, dated to year 77 in the Azes era = c. AD 31 (for the dating of the Azes era see Cribb 2005, pp. 213–214; Falk and Bennett 2009). The few names rendered in Greek script are short ownership labels on seals or metal vessels. The majority of the Kharoṣṭhī script versions of Greek names are on seal(ing)s or in Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions.

The family relationships of individuals with Greek names suggests that many of them were probably local people, either Indian or Scythian, adopting Greek names (compare with Artemidorus, son of Maues mentioned above), or they were Greeks whose relations had adopted local names. Menander, for example, has a father with a non-Greek name who was a satrap of the Apracarajas and made a Buddhist dedication (Baums 2012, pp. 216–217). Baums (2018, p. 39) suggests that the sealings of Indravarma/Alexander another high official of the Apracarajas show that he perhaps used the Greek name as a translation of his Indian name. Deinokrates' other name Sangarakshita is suggestive of conversion to Buddhism (Baums 2018, p. 39).

Greek titles

As well as names, some Greek titles of public office also appear in local inscriptions of the post-Greek period. Some titles, such as king, appearing on coins have been mentioned above. Greek titles held by public officials are also known from several dedicatory inscriptions. The title *meridarch* μεριδάρχης (regional governor; *meridarkheṇa* in Gāndhārī) was held by Kalliphon, in a dedicatory inscription to a deity called Chaos in Greek and Boas in Gāndhārī, and by Phantokles in another Greek dedication inscription, both on silver dishes (Falk 2009). Another *meridarch* (*meridarkheṇa* in Gāndhārī) with a Greek name Theodotos made the dedication in a Buddhist reliquary inscription (CKIo032). The name of a second *meridarch* (*meriarkheṇa* in Gāndhārī) in another Buddhist dedication inscription is missing (CKIo03). A third silver dish Gāndhārī dedication (CKI553) was made by an official with an Indian name Samangaka, who had the Greek title ἐπίσκοπος (inspector; *epesukupēṇa* in Gāndhārī).

The Greek military title Στρατηγός (general), rendered in Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī as *stratega*, was used by the Apraca kingdom for high officials on coins (Kharoṣṭhī Senior 2001, types 182–185), in Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions (Kharoṣṭhī CKIo241), silver vessels (Kharoṣṭhī CKIo190) and on seals (Greek and Kharoṣṭhī CKIo35; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, nos. 16.03.01, 02 and 03).

Apart from the use of the Greek titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ on the coins of the first four Kushan emperors, there is no evidence of the use of Greek titles by Kushan officials. The non-royal titles which do survive in the Kushan state are all datable to the period after Kanishka I's official replacement of Greek by Bactrian, so one would not expect them to be expressed in Greek or transliterated Greek (Cribb and Bracey, at press).

Table 31.2 Greek names appearing in post-Indo-Greek inscriptions of Bactria and Gandhāra, based on Baums 2018. CKI references are to the *Catalogue of Gāndhārī Texts* by Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass, 2002 at <https://gandhari.org/catalog> (consulted 27 February 2019), * see also Baums 2019, p. 173, n. 11.

Name		Form in inscription in Greek (G) or Kharoṣṭhī (K)		Relationships	Object inscribed and references
Ἀλέξανδρος	Alexander	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	G	alternative name of <i>Imdravarma</i> , Apracaraja general	sealings: CKI1035; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, nos. 16.03.01, 02 and 03.
Δεινοκράτης	Deinokratēs?	<i>denukrata</i>	K	alternative name of <i>Sagharakṣida</i>	seal: CKI1030; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, no. 16.02.06
Δείνιππος	Denippos	<i>denipa</i>	K		seal: CKI10106
Δημήτριος	Dēmētrios	<i>demitria</i>	K	father of <i>Helaiüte</i>	Buddhist donation: CKI0564
Διόδωρος	Diodōros	ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ	G		seal: Fussman 1972, p. 24
Διονυσόδωρος	Dionysodōros	<i>dinisisdora</i>	K		seal: CKI1000; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, no. 10.05.05
Ἑρμαῖος	Hermaios	<i>hirmaa</i>	K	father of [S] <i>aṭaṣake</i>	Buddhist donation, dated Azes year 156 = c. AD110: CKI0328
		<i>hirmae</i>	K	son of Papia	Buddhist donation dated Azes year 39 = c. 7 BC: CKI0455, probably a forgery
Εὐκρατίδης	Eukratides	<i>evukratidasa</i>	K		sealing: CKI0917; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, no. 01.01.24 (probably a modern concoction)
Εὐχή	Euchē	<i>Avakha[zada]</i>	K		CKI0178
Ἡλιοφίλος	Heliophilos	<i>heliuphila</i>	K	father of <i>Aprakhaka</i>	Buddhist donation, dated Azes year 156 = c. AD110: CKI0328
Ζηνόφιλος	Zēnophilos	<i>zenupila</i>	K	father of <i>Raja</i>	sealing; CKI0987; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, no. 09.01.03
Θεόδαμος	Theodamos	<i>theudama</i>	K	father of <i>Buddhala</i>	silver vessel: CKI0727; Falk 2001
		<i>theudama</i>	K		seal: CKI0034
		ΘΕΔΑΜΟΥ	G		sealings: CKI0978; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, nos. 07.08.14 and 15
		[the]juda[ma]	K		

(Continued)

Table 31.2 Continued.

Name		Form in inscription in Greek (G) or Kharoṣṭhī (K)		Relationships	Object inscribed and references
Θεόδωρος	Theodōros?	ΘΕΟΔ... ...s[o]ra	G K		sealing: CKIo955; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, no. 06.06.17
		thaïdoreṇa	K	son of Datia	Buddhist donation, dated Azes era 113 = c. AD 67; CKIo057
		theutara	K	son of Theōros	silver vessels: CKIo088, 89
Θεόδοτας	Theodotas	the[u]dutena	K		Buddhist reliquary: CKIo032; (misread as Theodōros by Konow 1929, p. 3)
Θεωρός	Theōros	thuvara*	K	father of Theodōros	silver vessels: CKIo088, 89
Ἰσανδρος	Isandros	isaṃdra	K	father of unnamed person	sealing: CK0972; ur Rahman & Falk 2011, no. 07.06.05
Καλλιφῶν	Kalliphōn	ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ kaliphōṇa	G K		silver vessel: CKIo552; Falk 2009; Rougemont 2012, p. 12; CKIo552
Μένανδρος	Menander	menāṃdrena	K	son of Śatrulekeṇa	Buddhist donation, dated Azes era 77 = c. AD 31 CKIo257
		Mināṃdra	K		wrestler's weight; CKIo143
Παλαμήδης	Palamēdēs	ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΟΥ	G		Kushan monument: Sims-Williams 2012
Σοφῆ	Sophē	sapha	K		Buddhist sculpture: CKIo118
Φαντοκλῆς	Phantoklēś	ΦΑΝΤΟΚΛΕΟ ΥΣ	G		silver vessel: Falk 2009; Rougemont 2012, p. 12

Greek eras and calendar

In two inscriptions from the territory of the Indo-Scythians there are two explicit references to Greek eras. The Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī dedication inscription on a Gandhāran Buddhist reliquary (CKIo405) makes a reference to the year 201 of a Greek era (*yoṇaṇa vaṣaye*) alongside year 73 of the Azes era (*ayasa vaṣaye*). The start of this era reaches back to the Bactrian period, and most likely began c. 174 BC in the reign of Eukratides I (Cribb 2005, pp. 213–214; Cribb 2018, pp. 11–12). The second inscription is in Brāhmī/Epigraphic Hybrid Sanskrit and was found at Mathura in northern India (Fussmann 1993, p. 113) recording the foundation of a well, by the mother of a Brahman. It is dated to year 116 of a Greek era (*yavanarajyasya*), which from the context appears to be a different era to that used in Gandhāra. The inscription is written in the Brāhmī script of the period of the Indo-Scythian satrap Śoḍāsa, whose reign

fell in the mid-first century AD. Śoḍāsa's reign can be dated in this way as the successor of Rajavula, whose reign ended in the time of the Indo-Parthian Gondophares, c. AD 32–50, and the predecessor of Kharahostes, the last Indo-Scythian ruler before the conquest of the city by the Kushans under Wima Takto, c. AD 90–113. The context places the beginning of this Greek era between about 65 and 25 BC. The most likely era intended is that of the Indo-Scythian king Azes, which began c. 46 BC, placing the inscription c. AD 70. This was also the view of Mukherjee (1992) based on his view that the Azes era began c. 57 BC, but Fussman (1993) associated the era with Menander, which would dislocate the inscription to about a hundred years earlier than suggested by its context. As discussed above, the term *yavana* was used to refer to foreigners from the west or northwest, rather than specifically to Greeks.

Aspects of the Greek calendar survived into the Kushan period in the form of the names of months (Salomon 2012, p. 187), down to the 51st year of Kanishka I's era, c. AD 177. The second and third Kushan emperors Wima Takto and Wima Kadphises both made use of the Greek era, founded c. 174 BC, to date their royal inscriptions (Cribb 2018, pp. 12–13) in Bactrian in Afghanistan (year 279), in Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī in Kashmir (year 287) and in Brāhmī/Epigraphic Hybrid Sanskrit in Mathura (years 270 and 299). The era also continued to be used in religious inscriptions in Gandhāra, years 286 (CKI0538) 291 (CKI0133), 303 (CKI0178), 318 (CKI0111), 359 (CKI0116) and 384 (CKI0124).

It also seems possible that the Greek era survived in Kushan royal inscriptions, but in a new form. The last inscription mentioning an emperor with Kushan titles with a date before the reign of Kanishka I is dated 299, presumably in the Greek era (Lüders 1961, no. 78), so it seems possible that Kanishka I's foundation of a new era, as mentioned in the Rabatak inscription (Sims-Williams 2004), coincided with the start of a new century in the Greek era. If, as it seems, year 1 of Kanishka I's era equates with year 301 of the Greek era (Cribb 2005, pp. 213–214), then the Greek era continued under a different guise through the Kushan period, but reverted to year 1 after 100 years. When the Kushano-Sasanians took Bactria from the Kushans they appear to have continued to use the Kushan era, but without the reversion to year 1 every century (Schindler 2011; Cribb and Bracey, at press). If this is the case then this kept the Greek era in use until the ninth century (Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018, p. 130). The Bactrian word for year used in the Bactrian documents where this post-Kushan era was in use appears to be derived from the Greek, X̥PONO from χρόνος (Sims-Williams 2002, p. 228). The numbers in which it was expressed in the documents were also Greek, using the letters of the Greek alphabet as numerals (Sims-Williams & de Blois 2018, pp. 15–20). It has also been suggested that the Kushan era, with its repeating hundreds also survived in Kashmir and northwestern India as the Laukika era, which as is now known starts its cycle of 100 years a few years earlier than the cycle of Kanishka I's era (Bracey 2005). The Laukika era remained in official use in Kashmir and Rajasthan into the twelfth century, so if the Greek, Kushan and Laukika eras are linked, then it is possible that the Greek era lasted for fourteen centuries.

Staters and drachmas

The coinages of the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians followed a weight standard which was established by the early Indo-Greeks, as an adaptation of the Greek

tetradrachm/drachm denomination system, but conforming to the value of contemporary Indian coins. The first Indo-Greek coins were struck as Attic hemi-drachms of c. 2.1 grams, to roughly represent the silver content of the late Mauryan debased silver punch-marked *kārṣāpaṇa* of c. 3.5 grams. Soon this weight was adjusted to c. 2.4 grams to more closely match the Indian standard and departed from the Attic weight standard and was then joined by a tetradrachm of c. 9.6 grams. The Indo-Scythians took over this system and continued the issue of tetradrachms and drachms. By the time the Indo-Parthians took over, the silver content of the Indo-Scythian coins had been reduced to less than 20%, and under the Indo-Parthians and the rump of the Indo-Scythians continued to be debased, so that, at the time of the Kushan conquest of territory south of the Hindu-Kush, silver denominations with little or no silver content were being issued, but still on a weight standard based on the Indo-Greek system. North of the Hindu Kush the first Kushan issues adopted a reduced version of the Attic standard which had survived in locally made copies of Bactrian Greek coins. Their issues were either debased silver reduced Attic tetradrachms and obols in the northeast of Bactria or copper reduced Attic tetradrachms and drachms. Once the Kushans had established full control of the region south of the Hindu Kush the system left behind by the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians had collapsed and because there was no silver to remove from the tetradrachms and drachms, they started reducing their weight to continue the downward trend in the value of the coinage.

Towards the end of the reign of Kujula Kadphises (Cribb 2014) a new issue was introduced, known as ‘Sōtēr Megas’ coins. This coinage reinstated the Attic standard and two denominations were issued didrachms c. 8.5 grams and hemidrachms 2.1 grams, but in copper, so matching roughly the coins they were replacing, but on a firmer standard. The Attic standard was reintroduced presumably because it was still a well-recognised weight standard in Bactria, even though the imitation coinages and Kujula Kadphises’ first issues had been on a reduced version of it. The ‘Sōtēr Megas’ coins continued to be issued until the end of the reign of Kujula Kadphises’ son Wima Takto. In the reign of Wima Kadphises a further reform of the coinage took place, still based on copper coins of the Attic standard, but now with issues of tetradrachms of c. 17 grams, didrachms of c. 8.5 grams and drachms of c. 4.25 grams. Alongside this gold coinage was also introduced in multiple denominations, but on a reduced Attic standard, so that there were gold coins of 16 grams, 8 grams, 4 grams and 2 grams. The reason for the decision to adjust the weight of the gold coins to a level below the full Attic standard is not clear. They do not match the weights of the gold coins issued by early Bactrian kings (c. 8.6 grams), or contemporary Roman gold coins (c. 7.75 grams), some of which penetrated Kushan territory.

The standard set by Wima Kadphises was followed by the emperors who followed him, but the denomination set was reduced, so that by the reign of Huvishka the fifth Kushan emperor only gold coins of 8 grams and 2 grams were being issued and copper coins of c. 16 grams. During this reign there was a monetary crisis which saw the weight standard of the standard copper coin, formerly an Attic tetradrachm by weight, reduced to c. 10 grams, and this was the start of a gradual and continuing decline which saw the weight of the standard copper coin drop to less than 3 grams by the end of the dynasty in the mid-fourth century. In documents of the period after Kushan rule in Bactria, the standard 8 grams gold coin (by this time often as light as 7.7 grams and debased) was referred to as ΔΙΝΑΡΟ or ΔΔΙΝΑΡΟ, thought to be

derived from the Greek name δηνάριον of the Roman *denarius aureus* (Sims-Williams 2002, p. 228). This term continued in use in Bactria until the eighth century (Sims-Williams 2007, p. 209), long after the coins ceased to be issued.

The use of the Attic weight standard is also apparent in the weight system used for silver and gold plate. Inscriptions on gold and silver objects from Gandhāra and Bactria have been reported with inscriptions of their weight which express it in a system based on the Greek stater στατήρ (tetradrachm) and drachm δραχμή, written in Gandhārī/Kharoṣṭhī *sadera and drakhma*. The system also includes a weight of one sixth of a drachm, which equals the Greek obol, but has a local name. Based on the actual weights of some of the inscribed pieces Falk (2001, p. 314) suggests that the weight standard was focused around a stater of c. 17.12 grams (based on silver plate) to c. 17.53 grams (based on gold ingots found at Dal'verzīn Tepe, Vorob'eva-Desyatovskaya 1976:69), but with a falling away of the standard so that many of the silver plate examples weigh significantly less, down as low as c. 15.5 grams. The Attic tetradrachm, weighing c. 17.2 grams seems to be the basis for the stater, and as in the coins of the region the weight was often on a reduced standard. The term was a conventional part of the Gāndhārī language and its use spread into the territory of local kings in Xinjiang province (Wang 2004, pp. 66–67; Baums 2005). The local coinage of Khotan in the first century AD was struck according to the Attic weight standard, even though the coins were copper and denominated according to the Chinese weight standard. The tetradrachm to drachm four to one ratio was explicit in the Chinese inscriptions on the Khotanese coinage, the tetradrachm denominated as weighing 24 *zhu* and the drachm denominated as 6 *zhu*. The coins conformed to the reduced Attic standard, and at the same time corresponded with the Chinese *liang* of 24 *zhu*, with the tetradrachm coins weighing c. 15.5 grams and the drachm c. 3.85 grams (Cribb 1984, 1985).

As well as the names for the weights used to weigh precious metal, Sims-Williams (2002, p. 228) has suggested that the Bactrian word for silver is derived from Greek, because the Bactrian adjective ΣΙΜΙΓΓΟ/ ΣΙΜΙΝΟ, meaning ‘made of silver’ relates to the Greek word ἄσημος, meaning ‘silver’. The same weight system as represented by the stater and drachm has also been noted in Bactrian inscriptions on silver plate, but the Greek derived terminology is absent and the stater is a little heavier in weight, c. 17.85–18.6 grams, than its manifestation in Kharoṣṭhī documents (Sims-Williams 2009) (Table 31.3).

The drachma also has an afterlife in western India, to the south of Kushan territory, where the western satraps ruled. According to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Casson 1989, pp. 76–77, §41) at Barygaza, the main port of the kingdom of Nahapana, there are Greek drachmas current bearing the names of the Greek kings Menander and Apollodotos (Casson 1989, pp. 80–81, §47): ‘there are found on the market in Barygaza even today old drachmas engraved with inscriptions, in Greek letters, of Apollodotos and Menander, rulers who came after Alexander’ (Casson 1989, p. 81). The veracity of this statement has been reinforced by the discovery of a mixed hoard of silver drachmas from Gujerat which include coins of the Indo-Greek king Apollodotos II and of Nahapana (Deyell 1984). The coins of Nahapana and his successors, the Western Satraps, continued to use the Indo-Greek drachma silver denomination until the fourth century when it was taken over by the Guptas when they captured Western Satrap territory. Silver drachmas (*dramma* in India), based on the Western Satrap denomination continued to be issued in western and northern

Table 31.3 Greek weight terms used in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on precious metal objects and in Kharoṣṭhī legal documents from Naiya and Loulan in Xinjiang Province. *dra is a tentative reading and probably a scribal error for *sa*.

<i>Object</i>		<i>Catalogue of Kharoṣṭhī texts</i>	<i>stater = 4 drachma</i>	<i>drachma = 6 dhana</i>	<i>dhana = (obol) = 4 a/o</i>	<i>a[ndika]</i>
Gold	ingot	CKI0260	sa 20	dra 1	dha 4	
Gold	ingot	CKI0262	sa 25		0.5 dha	
Gold	ingot	CKI0263	s[y]a 25		0.5 dha	
Gold	ingot	CKI0715	s[r]a 50			
Gold	ingot	CKI0716	43	dra 2	dha 2	
Gold	ingot	CKI0717	sa 50			
Gold	ingot	CKI0718	sa 50			
Gold	ingot	CKI0450	sa 51	dra 1	dha 2	
Silver	plate	CKI0090	s[y]a 20	dra 1		
Silver	plate	CKI0091	sa 30		dha 2	
Silver	goblet	CKI0173	sade 8	dra 3	dha 4	a 2
Silver	dish	CKI0190	sa 11	dra 2		0 1
Silver	cup	CKI0241	sa 28	dra 1		
Silver	cup	CKI0241	sa 43			
Silver	cup	CKI0721	dra* 36	tra 1		
Silver	dish	CKI0722	sa 22	dra 2		
Silver	vase	CKI0724	sa 12			
Silver	vase	CKI0725	sa 20		dhanea 2	
Silver	dish	CKI0727	sa 24.5		dha 1	
Silver	dish	CKI0728	sa 13			
Silver	dish	CKI0729	sa 13			
Niya document	payment of gold	CKD0419	sadera 1			
Loulan document	weights	CKD0702	sadera 4	drakhma 2	dhane 0.5,	
					3,	
Niya document	payment of gold	CKD0324	satera 2	trakhma 2		
Niya document	payment of gold	CKD0432	satera 1			
Niya document	payment of gold	CKD0889	satera 1			

India into the seventh century (Gupta 1969, p. 64). A fresh impetus to the use of the drachma denomination in northern India came in the late fifth century when many silver drachms of the Sasanian emperor Peroz (459–484) were imported into northwestern India by the Huns. These were copied extensively down into the thirteenth century, retaining their original denomination and name *dramma* (or *damma*) (Maheshwari 2010).

GREEK GODS AND THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK ART AFTER THE END OF GREEK RULE

The most contentious area of discourse on the survival of Greek influence after the end of the Indo-Greek kingdoms is in the arena of representations of Greek gods and motifs and of Greek style in Gandhāran art. ‘In the late nineteenth century and

twentieth centuries Gandhāran imagery tended to be dated on the basis of a style or a motif on the assumption that a Gandhāran example must have been created near the time similar art first appeared in the Mediterranean area. As a result, much of Gandhāran sculpture was dated to the time of the Greeks according to its supposed Hellenistic affinities; essentially the more classical an object looked, the earlier the date assigned to it. By the mid-twentieth century, the Roman Empire was recognized as Gandhāra's major Western trading partner, and the main phase of Gandhāran sculptural production was thus attributed to the first through the third century A.D., about the time when the Kushans, a central Asian nomadic group, ruled this region' (Behrendt 2007, pp. 3–4). Examination of the context and chronology of these manifestations of Mediterranean imagery and style reveals a more complex situation than the simplistic identification of the art of the regions as 'Graeco-Buddhist'.

Greek gods

The representation of Greek gods on coins (see Ghosh, this volume) survives the end of Greek rule. The Indo-Scythian king Maues and his successors, both copy Greek coin designs and introduce their own variations on Greek imagery (Table 3 I.4). Zeus, Athena, Nike, Apollo and Herakles tend to have fairly orthodox Greek iconography, but there are unexpected features on some gods. On coins of Maues, for example, Hermes is shown holding an elephant goad (Senior 2001, type 9), Venus has a crescent on her brow and stands between two stars (type 17), Zeus is shown with a human thunderbolt by his throne (type 19), Tyche is shown holding a wheel and a lamp (types 22 and 23) and Poseidon is shown resting his foot on a figure (representing a river) and holding both a trident and a thunderbolt (type 27). Some of these images can be explained as the issuers making use of the imagery of Greek gods to represent their own deities, such as Venus representing Nana and Poseidon representing Oesho. According to Fröhlich 'it seems that the Greek deities were emptied out from their original meaning during the Indo-Scythian and the Indo-Parthian period' (Fröhlich 2009, p. 62). These two gods Nana and Oesho can be identified because they appear with labels in the Kushan period and have the crescent headdress and trident with thunderbolt respectively. They are also shown alongside Indian gods, Balarama, holding club and plough (type 20) and a yakshi (type 27). The mixed imagery suggests that what appear to be Greek gods could be representations of Scythian gods in the guise of Greek gods, as was the case in Parthian Iran (Curtis 2007). It has long been recognised that Herakles appearing in an eastern context is a representation of the Iranian deity Verathregna (Stančo 2012, pp. 137–157; Shenkar 2014, pp. 159–163), because he is so named in the Cappadocian royal statuary at Arsameia on the Nymphaios and at Nemrud Dag where he is also associated with the Greek god Ares (Errington & Curtis 2007, pp. 112 and 118).

The Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian administrations creating these coin images only had available to them the models of Greek and Parthian coins, so they imitated or adapted the Greek religious imagery on these coins. It is also likely that they had little or no tradition of anthropomorphic imagery for their gods, so they also had to look to Greek models and iconographies to create their own religious visual vocabulary (Sinisi 2003). Their practice is very similar to that of their Parthian neighbours in Iran and Iraq, where Greek style coins were issued with religious imagery

Table 31.4 ‘Greek’ gods represented on post-Greek coins.

	<i>Maues</i>	<i>Azilises</i>	<i>Vonones etc.</i>	<i>Azes I</i>	<i>Azes II</i>	<i>Zeionises</i>	<i>Mujatria</i>	<i>Kshaharatas</i>	<i>Apracarajas</i>	<i>Rajavula</i>	<i>Indo-Parthian</i>
Zeus	x	x	x	x	x				x		x
Athena		x	x	x	x				x		x
Nike	x			x	x			x	x		x
Herakles	x	x	x	x	x						
Tyche	x	x		x	x		x			x	
Apollo	x			x	x		x				
Hephaistos		x									
Artemis	x	x									
Venus	x										
Hermes	x										
Poseidon	x			x							
Dioscuri		x									

which appears to be Greek, but represented their own religious system (Curtis 2007; Errington & Curtis 2007, p. 118). A very striking example of the adaptation of Greek iconography from the Parthian coin series is the bearded Tyche on the coins of Phraates II (Errington & Curtis 2007, p. 43, no. 9; Sinisi 2008, pp. 235–237).

Under the Kushans, the coin designs initially followed the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian model, adopting and adapting Greek religious designs, so that Herakles, Zeus and Nike appear on the coins of the first Kushan emperor Kujula Kadphises. Greek divine images also continued into the reign of his son Wima Takto, but in the third Kushan reign his grandson Wima Kadphises replaced the Greek imagery with a representation of the Kushan god Oesho using Indian imagery, water-pot, erection and bull, borrowed from the Hindu deity Shiva, but with some Greek features. The Kushan god is shown holding a trident (adorned on some types with a thunderbolt), the attribute of Greek Poseidon, and it is linked on the coins with the club of Herakles. In the coinage of the fourth Kushan emperor the relationship between Oesho, Shiva, Herakles and Poseidon is more explicit. On a gold coin the god Oesho is depicted, but the phase of die recutting from Greek to Bactrian (see above), the name of the god in Greek ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ was replaced with his name in Bactrian OHPO (Cribb 1997, p. 57, Cribb 1998, p. 91). His attributes now included a trident and thunderbolt, like the adapted Poseidon on Indo-Scythian coins (Senior 2001, type 27) discussed above. On a coin of the next Kushan ruler Huvishka, Oesho is also shown holding a club (Cribb 1997, p. 59; <http://coinindia.com/Huvishka-G367-682.07.jpg> consulted 3 March 2019). On the coins of the Kushano-Sasanian successors of the Kushans, another iconography emerged for Oesho, giving him the Bactrian name BOPZOOANΔO BAΓO ‘Exalted God’. The Sasanian coins show him either with a trident and bull like the Kushan Oesho, but dressing him in Iranian clothes, or enthroned like Zeus, holding a sceptre, but with a crescent on his brow and flames emerging from his shoulders. On one gold coin of the Kidarite issues in the name of the Kushano-Sasanian king Varahran (in a private collection) the crescent headdress and flaming shoulders are combined with the trident and bull iconography (Cribb & Bracey at press, type Y-O.GI-I, obv. 1B, rev. 1C).

The often-repeated statement that Greek gods appear on Kushan coins is mistaken and misunderstands the use of Greek names and iconography for Kushan gods (Cribb 2008). The depictions of Heracles with full Greek imagery accompanied by the name Heracles written in Bactrian ΗΡΑΚΛΑΟ, ΗΡΚΙΑΟ or ΗΡΕΙΚΕΙΑΟ (<http://coinindia.com/Huvishka-3313.888-464.jpg>) are intended by the Kushan authorities to represent Oesho and not the Greek god, as is clear from the recut coin of Kanishka I discussed above. The same applies to the recently discovered gold coin of Huvishka with Dionysus depicted and labelled in Bactrian ΔΕΙΝΕΙΣΟ which is likely to have the same kind of meaning (Cribb & Bracey at press), but the Kushan god who is being represented is not yet clear.

Gods on seals and sealings

Similar representation of Greek gods and adapted Greek gods also appear on seals and sealings from the region ruled by the Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians and Kushans. The material in the collection of Aman ur Rahman, collected from Gandhāra and surrounding areas, shows as broad a range of Greek gods as the

Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins: Zeus, Herakles, Athena, Artemis, Tyche, Nike, Eros, Apollo, Dioscuri, Hermes, Poseidon and Aphrodite, as well as mythic characters, such as Europa, Centaurs and Triton (ur Rahman & Falk 2011, pp. 68–94). Seals are not as easy to date as coins, but examples like the seals representing a Zeus-like figure with the name of the Apracaraja Indravarma in Kharoṣṭhī (ur Rahman & Falk 2011, no. 06.01.13; Salomon, Callieri & Schmitt 1999; https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=245677&partId=1&searchText=1998,0720.1&page=1, consulted 3 March 2019) can be dated to the second half of the first century AD, as he is the father of the Apracaraja stratega Aspavarma, c. AD 70–90. The Hellenistic features of many of the locally found seals do not necessarily indicate their survival from the Greek period. Although the majority of seals (some only evidenced by sealings made with them) appear to be locally produced, but there is also the possibility that some of the seals with Hellenistic designs are either imports from the Roman world (Callieri 1997, pp. 4854) or from Iran (Callieri 1997, p.87) or local copies of such prototypes (Callieri 1997, pp. 92–108).

‘Graeco-Buddhist art’

The observation of Hellenistic art in the post-Greek coins and seals of the region, as well as in its sculptural art has had a long history. The early observers of the region’s ancient culture were primarily led by their engagement with the discovery of Greekness in the region. Early explorers and collectors, like Charles Masson, Alexander Burnes, Johann Martin Honnigberger, Jean-Baptiste Ventura and Claude Auguste Court, were all excited by the recognition of coins with Greek designs and inscriptions and Greek architectural features in the territories from the Punjab into Afghanistan which they identified with the eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great (Errington 2007). The monuments ‘excavated’ in the 1830s by Ventura, such as the second to seventh century AD Manikyala Great Stupa, and by Masson, such as the Darunta stupas which revealed contents from the first to the second centuries AD, were all much later than the time of Alexander. It took many more decades before a sensible chronology for these ancient finds emerged (Cribb 2007b). Focus on the Buddhist sculptural remains of the region followed these early discoveries and by the early twentieth century a better understanding of its range had also been developed. The search for Greekness, however, persisted and when the Buddhist art of the region was discussed it tended to be seen as having Greek origins, particularly following the work of Alfred Foucher who promoted the idea of the Greekness of Gandhāran Buddhist art from c. 1901, referring to the western taste exhibited by Gandhāran Buddhist art, suggesting that seeing them was ‘si l’on n’a pas été mis traîtreusement en présence d’une collection de moulages empruntés, par exemple, au musée du Latran’ (as though one had been mistakenly placed in the presence of plaster casts borrowed from the Lateran Museum [in Rome]) (Foucher 1901, pp. 40–41), as he developed his views, he invented the concept of Graeco-Buddhist art and to ‘appreciate with full knowledge the orb of the nimbus, the waves of the hair, the straightness of the profile, the classical shape of the eyes, the sinuous bow of the mount, the supple and hollow folds of the draperies. All these technical details, and still more perhaps the harmony of the whole, indicate in a material, palpable and striking manner

the hand of an artist from some Greek studio. ... To account for the birth of such a statue, it is necessary to justify the penetration not only of Greek Art, but also of the Buddhist religion, into the country which was to be the theatre of their prolific union. ... Thus we arrive quite naturally at the strange and quaint mixture which we were analysing a short time ago, at this statue, which is a Hellenized Buddha, unless you prefer to describe it as an Indianized figure of Apollo' (Foucher 1917 pp. 120–121, 128, an English version of his 1912 paper); 'le prototype de tous les Buddha de l'Asie est le buddha indo-grec (The prototype of all the Buddhas of Asia is the Indo-Greek Buddha)' (Foucher 1922, vol. 3, pp. 677–678). Foucher's Eurocentric perception of the quality achieved by the local artists working for the Buddhist community in Gandhāra and his belief that only Greeks could produce such masterpieces was followed by others: 'we find Indian ideas beginning to coalesce with Greek and art becoming somewhat hybrid' (Marshall 1918, p. 30) and has persisted in the popular imagination to the present day (see for example https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greco-Buddhist_art, consulted 5 March 2019; or <https://www.ancientworldmagazine.com/articles/graeco-buddhist-art-gandhara-connection/>, consulted 15 July 2019).

The development of an understanding of the chronology of the kingdoms of the region has, however, created a separation between the period of Greek rule from that of Buddhist art. The earliest Buddhist sculpture in Swat, Gandhāra and the Taxila region appeared during the second half of the first century AD, more than a century after the end of Greek rule in these areas. After that the dominant political forces, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan, were heavily influenced by Iranian culture, so it would be difficult to distinguish between lingering elements of Greek culture surviving from the period of Greek rule from those imported from Iran, where Hellenistic culture had also had an impact following the period of Greek rule under the Seleukids. Early Buddhist sculpture in the region (van Lohuizen de Leeuw 1979 Filigenzi 2012, p. 119) closely resembles the artistic traditions and imagery of India, the centre from which Buddhism had come to the northwest. The period when these were being made in the first century AD was the period of transition from Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian to Kushan rule and this context has prompted some to attribute the beginnings of this sculpture to Iranian influence (Fabrègues 1978). The imagery, nevertheless, remains Indian in composition.

So what has prompted the invention of the term Graeco-Buddhist art? Probably the high quality of execution of drapery which was developed by the most skilful of the sculptors working on Buddhist art in the period. To call the high quality of execution Greek requires a view which denies the ability of the local artists to develop the skills to execute drapery and other features to such a high degree. The representation of musicians and drinking scenes and of mythic figures such as centaurs and atlantes also evoked this understanding. In presentations of Gandhāran art commentators often put such scenes at the beginning of Gandhāran art because of this connection. Both quality and the introduction of Greek motifs can be dated long after the beginning of the Gandhāran Buddhist art. Filigenzi (2012, pp. 136–137) saw the development of the Buddhist sculpture in the region away from its Indian origins as a 'process of Hellenisation of the material culture that seems to become a pervasive permeation during the Saka-Parthian [Indo-Scythian to Indo-Parthian] period.' The change in style she is referring to is the development of higher-quality rendition of drapery and modelling and the introduction of Greek motifs, but is what she is

describing Greek as such? The anomaly is that the more ‘Greek’ the art appears to be the further it is from the Greek period.

What is clear is that as Buddhist sculpture develops in Gandhāra beyond its early Indian phase more and more compositions begin to show motifs and figures from Hellenised art, such as Dionysiac scenes, atlantes, centaurs, erotes, and figures in Buddhist scenes with Greek features, such as the Buddha’s companions including a Herakles-like thunderbolt-holding protector Vajrapani and a cornucopia-holding Tyche-like goddess. The concept of Graeco-Buddhist art suggests that these are all survivals from the period of Greek rule in the region, but their adoption as part of the development of Buddhist art coincides with and appears to be inspired by the importation of Roman decorative art, as seen in the ‘treasure-room’ excavated at Begram. This importation of classical imagery even spread into the Indian territories of the Kushans, where at Mathura, Alexander Cunningham (1884, pp. 109–110, pl. XXX) found a carved image of Herakles strangling the Nemean lion, now in the India Museum, Kolkata. The original context of this sculpture is not known.

The adoption of classical motifs from imported goods is particularly evident in the decoration of Buddhist monuments, such as the staircases of stupas. The Buddhist context in which these classical motifs are featured appears to be the representation of the heavenly realms which sit above the mundane world of people, but below the realm of the Buddhas, so that the staircase represents the ascent (or ‘threshold’, Brancaccio & Liu 2012, p. 116) from the mundane to the highest plane of the Buddhist concept of spiritual space. In earlier Buddhist art in India, the heavenly world is shown as a royal palace where the gods are shown with musicians, as at Sanchi (right post of the eastern gateway). The depiction of classicising motifs such as musicians and drinking and mythic beings in Buddhist contexts appear to have a similar meaning, intending to show the heavenly realm through the decoration and life-style of royal palaces, reflecting the Roman imports which were decorating the palaces of the Kushan kings, as demonstrated by the finds of Roman imports at Begram. The functionality of this classicising and often Dionysiac imagery should have a meaning within the religious purpose of its Buddhist context. The representation of heaven fits the religious context more appropriately than being simply a reflection of earlier local Greek culture or an attempt by the patrons of Buddhism to place evocations of themselves within the decoration of Buddhist monuments as suggested by Galli:

the step-risers must have evoked a vision of a humanity of varied ethnic provenance and multiform in interests and cultural implications, but exclusive in its social composition ... the step-riser-reliefs scenes showing groups of elegant and graceful individuals evoke the idea of an exclusive and multi-ethnic community which recognizes itself in conviviality, celebrations and entertainment with music and dancing.
(Galli 2011, p. 320–321)

The representation of Heracles-like Vajrapani and a Tyche-like goddess in Buddhist art of this period, likewise represents a religious meaning. These figures mirror the roles of the Kushan deities Oesho, a Heracles-like god with thunderbolt, and Ardochsho, a cornucopia-bearing goddess, introducing them as players in the Buddhist narratives represented in Gandhāran sculpture. Kushan coins show Oesho and Ardochsho as key supporters of the Kushan emperor (Fröhlich 2009, p. 65), so it is possible to

explain the presence of these deities in a Buddhist context as culturally appropriate protectors of the Buddha ('Hercules... as the most suitable guide and guard of the Buddha' Tanabe 2005, p. 377; 'a figure of protection for the Buddha' Homrighausen 2015, p. 33). Neither of them appears in Buddhist narratives before the Kushan period and in later Buddhist iconography Vajrapani reappears as Bodhisattva and Ardochsho is transformed into Hariti. So although the iconography of these two figures has its origins in the Kushan borrowings of imagery from other cultures, their role in Buddhist art is related to both the Buddhist belief system and the culture of the Kushan period, rather than simply surviving from local Greek culture. In some later Buddhist reliefs, as at Hadda and in the British Museum (Stančo 2012, pp.277–278; Flood 1989; Schwab 1998; Homrighausen 2015) the revival of Hellenistic imagery through contacts with Rome allows fresh classicising representations, recalling earlier Greek imagery, to be created. Roman trade apparently brought models, and perhaps even artists, which allowed the sculptors of Gandhāra to create Buddhist images of Vajrapani which reflected classical Greek models for Herakles. It seems more plausible in terms of the chronology to see Roman versions of Hellenistic sculptural models arriving in Gandhāra and the surrounding area from the late first century AD onwards, rather than to envisage the survival of Greek sculptural practice more than a hundred years after the end of Greek rule in the region, especially as there are no examples of locally made Greek sculpture in the region, either north or south of the Hindu Kush, after the end of Ai Khanoum in the late second century BC until these manifestations of Hellenistic style and imagery in the second or third century AD.

The trade in objects which brought classical imagery to the east continued beyond the Kushan period and imagery with a Greek origin continued to appear in the art of the region down into the Hun period. An image recalling Herakles and his conflict with the Nemean lion appears in a sixth century relief (Ghose 2003, p. 151, fig. 10) and the sun god is depicted in a painting of the same period at Bamiyan, mounted in a four horse chariot in the same way as the Greek Helios, and accompanied by a winged female warrior, with a helmet and gorgon-faced shield like Athena (Grenet 1993, p. 90).

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented here of Greek culture in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the surrounding regions during the post Greek period covers coinage, language, script, religion and art. There is, however, insufficient to determine the extent to which there was a Greek population surviving the end of Greek rule in the region. In coins and weight standards there is plentiful evidence to show that the survival of Hellenistic features was because of the continuity required for both monetary and administrative systems to function, not because of direction or intervention from Greek individuals. The survival of Greek names is limited and their contexts do little to confirm that their owners were ethnically Greek. The use of Greek style and Greek motifs in Buddhist art which has led to the belief that Greek artistic traditions survived in the area into the period of Gandhāran art and that Greek artists worked for the Buddhist community in Gandhāra is more suggestive of the cultural impact of Roman imports. At the time of the creation of Gandhāran art it cannot be doubted that the artists of the Roman empire were experts in recreating classical Greek art, both by making exact

replicas of the works of the greatest of Greek sculptors and by deploying Hellenistic period motifs in their decorative arts. This ‘Graeco-Buddhist’ belief system, based on an overwhelming view of the importance of Alexander the Great in shaping the history of the region, is of a similar nature to Philostratus’ imagining the ongoing cult of Alexander in first century AD Taxila. The naming of Gandhāran sculpture as Graeco-Buddhist art seems to be born from a Eurocentric misconception of the source of the quality achieved by the local sculptors creating Buddhist art and a belief that only Greeks were capable of creating good drapery and pleasing sculptures: ‘One does not have to imagine foreign artists finally teaching the poor benighted Indians, ignorant of the potential of an images as an object of worship, how to create such forms’ (Asher 2006, p. 24). What is clear is that many of what have been seen as Greek features in Buddhist art are due to the assimilation of artistic style and motifs from imported Roman period wares long after the demise of the Greek kingdoms. As Taddei argues ‘the development of Gandhāran art, whatever its particular aspects may be, cannot be understood unless it is incorporated in the history of the relations between the Roman empire and the north-west of the sub-continent’ (Taddei 1965, p. 178). The high quality of so many Gandhāran sculptures should be credited, not to Greeks, but to the local sculptors, sometimes inspired by designs arriving through trade with the Roman Mediterranean region, who created them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Elizabeth Errington, Kurt Behrendt, Pia Brancaccio, David Joneward, Martina Stoya, Katsumi Tanabe and Stefan Baums for improving my knowledge of Gandhāra its art and language. I am also grateful to Robert Bracey, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Shailendra Bhandare, Pankaj Tandon, Aman ur Rahman, Harry Falk, Nasim Khan and Gul Rahim Khan for sharing with me so many insights into the history and culture of Gandhāra and to Alex Fishman for giving me sight of so many new Western Satrap coins. Thanks also to Rachel Mairs for inviting me to participate in this volume.

REFERENCES

- Asher, F., 2006, ‘Early Indian art reconsidered’, in P. Olivelle (ed.), *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*, OUP, Oxford, pp. 51–66.
- Baums, S., 2012, ‘Catalog and revised texts and translations of Gandharan reliquary inscriptions’, in D. Jongeward, E. Errington, R. Salomon and S. Baums, (eds.), *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries*, University of Washinton, Seattle, pp. 200–51.
- Baums, S., 2018, ‘Greek or Indian? The *Questions of Menander* and onomastic patterns in early Gandhāra’, in H.P. Ray (ed.), *Buddhism and Gandhara: An Archaeology of Museum Collections – Archaeology and Religion in South Asia*, Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 33–46.
- Baums, S., 2019, ‘A survey of place-names in Gāndhārī inscriptions and a new oil lamp from Malakand’, in W. Rienjang and P. Stewart (eds.), *The Geography of Gandhāran Art*, Archaeopress, Oxford, pp. 167–174.
- Baums, S. and Glass, A., 2002, *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts*, <https://gandhari.org/catalog>
- Bracey, R., 2005, ‘A note on the “Saeculum” and the Kushan Era’, at <http://www.kushan.org/contents.htm> (consulted 28 February 2018).

- Behrendt, K., 2007, *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Metropolitan Museum, New York.
- Bhandare, S., 2007, 'A silver drachm of Nahapana with Greek legend', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 191, pp. 32–34.
- Brancaccio, P. and Xinru Liu, 2012, 'Dionysus and drama in the Buddhist art of Gandhara', in Xinru Liu (ed.), *India and Central Asia – A Reader*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, pp. 151–188.
- Burnett, A.M., 2011, 'The Augustan revolution seen from the mints of the provinces', *Journal of Roman Studies* 101, pp. 1–30.
- Callieri, P., 1997, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan – 4th Century BC–11th Century AD: Local, Indian, Sasanian, Graeco-Persian, Sogdian, Roman* (Dissertationes), Istituto universitario orientale, Naples.
- Casson, L., 1989, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei, Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Cribb, J., 1984–1985, 'The Sino-Kharosthi coins of Khotan', *Numismatic Chronicle* 144, pp. 128–152; 155 pp. 139–149.
- Cribb, J., 1985, 'New evidence of Indo-Parthian political history', *Coin Hoards* VII, pp. 282–300.
- Cribb, J., 1993, 'The "Heraus" coins: Their attribution to the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises, c. AD 30–80', in M. Price, A. Burnett and R. Bland (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, Spink & Son, London, pp. 107–134.
- Cribb, J., 1997, 'Shiva images on Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coins', in K. Tanabe, J. Cribb and H. Wang (eds.), *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture, Papers in Honour of Professor Ikuo Hirayama on His 65th Birthday*, Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, pp. 11–66.
- Cribb, J., 1998, 'The end of Greek coinage in Bactria and India and its evidence for the Kushan coinage system', in R. Ashton, S. Hurter, G. Le Rider and R. Bland (eds.), *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price*, Spink & Son, London, pp. 83–98.
- Cribb, J., 2005, 'The Greek Kingdom of Bactria, its Coinage and its Collapse', in O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac (eds.), *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*, Turnhout, pp. 207–226.
- Cribb, J., 2007a, 'Money as a marker of cultural continuity and change in Central Asia', in J. Cribb and G. Herrmann (eds.), *After Alexander – Central Asia before Islam*, British Academy, Oxford, pp. 333–375.
- Cribb, J., 2007b, 'Rediscovering the Kushans', in E. Errington and V.S. Curtis (eds.), *From the Punjab to Persepolis*, British Museum, London, pp. 179–210.
- Cribb, J., 2008, 'The Kushan pantheon', in C. Lucanits (ed.), *Gandhara – The Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan, Legends, Monasteries, and Paradise*, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, pp. 122–125, 145–153.
- Cribb, J., 2014, 'The Soter Megas coins of the first and second Kushan kings, Kujula Kadphises and Wima Takto', *Gandharan Studies* 8, pp. 79–140.
- Cribb, J., 2015, 'Dating and locating Mujatria and the two Kharahostes', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 223, pp. 26–48.
- Cribb, J., 2018, 'Kujula Kadphises and his title Kushan Yavuga', *Sino-Platonic Papers* 280, pp. 1–20.
- Cribb, J. and Bracey, R., at press, *Kushan Coins, British Museum Catalogue*, British Museum, London.
- Cunningham, A., 1884, *Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881–82 (Archaeological Survey of India XVII)*, Government of India, Calcutta, 1884.
- Curtis, V.S., 2007, 'Religious iconography on Ancient Iranian Coins', in J. Cribb and G. Herrmann (eds.), *After Alexander – Central Asia before Islam*, British Academy, Oxford, pp. 413–434.

- Deyell, J.S., 1984, 'Indo-Greek and Ksaharata coins from the Gujarat seacoast', *Numismatic Chronicle* 144, pp. 115–127.
- Errington, E., 2007, 'Exploring Gandhara', in E. Errington and V.S. Curtis (eds.), *From the Punjab to Persepolis*, British Museum, London, pp. 211–226.
- Falk, H., 2001, 'Annexe: Names and weights inscribed on some vessels from the silver hoard', *Journal des savants* 2001, pp. 308–319 (appendix to Baratte François. 'Orient et Occident: le témoignage d'une trouvaille d'argenterie d'époque parthe en Asie centrale', *Journal des savants*, pp. 249–307).
- Falk, H., 2009, 'Greek style dedications to an Indian god in Gandhara', *Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift* 13, pp. 25–42.
- Falk, H., 2016, 'Two Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 227, pp. 10–12.
- Falk, H. and Bennett, C., 2009, 'Macedonian intercalary months and the era of Azes', *Acta Orientalia* 70, pp. 197–215.
- Filigenzi, A., 2012, 'Orientalised hellenism versus hellenised orient: Reversing the perspective on Gandharan Art', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 18, pp. 111–141.
- Fishman, A., 2013, *The Silver Coinage of the Western Satraps in India (50–400 AD): Catalogue and Rarity Guide*, Createspace, Scotts Valley.
- Fishman, A.M., 2016, 'Some notes on coins of Western Kshatrapas', *Numismatic Digest* 40, pp. 51–66.
- Flood, F.B., 1989, 'Heracles and the 'perpetual acolyte' of the Buddha: Some observations on the iconography of Vajrapani in Gandhara', *South Asian Studies* 5, pp. 17–27.
- Foucher, A., 1901, *Sur la frontière indo-afghane*, Hachette & Cie, Paris.
- Foucher, A., 1905, 1922, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, vol. 1 (1905), vols. 2–3 (1922).
- Foucher, A., 1917, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central Asian Archaeology*, Geuthner, Paris.
- Fröhlich, C., 2009, 'A study of some deities in Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coinages', in C. Fröhlich (ed.), *Migration, Trade and Peoples. Part II: Gandhāran Art. (Proceedings of the eighteenth conference of the European Association for South Asian Archaeologists*, London, 2005), British Academy, London.
- Fussman, G., 1972, 'Intailles et empreintes indiennes du Cabinet des Médailles de Paris', *Revue numismatique*, 6e série – Tome 14, pp. 21–48.
- Fussman, G., 1993, 'L'Indo-grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité', *Journal asiatique* 28, pp. 61–120.
- Galli, M., 'Hellenistic Court Imagery in the Early Buddhist Art of Gandhara', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 17, pp. 279–329.
- Ghose, M., 2003, 'The impact of the Hun invasions: A nomadic interlude in Indian art', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series 17, pp. 145–158.
- Ghosh, S., 2017, *From the Oxus to the Indus*, Primus Books, Delhi.
- Grenet, F., 1993, 'Bāmiyān and the Mihr Yašt', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 7 (Iranian Studies in Honor of A. D. H. Bivar), pp. 87–94.
- Gupta, P.L., 1969, *Coins*, National Book Trust, New Delhi.
- Homrighausen, J., 2015, 'When Herakles followed the Buddha: Power, protection and patronage in Gandharan art', *The Silk Road* 13, pp. 26–35.
- Jongeward, D. and Cribb, J., 2015, *Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian, and Kidarite Coins – A Catalogue of the Coins from the American Numismatic Society*, American Numismatic Society, New York.
- Karttunen, K., 2015, *Yonas and Yavanas in Indian Literature (Studia Orientalia 116)*, Finnish Oriental Society, Helsinki.

- Konow, S., 1929, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II.1, Government of India, Calcutta.
- Lüders, H., 1961, *Mathura Inscriptions*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Maheshwari, K.K., 2010, *Imitations in Continuity*, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik.
- Marshall, J., 1918, *A Guide to Taxila*, Government of India, Calcutta.
- Narain, A.K., 1957, *The Indo-Greeks*, OUP, Oxford.
- Pfisterer, M., 2013, *Hunnen in Indien – die Münzen der Kidariten und Alchan aus dem Bernischen Historischen Museum und der Sammlung Jean-Pierre Righetti*, Austrian Academy, Vienna.
- Rougemont, G., 2012, 'Les inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale. Bilinguismes, interférences culturelles, colonisation', *Journal des savants*, pp. 3–27.
- Salomon, R., 2012, 'Gandharan reliquary inscriptions', in D. Jongeward, E. Errington, R. Salomon and S. Baums, (eds.), *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries* (Gandharan Studies, vol. 1), University of Washington, Seattle, pp. 164–99.
- Salomon, R., Callieri, P. and Schmitt, S., 1999, 'An inscribed seal of Indravarma, king of Avaca', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 13, pp. 15–26.
- Schindel, N., 2011, 'The era of the Bactrian documents, a reassessment', *Gandharan Studies* 5, pp. 1–10.
- Schuessler, A., 2009, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa*, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu.
- Schwab, K.A., 1998, 'Lysippan Herakles as Vajrapani in Hadda', in O. Palagia and W. Coulson (eds.), *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture*, Oxbow, Oxford, pp. 27–33.
- Senior, R.C., 1999, 'Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian ramblings and novelties', *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 161, pp. 15–18.
- Senior, R.C., 2001, 2006, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, Classical Numismatic Group, London, 2001 (3 volumes), 2006 (volume 4).
- Senior, R.C., 2002, 'Some more rare Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythic coins', *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 172, pp. 16–17.
- Shenkar, M., 2014, *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images: The Iconography of Deities in the Pre-Islamic Iranian World*, Brill, Leiden.
- Sims-Williams, N., 2001, 2007, 2012, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, vol. 1 (2001, revised edition 2012), vol. 2 (2007), vol. 3 (2012), Nour Foundation, London.
- Sims-Williams, N., 2002, 'Afghanistan and its invaders: Linguistic evidence from the Bactrian documents and inscriptions', in N. Sims-Williams (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, OUP, Oxford, pp. 226–242.
- Sims-Williams, N., 2004, 'The Bactrian inscription of Rabatak: A new reading', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18, pp. 53–68.
- Sims-Williams, N., 2009, 'Some Bactrian inscriptions on silver vessels', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 23, pp. 191–198.
- Sims-Williams, N., 2012, 'Bactrian historical inscriptions of the Kushan period', *The Silk Road* 10, pp. 76–80.
- Sims-Williams, N. and Cribb, J., 1995/6, 'A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, pp. 75–142.
- Sims-Williams, N., 2007, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan II*, London.
- Sims-Williams, N. and de Blois, F., 2018, *Studies in the Chronology of the Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, Austrian Academy, Vienna.
- Sinisi, F., 2003, 'L'eredità iconografica della monetazione ellenistica del nord-ovest del subcontinente indiano: Un "pantheon monetario" saka?', in E. Acquaro and P. Callieri (eds.), *Transmarinae Imagines. Studi sulla trasmissione di iconografie tra Mediterraneo ed Asia in età classica ed ellenistica*, Agora, Sarzana, pp. 165–202.

- Sinisi, F., 2008, 'Tyche in Parthia: The image of the goddess on Arsacid tetradrachms', *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 116/117 (*Festschrift für Günther Dembski*), pp. 231–248.
- Stančo, L., 2012, *Greek Gods in the East – Hellenistic Iconographic Schemes in Central Asia*, Karolinum Press, Prague.
- Taddei, M., 1965, 'On a Hellenistic model used in some Gandharan reliefs in Swat', *East and West* 15.3/4, pp. 174–178.
- Tanabe, K., 2005, 'Why is the Buddha Śākyamuni accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi? Farewell to Yakṣa theory', *East and West* 55, pp. 363–381.
- Tarn, W.W., 1951, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, CUP, Cambridge.
- ur Rahman, A. and Falk, H., 2011, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens from Gandhāra* (*Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, Band 21 / Studies in the Aman ur Rahman Collection*, vol. 1), Reichert, Wiesbaden.
- van Lohuizen de Leeuw, J.E., 1979, 'New evidence with regard to the origin of the Buddha image', in H. Härtel (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology*, Reimer, Berlin, pp. 377–400.
- Vondrovec, K., 2014, *Coinage of the Iranian Huns and Their Successors from Bactria to Gandhara (4th to 8th century AD)*, 2 volumes, Austrian Academy, Vienna.
- Vorob'eva-Desyatovskaya, M.I., 1976, 'Nadpisi pis'mom Kcharostchi na zolotych predmetach iz Dal'verzin-Tepe' (Inscriptions in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet on gold objects from Dalverzin-Tepe), *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, pp. 72–79.
- Wang, H., 2004, *Money on the Silk Road – The Evidence from Eastern Central Asia*, British Museum, London.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Index

- Achaemenid Empire: coinage 495, 510; in Central and South Asia 17, 19, 46–47, 50, 60–64, 191, 221–222, 235, 237–238, 255–258, 290, 295–300, 304–307, 316–317, 359–362, 373–376, 396–397, 595–652; continuities and discontinuities between Achaemenid and Hellenistic Central Asia 11–15, 25, 64–66, 81–83, 195–197, 224, 236, 271, 279–280, 286, 319–320, 322, 340, 343, 348, 367, 372, 422–423; connections with China 116
- Afrasiab *see* Samarkand
- Ai Khanoum: ancient destruction and abandonment 110, 224; ancient name 2, 165, 199, 222, 540; coins, 261–262, 295–296; domestic architecture 539–552, 559; excavations 164, 196, 222–225, 377; foundation 19, 224, 227; Greek texts 420–424, 571–572; modern discovery 161–162, 191, 220; plain of 227–230, 233, 239, 242; as royal residence 224; sculpture 71, 112, 557, 572, 577
- Alexander the Great 3, 11–14, 17–18, 24–25, 39–40, 66, 80, 82, 111, 132, 145, 161, 174–189, 196–199, 202, 221–222, 259–261, 266, 317–318, 332, 335–336, 338, 357, 369, 372, 376, 379, 400, 423, 426, 430–431, 468–469, 472, 487–488, 496, 510, 572–573, 603, 629–636, 639–645, 653
- Alexandrias (Alexander foundations), in Central Asia 20, 111, 133, 143, 165, 199, 201–202, 204n16, 204–205n18, 205n19, 222, 257, 321, 336, 359, 366, 369, 372–373, 375–377, 430, 447–448, 451–452, 630, 640
- alphabets *see* scripts
- Amu Darya *see* Oxus
- Antioch in Margiana *see* Merv
- Antiochos I Soter (Seleukid king) 12, 15–22, 42, 224, 261, 272, 319, 322–325, 336–338, 346–347, 351, 353, 499, 503–504, 540
- Antiochos III (Seleukid king) 15, 18, 22–24, 84, 130, 262, 266, 426, 511, 514, 540
- Apama 15–16
- Aramaic language: as lingua franca in Achaemenid empire 12, 14, 378, 424, 600, 602–603, 642; Bactrian documents 80, 322, 422–423, 600, 603, 611; inscriptions 363, 375, 420–422
- Arsakes I of Parthia 13, 21, 64, 427, 448, 505 *see also* scripts
- Aśoka 38–48, 53, 377, 439; edicts of 41–42, 107, 135, 363, 377–378, 420–423
- Bactra 19, 52, 164–165, 221–222, 225–226, 316, 325, 494–495, 516–517; oasis 235–238, 420; siege of 22–23, 84, 262, 266, 324, 426–427, 501, 511, 514; Foucher excavations 136–137, 145–160, 218, 220, 539; *see also* Aramaic: Bactrian documents
- Bactria: historical boundaries of 2, 78, 83–84, 91n1, 92n18, 197–199, 201, 217, 243, 254–255, 257–260, 262, 269, 313–314; date of independence 3, 21, 64, 499–507, 510, 512
- Bactrian language 192, 425, 587–588, 654, 661–662, 666, 668, 672 *see also* scripts
- Balkh *see* Bactra
- Barikot 136, 367, 386, 388–406
- Bayer, T. S. 127–130, 175, 179, 477
- Begram 106, 133, 136, 144, 160, 580–592, 625, 630, 654–656, 660, 675

- Bernard, Paul 1, 162, 191, 220, 365–367, 377, 438, 512, 516
 Bindusāra 15, 39, 41, 43
 Buddhism 38–39, 41–43, 46, 51–53, 143, 430–440, 454, 663; in Central Asia 134–145, 147, 156, 362, 369; in Swat and Gandhāra, 391, 400, 407–408, 665; *see also* Gandhāra: art
 Bukhara 19, 78, 82, 84, 130, 131–132, 135–136, 192, 271, 313–314, 321–326
 canals *see* irrigation
 ceramics: as dating criteria 224, 236, 324, 344–345, 365, 636, 640; fish plates 304–305, 319–320, 323–324, 348, 367, 405; kraters 279, 320, 405–406; Megarian/mouldmade bowls 224, 226, 297, 321, 325, 557; tulip bowls 403, 636–637, 639–642, 644–645
 Chandragupta 38–41, 51, 53, 438; treaty with Seleukos I 23, 379, 496, 499
 Charsadda (Puṣkalāvati) 155, 388–390, 393–395, 401, 495, 621, 630, 635, 638–639, 644–645
 Cheshma Shafa 166, 235–236, 604, 607, 610–611
 China: Central Asian (and other Western) artefacts in China 114–121; Chinese artefacts in Central Asia 83, 96n55, 106–107, 194; Chinese historical sources on Central Asia 79–80, 85–86, 108–114, 129, 144, 446–464, 584; interactions with Central Asia 87–89, 107–108; *see also* *Hanshu*, *Shiji*
 Chinese Turkestan *see* Xinjiang
 coins: bilingual legends 2, 128, 134, 468, 475–476; Central Asian mints 18–19, 52, 271–272, 323, 347, 351–352, 410n4, 471, 479, 487, 495, 502–504, 508n17, 511–518, 521–522, 626; die studies 482–484, 493–494; deities depicted on 12, 352, 437–438, 449, 451, 474, 478, 490, 492, 533, 571–577, 584, 587, 655–656, 662, 670–672, 675–676; hoards 24, 50–53, 84, 117–119, 194, 295–296, 407, 481–482, 491, 500, 512, 515, 517, 523, 526–529, 668; monograms 129, 471, 480, 482, 491, 500, 504, 511–517, 521–522, 525–529, 531–533; weight standards 12, 18, 52, 376, 457, 468–471, 474–476, 482, 488, 493–497, 510, 666–668
 colonialism: and archaeology 130–137, 150, 172, 177–178, 180–181, 344, 419, 477, 540–541; postcolonialism/anticolonialism 137, 193, 201–202, 224, 424–425, 555–556, 559
 Cyrus the Great 60, 82, 315–316, 624–625
 DAFA (Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan), history 136–137, 142–166, 172–173, 218–220, 580
 Darband/Derbent (‘Iron Gates’) 22, 192, 197–198, 201–202, 254, 259, 264–269, 279, 324–325
 Daxia 108, 110–114, 447–449
 Dayuan 88, 95n52, 96n55 and 56, 108–114, 119–122, 447–450
 Demetrios I (of Bactria) 23, 38, 130, 267, 272, 296, 323, 421, 426, 438, 472, 516, 572, 575, 670
 Demodamas of Miletos 15–16, 20, 82, 318, 323
 Dilberjin 220, 237, 575
 Diodotids: coins 128–129, 272, 301, 305, 323, 347, 470–472, 494, 499–519; independence 21, 23, 38, 41, 64, 262, 324, 426–427, 499–519, 571; overthrow of 21
 diplomacy: Chinese–Central Asian 80, 87–89, 109–114, 119, 446, 451–452; French–Afghan 143–144, 148, 153–154, 159; Mauryan–Seleukid 14–15, 23, 38–42, 426, 438, 510
 DNA analysis 379, 408–410
 elephants 12–15, 17–18, 23–24, 28n57, 40, 379, 457, 468, 499, 506, 529–530, 634; elephant scalp headdress on coins 472, 476
 ethnicity *see* identity
 Eukratides I 24, 66, 84, 86, 128–131, 135, 224, 267, 269, 272, 296, 297, 301, 319, 324–325, 347, 365, 369, 426–427, 435, 452, 471–472, 477–478, 483, 516, 540, 549, 570, 574–575, 655, 665
 Euthydemos I 13, 21–24, 84, 130–132, 253, 262, 264–267, 272, 291, 296, 301, 307, 323–326, 369, 421, 426, 447, 467, 472, 478–479, 500–501, 504–506, 510–518, 570, 572, 575
 Ferghana 20, 108, 110, 111–113, 181, 192, 194 *see also* Dayuan
 Foucher, Alfred and Eugénie (Ena) 136, 142–166, 197, 218, 539, 673–674
 Gandhāra: region 14–15, 40, 51, 155, 369, 452, 468, 528, 532, 534, 570, 621–622, 624–630, 632, 635–638, 642, 665–666; art of 143–148, 159, 191, 194–195, 369, 453, 492, 581–586, 589, 601, 670, 672–677; Indo–Greek presence and legacy 386–410, 431, 434–435, 655–657, 668–670

- Gāndhārī language *see* Prākritis
 globalisation, concept 11–13, 18, 24, 90, 553–563
 Graeco-Bactrian, term 3
 Graeco-Buddhist art *see* Gandhāra, art of
 Greek language 13, 18, 191–192, 378, 380, 419–425, 450, 452, 458, 542, 561, 582, 584, 587–589, 653–657, 660–662; cultural koine as metaphor 560–561, 580, 582; koine: language 11–12, 450, 583 *see also* scripts
 gymnasium: at Ai Khanoum 19, 222–224, 420, 430, 539–542, 557, 578; gymnasial culture 351, 367, 379, 422, 550, 561, 571–572
 Hackin, Joseph and Ria 136, 149–152, 160–161, 580
Hanshu 87–90, 108–109, 446, 451–455, 459
 Heliodoros (Besnagar inscription) 421 *see also* religion: Hindu deities, identity
 Heliodotos (Kuliab inscription) 296, 421, 575 *see also* Kulyab, religion: Greek deities
 Heliokles 129–130, 267, 269, 305, 306, 325, 326, 483, 570, 654
 hellenism and hellenisation 12, 71, 90–91, 144–145, 173–174, 186–189, 193–196, 286, 327, 343–345, 353, 378, 419, 539, 557, 561, 674
 Herat 20, 58, 143, 145, 150, 220, 375–376
 Hindu Kush 14, 146, 150, 153, 177, 198, 217, 221, 234, 242, 390, 585, 622, 630
 identity, Greek 13, 18–19, 366, 376–380, 408, 421–422, 447, 490, 527, 534, 541–542, 556–562, 570, 577, 582, 585
 Indo-Greek, term 3, 450
 inscriptions, Greek: on potsherds 236, 238, 365, 386, 406–407, 423; on stone 224, 238, 294–296, 363–367, 375, 377–379, 419–422, 550, 554, 561, 571–572, 575, 654, 662
 irrigation 67, 79, 89, 112, 188, 192, 220, 222, 227–240, 251, 255, 279, 288, 304–306, 318, 326, 338, 340, 374, 390, 598, 604, 606–607
 Jandavlat Tapa 254–260, 267–269, 271–272, 280, 512, 598, 605
 Jaxartes/Syr Darya 16, 18, 20, 78–79, 81, 83–85, 87–89, 177, 198–199, 313, 315, 447–448
 Kampyr Tapa 19, 196, 202, 251–252, 257, 259, 261, 267, 269–272, 279, 448, 512, 557
 Kandahar 41–42, 133, 357–371, 376–380, 420–422, 425, 452, 603, 625–630, 638, 641, 644
 Kanishka 162, 190–192, 582, 584–585, 587–589, 661–663, 666, 672
 Kashka Darya 78, 192, 196–197, 201, 257–258, 264, 271, 313–318, 322–324, 608
 Khodjent/Khujand 20, 204–205n18, 321
 Khulm/Khulmi 150, 217, 221–222, 238–239, 241, 423
 Koine *see* Greek language
 Koktepe 90, 196, 198, 315–316, 320, 323, 596–598, 608, 610
 Kujula Kadphises 91, 409, 655, 660–661, 667, 672
 Kuliab/Kulyab 230, 296–297; inscription 420–421, 575
 Kurganzol 19, 82, 196, 254, 259, 266–272
 Kyzyltepa 84, 255–258, 261, 270, 280, 298–299, 326, 605–611
 MAFOuz (Mission archéologique franco-ouzbègue) 164, 167n11, 198, 252
 Magadha 38, 40, 51–53; Yavana invasion of 434, 438–439
 Marxist theory, in archaeology 186–188, 192–195
 Mathura 43, 47, 48, 438, 654, 665–666, 675
 Megasthenes (and his *Indike*) 15–16, 39–41, 44, 426, 438–439, 575
 Menander I 38, 128–129, 131, 357, 365, 386, 389, 396–397, 401, 408, 426–427, 446, 471, 475, 478, 522, 570, 572–573, 654, 666, 668; *Milindapañha* 430–440, 446
 Menander II 131, 433, 435, 440
 Merv and its oasis 18, 20, 73n8, 135, 150, 179–181, 196, 205n19, 258, 324, 335–350, 604, 607
 migration 80, 86, 93, 188–189, 361, 577 *see also* DNA analysis
Milindapañha see Menander
 Narain, A. K. 1, 5, 137, 184, 450, 452, 477–478, 490, 493
 nomads, steppe: in Chinese sources 83, 85–87, 108–110, 129, 325, 447; in Greek and Roman sources 83, 262, 324–325, 336; relations with Bactria and Sogdiana 26n13, 28n77, 67, 79, 81, 83–87, 91, 92n22, 129, 191–192, 201, 262, 265–266, 322, 324–325, 499, 518, 540, 577
 numismatics *see* coins

- Oxus: cult of 191–192, 292–294, 420–421, 558, 575, 608, 610; river and its tributaries 24, 78, 86, 108, 159, 176–177, 198–199, 201, 204n7, 217, 222, 249, 258–259, 261, 357, 430, 448, 576; theophoric names 14, 425; temple *see* Takht-i Sangin
 Oxus Treasure 191, 286–291, 523
- pakhsa (building material) 237–238, 294, 301, 303, 326, 338, 343, 347, 596–597, 608–611
 Palibothra *see* Pāṭaliputra
 Pāṭaliputra 38, 43–44, 46, 48, 390, 438, 634, 654 *see also* Magadha
Periplus of the Erythraean Sea 128, 427, 434, 583–584, 658, 668
 Prakrits 14, 128, 134, 434, 524–525; in the Aśokan Edicts 421, 425; Gāndhārī 425, 430, 435, 582, 585, 589 *see also* scripts
 Puṣkalāvati *see* Charsadda
- religion: Greek deities 12, 18, 265, 296, 421, 469, 472, 475, 478, 490, 497, 499, 503, 511–513, 570–578, 582, 587, 589, 655, 662, 670, 672–673, 675–676; Indian deities 434, 474, 490, 497, 532–533, 655, 672; Iranian deities 574, 584, 587, 608, 662, 670, 672, 675; syncretism 468, 475, 497, 539, 670 *see also* Buddhism, Oxus: cult of, Zoroastrianism
 Roman Empire 11, 18, 22, 24, 129, 177, 188, 191, 326–327, 446, 453–458, 553, 556, 670, 676; imports from in China 117; objects from at Begram 580–590, 675–677
- Sāgala/Sialkot 431, 529, 654–656
 Saksanokhur 230, 286, 297–299, 550
 Samarkand/Marakanda and its oasis 18–19, 87, 173–199, 202, 265, 271–272, 313–320, 323–324, 326, 423, 448; Afrasiab 178–181, 198, 202, 315–327, 448, 517
 Sanskrit 39, 42, 143, 148, 175, 431, 438, 447, 491, 529, 624, 630, 658, 661, 665–666
 scripts: Aramaic 14, 194, 375, 406, 421; Brāhmī 42, 48, 117, 400, 406, 424, 433–434, 474–475, 477, 532–533, 665–666; Greek 117–119, 162, 192, 305, 320, 375, 406, 423–425, 471, 488, 490, 497, 515, 521, 525, 528, 575, 653, 655, 657–658, 660–663, 666; Kharoṣṭhī 42, 128, 131, 134, 378, 424, 432–433, 435, 475, 525–532, 656, 658, 660–666, 668, 673 *see also* Aramaic language, Bactrian language, Greek language, Prakrits
- Seleukos I Nikator 11–18, 23, 38–41, 53, 82, 261, 297, 318, 320, 347, 357, 379, 447, 487, 489, 496, 499, 504–505, 510, 513, 540
 Sherabad Darya 196–197, 201, 251, 254, 255–258, 598, 605
Shiji 88–90, 107–114, 119–122, 446–447, 450, 454–455
 Silk Roads, concept of 12, 20, 25, 39, 90, 106, 127, 446–447, 449, 451–453, 457, 459, 553–554, 581, 595, 612
 Sima Qian *see* *Shiji*
 Sogdiana: historical boundaries of 2, 16, 197, 201, 204n17, 313
 Sophytes (coins) 14, 52, 468, 487–497, 510
 Sophytos (funerary inscription) 366–367, 377–378, 420–421, 423–425 *see also* Sophytes
 Surkhan Darya 5, 164, 196, 249–280, 306, 312, 324, 596, 598, 604–606
 Swat 136, 379, 386, 388, 390, 400–401, 407, 409–410, 432, 434, 619, 621–622, 632–633, 636, 640, 674 *see also* Barikot, Gandhāra
 Stein, Aurel 136, 146–147, 153–155, 172, 400, 636
 Syr Darya *see* Jaxartes
- Tarim Basin *see* Xinjiang
 Tarn, W. W. 1, 15, 18, 137, 183, 186–187, 197, 269, 281, 373, 421–422, 425, 427, 431, 437, 450–452, 467, 477–478, 483, 573, 575
 Takht-i Sangin 191, 196, 259, 286–296, 301, 420, 425, 557–558, 575
 Taxila 43–44, 49, 52, 134, 136, 153, 199, 388–392, 434–435, 495, 570, 575, 621–622, 630, 632–636, 638–640, 642, 644, 653–656, 674, 677; Bhir Mound 43, 388, 392, 403, 405, 621, 636, 638, 640; Sirkap 136, 388–389, 391–393, 433, 575–576, 582
 Temple of the Oxus *see* Takht-i Sangin
 Termez 19, 146, 150, 196, 202, 249–250, 252–253, 257, 259, 261, 264, 269, 271–272, 448, 583, 587, 589
 Tian Jiang Xiong Shi 2
 Torbulok 196, 286–287, 296, 301–304
- Uzundara 19, 196, 201, 254, 259–269, 271–272, 324–325, 512
- Wheeler, Mortimer 155, 165–166, 377, 388–389, 391, 393–395, 621, 636, 640

- Xinjiang 85, 88, 108, 111, 146, 172, 243,
449, 458, 668
Xiongnu 79, 85–87, 108, 110, 112,
447, 556
Xuanzang 46, 144, 147, 156, 440

yavana/yona/yonaka 42, 431, 433–434, 438,
440, 447, 451, 582, 588, 654, 665–666
Yuezhi 80, 86–87, 90, 108, 110–111, 122,
191, 269, 280, 295, 325, 437, 447–448,
450, 453, 540, 583–584, 587, 589,
654–655
Yuga Purāṇa 432, 434, 438

YuTAKE (South Turkmenistan
Archaeological Complex Expedition)
59, 189–191, 336–337, 339, 340–341,
343–344, 347–348, 352
YuTAE (South Tajik Archaeological
Expedition) 287

Zeravshan 313–315, 317–318, 320–326
see also Samarkand
Zhang Qian 80, 86–87, 108–114, 119–120,
122, 446–452, 458 *see also* *Shiji*
Zoroastrianism 20, 88, 162, 290, 294, 365,
373, 492, 608–611



Taylor & Francis Group
an informa business

Taylor & Francis eBooks

www.taylorfrancis.com

A single destination for eBooks from Taylor & Francis with increased functionality and an improved user experience to meet the needs of our customers.

90,000+ eBooks of award-winning academic content in Humanities, Social Science, Science, Technology, Engineering, and Medical written by a global network of editors and authors.

TAYLOR & FRANCIS EBOOKS OFFERS:

A streamlined experience for our library customers

A single point of discovery for all of our eBook content

Improved search and discovery of content at both book and chapter level

REQUEST A FREE TRIAL

support@taylorfrancis.com

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group

 **CRC Press**
Taylor & Francis Group